

THE
AMERICAN LABOR
YEAR BOOK

1923-24

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The AMERICAN LABOR
YEARBOOK
1923-1924



By the
LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
of the
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

SOLON DE LEON, Director
NATHAN FINE, Associate

Volume V

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NOTICE

The American Labor Year Book aims to be as accurate as possible. Secretaries of National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Labor, Socialist, and Communist Parties, Cooperatives, and kindred organizations in the United States and abroad are therefore **URGENTLY** requested to send copies of Annual Reports, Convention Proceedings, Journals, Agreements, and other publications, when published. The courtesy will be most highly appreciated.

LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT,
Rand School of Social Science,
7 East 15th Street,
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FOREWORD

With this, its fifth issue, the AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK enters upon what is hoped to be a period of yearly, instead of two-yearly, publication. The importance to the American labor movement of such an annual can hardly be over-estimated. For an understanding of the present eventful period of world history, close knowledge of the labor movement, its daily struggles, its victories and its defeats, its shortcomings and its aspirations, is indispensable. Such close knowledge, accurate, objective, and concise, the AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK aims to present. Appearing as closely as possible after the end of the calendar year, each volume will prove a useful record of the twelvemonth's activities.

Important changes have been made in the present volume as compared with earlier issues. The entire subject matter has been reorganized, and arranged with a view to more consecutive and logical presentation. For the first time, also, instead of being a collection of articles by specialists in the various fields, the material has been written up practically in its entirety by the Research Department staff. The gain in completeness and in unity of point of view will, it is believed, be obvious.

New features are a calendar of Labor Conventions in 1924, an International Labor Diary for the preceding two years, discussion of Workers' Education and Labor Banking, and a comprehensive Directory—perhaps the first to be issued in this country—of trade unions, labor political parties, workers' educational institutions, cooperatives, and labor papers and magazines in America and abroad.

A volume such as this must of necessity be a cooperative effort. Hearty thanks must be given to the numberless officials of trade unions and other organizations on both sides of the Atlantic who have supplied through letter and printed report the authoritative information on

their respective movements. More than a word of gratitude is due the many faithful friends who by collection of data, criticism, and suggestion, have helped to make the book what it is. Among these, special mention should be made of James P. Warbasse and Margaret Daniels who prepared the material on Cooperation at home and abroad, Carol Weiss King for her painstaking analysis of Court Decisions, and Fannia M. Cohn and Spencer Miller, Jr., for their unstinted assistance with the section on Workers' Education. Searching criticism by George Soule and Willford I. King has been of advantage to the discussion of Industrial and Social Conditions. The chapter on Labor Legislation is based on the authoritative annual summaries issued by John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation. Isabel London and Amy R. McMaster helped gather data on the labor movements in other countries. David P. Berenberg and Alice Van Tuyl have as usual given material aid on several sections and on the Index, and Ben Josephson some practical hints. The bulk of the initial writing, however, has fallen on the shoulders of the tireless and conscientious associate in the Research Department, Nathan Fine.

Throughout the year the Labor Research Committee, consisting of John P. Burke, Evans Clark, Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, and Scott Nearing, have kept closely in touch with the work. To their encouragement and constructive suggestion has at all times been added the devoted interest of Nellie Seeds Nearing. The helpfulness of the book is a measure of their enthusiastic counsel.

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Rand School of Social Science.

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LABOR CONVENTIONS IN 1924

JANUARY

1—	Swedish Federation of Trade Unions	Stockholm
2—	Railroad Stationmen and Employees	Boston
5—6	Socialist Educational International	Hanover, Germany
5—	Nevada Federation of Labor	Reno
7—	Delaware Federation of Labor	Wilmington
14—	Idaho Federation of Labor	Pocatello
14—24	Seamen's Union	New York
22—	United Mine Workers	Indianapolis

FEBRUARY

11—	Conference for Progressive Political Action	St. Louis
..	French Socialist Party	Marseilles

MARCH

13—	West Virginia Farmer-Labor Party	Clarksburg
14—	Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party	St. Cloud
..	Porto Rico Free Federation, A. F. of L.	Guayama
..	Italian General Federation of Labor	Italy

APRIL

1—11	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers	Pittsburgh
7—	Louisiana Federation of Labor	Monroe
13—	Amalgamated Metal Workers	New York
14—	Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L.	
14—	Maryland and District of Columbia Federation	Hagerstown
16—	Georgia Federation of Labor	
16—17	Teachers' International	Leipzig
19—	Netherlands Social Democratic Labor Party	Amsterdam
19—21	Belgian Labor Party	Belgium
20—	British Independent Labor Party	Great Britain
23—24	Bakery Workers' World Congress	Berne

MAY

4—	North Dakota Federation of Labor	Bismarck
5—	Ladies' Garment Workers	Boston
5—	Arkansas Federation of Labor	Paragould
5—	Virginia Federation of Labor	Norfolk
5—	Tennessee Federation of Labor	Chattanooga
10—	Socialist Labor Party	New York
12—	Amalgamated Clothing Workers	Philadelphia
12—	Fur Workers	Chicago
12—	Firemen and Oilers	Newark, N. J.
12—17	Musicians	Colorado Springs, Colo.
12—24	Railroad Telegraphers	Cleveland
13—	Workers' International Industrial Union	Cleveland
13—	Pennsylvania Federation of Labor	Allentown
19—	Missouri Federation of Labor	Moberly
..	Amalgamated Textile Workers	New York
..	Texas Federation of Labor	Port Arthur

JUNE

2—	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	Cleveland
2—	Colorado Federation of Labor	Pueblo
2—7	International Federation of Trade Unions	Vienna
3—	Maine Federation of Labor	Calais
10—	International Association for Labor Legislation	Prague
10—	Socio-Political Congress	Prague
16—	International Labor Conference (League of Nations)	Geneva
16—21	National Women's Trade Union League	New York
17—	Farmer-Labor political groups	St. Paul

- 23— American Federation of Textile Operatives Philadelphia
 Machinists (?)
 British Labor Party Great Britain
 Int'l Fed. of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees Zurich
 .. International Federation of Building Workers Stockholm

JULY

- 4— Conference for Progressive Political Action Cleveland
 6— Socialist Party Cleveland
 10—11 British General Federation of Trade Unions
 26— International Federation of Metal Workers Vienna
 .. American Federation of Teachers Chicago

AUGUST

- 4— Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress Ireland
 11— Massachusetts Federation of Labor Boston
 11—26 Typographical Union Toronto
 12— Vermont Federation of Labor St Albans
 26— New York Federation of Labor Schenectady
 27— Indiana Federation of Labor South Bend
 .. Steam Shovel and Dredge Men Washington, D. C.
 .. British Commonwealth Labor Congress London
 .. International Transport Workers' Federation Hamburg
 Communist International Moscow
 Red International of Labor Unions Moscow
 Young Communist International Moscow

SEPTEMBER

- 1— British Trades Union Congress Great Britain
 1—14 Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
 2— Connecticut Federation of Labor Hartford
 2— Nebraska Federation of Labor Hastings
 8— Illinois Federation of Labor Peoria
 8— Mississippi Federation of Labor Jackson
 8— New Jersey Federation of Labor Paterson
 8— Ohio Federation of Labor
 8— West Virginia Federation of Labor Wheeling
 8—15 United Textile Workers New York
 8—18 Carpenters and Joiners Indianapolis
 8—18 Street and Electric Railway Employees Montreal
 10— Utah Federation of Labor Salt Lake City
 12— Kentucky Federation of Labor Middlesboro
 14— South Dakota Federation of Labor Mitchell
 15— California Federation of Labor Santa Barbara
 15—17 Oklahoma Federation of Labor Muskogee
 16— New Hampshire Federation of Labor Berlin
 .. Canadian Trades and Labor Congress London, Ont.
 .. Trade Union Educational League Chicago
 .. International Federation of Textile Workers Vienna
 .. International Postal, Telegraph, Telephone Workers
 .. International Cooperative Alliance Ghent

OCTOBER

- 7—10 Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers

NOVEMBER

- 10— Knights of Labor Washington, D. C.
 17—30 American Federation of Labor El Paso
 .. Building Trades Department, A. F. of L. El Paso
 .. Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. El Paso
 .. Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L. El Paso

DECEMBER

- .. Workers' Party Chicago
 .. Industrial Workers of the World Chicago
 .. Young People's Socialist League
 .. Pan-American Federation of Labor Mexico City

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DIARY

1922—1923

January, 1922.

- 2—Transvaal coal and gold miners, 21,000 strong, struck against wage cuts and increased employment of native labor; general sympathetic strike, March 7; martial law, March 10; strike called off, March 18.
- 4—Wages of workers on American deep sea vessels cut 15 to 33 per cent by American Steamship Owners' Association.
 - Wages of 10,000 unskilled paper makers cut 20 per cent, to \$2.56 a day, by arbitrator.
- 6—Emergency Fleet Corporation reduced wages of officers on United States Shipping Board vessels 15 per cent, others 35 per cent.
- 11—New York cloakmakers secured permanent injunction requiring employers to keep agreement.
 - Irish Labor Party issued manifesto calling on workers to fight for real labor republic, without capitalism.
- 12—Independent Socialist Party of Germany called on workers to refuse to manufacture munitions of war.
- 16—New York cloakmakers won 9-week strike against piece work, 49-hour week, and wage cuts.
- 17—Charles O. Sherman, first president of the I. W. W., died in Chicago, aged 62.
- 23—80,000 New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts textile workers struck against 20 per cent wage cut and 54-hour week.
- 24—Pittsburgh police and firemen ordered to withdraw from American Federation of Labor.
- 27—30,000 textile workers at Muenchen-Gladbach, Germany, won 250 per cent wage increase in 2-day strike.
- 29—Montevideo, Uruguay, street car workers won three weeks' strike for wage increases.
- 30—More than 100,000 Manchester, England, cotton dyers', bleachers', and finishers' wages cut 16 per cent by sliding scale agreement.
- 31—Meat packers' strike against wage cuts, begun December 5, called off.
 - Judge Landis announced scale for Chicago building trades.

February, 1922.

- 1—General strike began on German railroads; called off February 7.
- 2—General strike of coal miners in Czechoslovakia against 25 per cent wage cut; compromised February 10.
 - 25 died in explosion at Frick coal mine, Gates, Pa.
- 3—Wages of Pacific Coast seamen cut 12½ per cent.
- 4—President Ebert of Germany, and President Richter of the Berlin police, expelled from unions for attitude toward railroad strike.
- 5—Congress of Second and Vienna Internationals held at Paris to attempt unity of all Socialist Internationals.
 - 57,000 public utility employees struck at Berlin, stopping light, water, and trolley service; settled, February 8.
 - Saar miners struck for restoration of old rates of pay.
- 7—Bill forbidding strikes without 60 days' notice and providing for industrial jury of 100 to investigate and settle industrial disputes introduced in New York Legislature; killed in committee, March 2.
- 9—48-hour general strike, called by Chile Federation of Labor in sympathy with striking coal miners, partly successful.
- 11—General strike in Bolivia.
- 14—Three mine guards indicted for murder of Fannie Sellins, organizer in the steel strike of 1919.
- 15—150,000 employees in all industries locked out by Danish employers; troops called out in Copenhagen, March 20; settled with 12½—15 per cent wage cut and retention of 8-hour day, April 5.
- 17—Disloyalty charge to unseat Socialist Assemblyman Claessens thrown out by New York Legislature.

- 20—Conference of railroad and other unions and progressive bodies opened at Chicago to agree on political program.
- 22—United Mine Workers and 15 railroad unions at Chicago conference formed loose alliance for closer cooperation.
- 12,000 Spanish miners in Penarroya district struck against 25 per cent wage cut.
- 23—Railroad Labor Board reduced wages of 10,000 stationary firemen and oilers by rule abolishing overtime pay until after 10 hours, and allowing split trick.
- 24—American Federation of Labor Executive Council adopted resolution against obeying injunctions in labor disputes.
- 25—Special session of executive committee of Third International opened at Moscow; adjourned March 6, after adopting policy of united labor front in all lands.
- 27—August Claessens, Socialist, seated in the New York State Assembly on recount.
- 28—New York pressmen on 22 papers took morning's vacation against Judge Manton's award abolishing 6-hour day and changing rules.

March, 1922.

- 1—Philadelphia dress and waist makers called off strike against 10 per cent wage reductions in 300 factories after 26 weeks.
- 4—Tipperary Branch of Irish Transport Workers' Union seized gas works and hoisted red flag.
- 8—Strike of 17,000 silk workers in Paterson, N. J.
- 10—Mohandas K. Gandhi, Indian non-cooperationist leader, arrested on charge of sedition; strikes at Bombay Calcutta, and elsewhere; sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment, March 18.
- 11—British metal trades employers locked out 300,000 members of Amalgamated Engineers' Union; lockout extended to 47 additional unions, making total of 850,000 affected, April 5; 47 unions surrendered June 2; Amalgamated Engineers gave up June 13.
- 13—Appeal of Howat and Dorchy from contempt of court sentences dismissed by United States Supreme Court.
- 100 Syndicalists arrested in Lisbon charged with planning uprising.
- 14—10,000 paper makers locked out in Sweden.
- 20—All-Russian Communist Congress opened at Moscow; approved new economic policy, March 30.
- 22—Harbor strike spread to all ports of Italy, tying up all shipping.
- 26—Levi Communist group rejoined German Independents.
- 27—Hilferding, editor of Berlin *Freiheit*, Independent Socialist organ, resigned because of reformist policy.
- 29—300,000 British shipyard workers struck against 10s. 6d. wage cut.

April, 1922.

- 1—600,000 American hard and soft coal miners struck; soft coal strike successful, August 15; hard coal strike won, September 2.
- 2—Executive Committees of three Socialist and Communist Internationals met at Berlin to discuss united action.
- 10—General Economic Conference opened at Genoa; France and Belgium refused to sign Allies' conditions to Russia, May 2.
- 11—Gompers at Chicago meeting of 500 union officials attacked resolution for amalgamation of all craft unions into one union for each industry.
- 13—Cuban telegraphers began general strike.
- 16—Russo-German Treaty signed at Rapallo; full recognition and mutual cancellation of debts guaranteed.
- 18—District Attorney Brady of San Francisco wrote to Governor recommending pardon for Mooney and Billings as they had been convicted on perjured testimony.
- Otto Hue, president of German Miners' Federation and Socialist member of Reichstag, died at Essen.
- 20—Congress of International Federation of Trade Unions opened at Rome.
- 60,000 Socialists and Communists demonstrated jointly in Berlin.
- Vienna Socialists and Communists united in demonstrations for 8-hour day, legislation for unemployed, recognition of Russia, and united labor front against capitalism.
- 21—Appellate Division of New York Supreme Court upheld injunction restraining New York Photo-engravers' Union from declaring strike to compel firm to live up to minimum price list to customers.

- 24—Trials of over 500 miners opened at Charlestown, W. Va., on charges of murder and treason because of march to Logan county in 1921.
 - Mining company gunmen who murdered Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers, miners' friends, acquitted in West Virginia.
 - 1-day general strike in Ireland against factional fighting.
 - Minnie Kolnin and Tina Jurson convicted in New York on charges of distributing Communist circulars.
- 25—Sentence of Miss A. Whitney, San Francisco, to 14 years for affiliation with Communist Party and I. W. W. upheld.
 - 300,000 British shipyard workers accepted compromise settlement on dispute over 16 shillings a week wage reduction.
- 28—Howat and Dorchy began year's sentence at Girard, Kans., for defying industrial court order to call off mine strike.
- 29—Socialist Party Convention opened in Cleveland; affiliation with Vienna International decided; state cooperation with farmer and labor organizations approved.

May, 1922.

- 3—3 Japanese Socialists sentenced to 8 months in prison for "disturbance of the national constitution."
- 11—Skilled Paper Workers' Union signed separate agreement for no wage reduction, leaving unskilled men unprotected.
- 15—United States Supreme Court declared second federal child labor law unconstitutional.
 - 28,000 Spanish ironworkers in Bilbao district struck against wage reductions.
 - 5 Socialist municipal councillors, elected at Fajardo, Porto Rico, seated after 8 months' legal fight.
- 16—Newfoundland general railway wage strike began.
- 17—2 jurors in Centralia, Wash., I. W. W. case made affidavit that 7 men convicted for defending headquarters on Armistice Day, 1919, attack were innocent of murder charge; 3 more jurors followed, May 25.
- 23—Committee of Nine of the three Internationals met in Berlin to arrange World Labor Congress, and disbanded.
- 24—35,000 textile workers in Saxony and Thuringia struck for 30-40 per cent increase in wages.
 - Russia and Italy signed commercial treaty at Genoa.
 - General strike called in Rome after clash between Fascisti and Communists.
- 27—William Blizzard of United Mine Workers acquitted of treason in West Virginia miners' march of 1921.
- 28—Railroad Labor Board reduced wages of 40,000 maintenance of way workers 13.2 per cent.
- 29—Child crusaders for general amnesty for political prisoners began picketing White House.
- 31—Arthur G. Hays, New York lawyer representing Civil Liberties Union, arrested at Vintondale, Pa., in coal strike region.

June, 1922.

- 4—20 Socialists elected to Hungarian Parliament for first time in history of country.
- 5—Coronado decision of United States Supreme Court, making union funds liable for damage to employer during strike.
 - Convention of National Women's Trade Union League opened at Waukegan, Ill.
- 6—Railroad Labor Board cut 400,000 shopmen's wages 7 to 9 cents an hour, totalling \$60,000,000 a year.
 - Metal workers in north Germany struck against increase of hours from 46 to 48 a week.
- 9—Trial of 34 Social Revolutionaries for conspiring against Russian Soviet government and attacks on lives of leaders, opened at Moscow; Vandervelde and other Socialist representatives withdrew from defense, June 15; trial ended, August 8, 3 acquitted, others imprisoned 2 to 10 years, 14 condemned to death and sentence stayed on condition that party cease acts of terrorism, spying, and insurrection.
- 12—American Federation of Labor 42nd annual convention opened at Cincinnati.
 - Strike in Yucatan, Mexico, spreading to Vera Cruz, for 8-hour day and free medical attendance; strike general, 40,000 out, June 13.
 - Austrian metal employers abrogated agreements affecting 10,000 workers.

- 14—Railroad Labor Board cut wages of clerks, station employees, freight handlers, and signalmen \$50,000,000 annually.
- 150,000 coal miners of Harz Mountains, Germany, struck for 40 marks a shift increase.
- 15—Conference on Russia opened at The Hague.
- Street car men, bakers, 'phone operators and factory workers struck at Mexico City.
- Moderate Socialist Italian deputies decided on policy of participation with government.
- 17—Labor and Socialist Parties affiliated with Second International held conference in London, to consider international questions, the Hague conference, Russia, and the United Front.
- 21—40,000 New York men's clothing workers in Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America began stoppage against "corporation" shops and to secure registration of contractors.
- Twenty killed in clash between striking coal miners and imported strikebreakers and gunmen at Herrin, Ill.; coroner's jury exonerated miners, June 25.
- 23—Walter Rathenau, German Foreign Minister, assassinated at Berlin; general strikes at hour of funeral, June 27.
- Marcel Cachin and Vaillant-Couturier prosecuted for article against militarism in Paris *The Conscrip*t.
- 26—First congress of French General Confederation of United Labor at St. Etienne voted for affiliation with Red International of Labor Unions.
- Italian metal workers struck against government's cut in living allowances.
- German Trade Union Federation triennial congress at Leipzig ended after adopting resolution for industrial unionism.

July, 1922.

- 1—400,000 railroad shopmen and some maintenance of way men struck against wage cuts by Railroad Labor Board.
- New York State convention of Socialist Party opened in New York, voted for political cooperation with Farmer-Labor and other working class groups.
- Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank opened by Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
- 3—New York cloakmakers reached agreement extending existing wages, hours, and union rights of 60,000 members for 2 years.
- 5—Ernest Daumig, leader of German Independent Socialists, died.
- 6—Representatives of Italian Confederation of Labor and Socialist Party in conference at Genoa voted for collaboration with monarchy.
- 8—General strike in Atlitico district of Mexico in support of textile workers, 20,000 out.
- 10—American Federation of Labor revoked charter of New York Bookkeepers', Stenographers', and Accountants' Union 12646 to get rid of Communists.
- 12—Conviction of Gitlow and Larkin under criminal anarchy act in 1920 upheld by New York Court of Appeals.
- 15—New York City Joint Conference for Independent Political Action met, Workers' Party and Socialist Labor Party excluded; American Labor Party formed, July 16.
- 17—German Independent Socialist Party Reichstag members voted down proposal to merge with Majority Socialists.
- 28 Communists, including Benaraja, leader of Greek Federation of Labor, put on trial in Greece for general strike in 1920; 4 acquitted, July 18.
- 23—Executive Committees of International Federation of Trade Unions, Second, and Vienna Internationals, issued manifesto calling for universal disarmament and delay in collecting debts from Germany.
- 25—50,000 New York cloak and suit workers struck against "social" or "corporation" shops.
- 27—Jules Guesde, French Marxian Socialist leader, died in Paris, aged 77.

August, 1922.

- 1—General strike throughout Italy against Fascisti; ended, August 6.
- 25,000 trolley men struck at Chicago against wage reduction; compromised, August 4.
- Glenn E. Plumb, author of Plumb Plan for nationalization of railroads, died at Washington.

- 6—William Z. Foster deported from Denver by troops.
- 7—General strike in Lisbon against increased price of bread, constitutional guarantees suspended by government for two weeks; ended August 10.
- 10—Movement started to organize Political Labor Party in India.
- 12—Bremen, Germany, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, Independent Socialist paper, suppressed by Social Democratic Government.
- 15—Soft coal strike settled by Cleveland agreement, continuing existing wages, working conditions, and the check-off, and providing for conference to devise methods of wage negotiation, and for fact-finding commission.
- 19—30,000 Hungarian metal workers struck.
- 22—15 Workers' Party leaders arrested at meeting near Bridgman, Mich.
- 24—Strike of 22,000 harbor, train, gas, metal, building, and other workers at Havre, France; several killed; martial law, August 28.
- 27—Fire trapped 47 in Argonaut gold mine, Jackson, Calif.

September, 1922.

- 1—Federal Judge Wilkerson, at Chicago, enjoined the six railroad shop crafts from carrying on or supporting their strike.
- 4—British Trades Union Congress opened at Southport.
- 10—Irish Free State postal workers went on strike.
- 21—German Independent Socialist Congress at Gera voted for unity with Majority Socialists.
- 24—United Social Democratic Party of Germany formed at Nuremburg, unanimously ratifying fusion resolution adopted by the Majority Socialists at Augsburg and by the Independent Socialists at Gera.

October, 1922.

- 1—Italian Socialist Congress met at Rome; Turati reformist section expelled.
- 18—Fourth League of Nations International Labor Conference opened, at Geneva.

November, 1922.

- 5—Third International opened fourth annual congress at Petrograd; closed, December 5.
- 16—British general election; 142 Labor members returned.
- 22—90 miners killed in explosion at Dolomite, Ala.
- 29—Sentences of William Bross Lloyd and 16 associates under Illinois anti-syndicalism law.

December, 1922.

- 1—General strike at Mexico City.
- 3—Swiss referendum rejected Socialist bill for capital levy.
- 9—National conference of railroad workers met at Chicago to discuss amalgamation of craft unions and more aggressive union policies.
- 10—Hague Peace Congress convened by International Federation of Trade Unions.
- 11—Second Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland.
- 19—Australian Labor Party increased Parliamentary strength from 24 to 34.
- 23—Tenth All-Russian Soviet Congress at Moscow.
- 25—Syndicalist International organized in Berlin.

January, 1923.

- 6—Communist International protest conference at Essen against Fascism and Ruhr invasion.
- 19—First 5 miners acquitted in Herrin, Ill., strike deaths.
- 21—Marcel Cachin, French Communist deputy, arrested on charge of treason; acquitted June 13.
- General coal mine strike in Ruhr.
- 22—Street car strike in Mexico City; ended January 28; 15 killed in clash between strike sympathizers and troops, February 1.

February, 1923.

- 1—Martin Tabert killed by flogging in Florida convict camp.
- 2—French General Confederation of Labor Congress rejected United Front proposal.

- 7—15,000 New York dressmakers struck to organize shops; won.
- 10—United Front of Social Democrats and Socialist Labor Party in Finland.
- 16—French Left Wing Miners' Federation called national strike; defeated April 6.
- 24—New York American Labor Party convention; Communists excluded.
- 60,000 metal workers locked out in Hungary.

March, 1923.

- 3—Butchkavitch, Roman Catholic vicar-general in Russia, executed for treason.
- 8—40 Communists arrested in Belgium.
- 10—Salvador Segur, Spanish Syndicalist leader, assassinated at Barcelona.
- 17—Frankfort conference of revolutionary workers.
- 20—Socialist representatives from Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy met in Paris; urged League of Nations as arbitrator in Ruhr; adopted plan for paying reparations in 3 years.
- 21—Socialist government formed in Saxony with support of Communists.
- 26—William Z. Foster on trial for attending Communist convention at Bridgman, Mich.; jury disagreed, April 5.

April, 1923.

- 1—Strike of 48,000 mill workers in India against 20 per cent wage cut.
- 4—40,000 Welsh miners struck.
- 6—Branting Socialist government resigned in Sweden.
- 7—Second trial of Herrin miners ended in acquittal; remaining 76 indictments dropped.
- Communist Party of America merged into Workers' Party.
- 9—United States Supreme Court, 5 to 3, declared District of Columbia minimum wage law unconstitutional.
- 21—Larkin deported.
- 25—I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers' Union struck for \$20 a week increase.
- 27—Strike of Belgian state employees for extra travelling allowances.
- 29—Ward Baking Co. employees struck against open shop and 10 per cent wage reduction.

May, 1923.

- 2—Ruthenberg convicted of criminal syndicalism at St. Joseph, Mich.
- 8—G. V. Sanders, editor of Memphis, Tenn., *Press*, fined \$300 for contempt of court for editorial against injunction in railroad shopmen's strike.
- 10—Vaslav Vorovsky, Soviet representative at Lausanne Conference, shot dead by a Swiss.
- 14—50,000 men's clothing workers in New York City struck for wage increase.
- 16—16,000 Brockton, Mass., shoe workers struck for 20 per cent wage increase; called off August 1.
- 19—Socialist Party convention held in New York.
- Federation Bank opened in New York.
- 20—International Conference of Socialist and Labor Women held at Hamburg.
- 21—Unity Congress of Second and Vienna Internationals at Hamburg; Labor and Social International organized, May 24.
- International Socialist Youth Congress met at Hamburg.
- 23—International Transport Workers' Federation formed united front with Russian unions; Committee of Action against war and Fascism.
- 24—General strike in Ruhr, 500,000 out; Communists captured Gelsenkirchen and Bochum, May 26; 50 per cent wage increase won, May 30.
- 25—Gary Committee reported against abolition of 12-hour day.
- Act repealing New York Lusk educational laws signed by Governor Smith.
- 29—15 leading members of transport workers' strike committee arrested in Brussels.
- British Parliament defeated bills to prevent trade union members from subscribing to Labor Party.
- 31—Nova Scotia miners under threat of expulsion from United Mine Workers withdrew application for affiliation with Red International of Labor Unions.

June, 1923.

- 9—Gunmen who shot Fannie Sellins, union organizer, in steel strike of 1919, acquitted.
- 11—United States Supreme Court denied right of Kansas Court of Industrial Relations to fix wages in packing house.
- 15—300 drowned in coal mine at Tsaochwang, China.
- 17—Argentine general protest strike against assassination in prison of Kurt Wilckens, pacifist
- 20—27 political prisoners conditionally pardoned by Harding.
- 25—New England telephone girls struck for more pay and 7-hour day; defeated, July 26.
- 26—British Labor Party convention opened in London; affiliation of Communist Party rejected.
- Takao Heibei, Japanese Socialist leader, shot by Yonemura Kaichiro, President of Anti-Bolshevist Society.

July, 1923.

- 2—British dockers started unofficial strike against wage cut; called off September 3.
- Socialist Party joined Labor and Socialist International.
- 3—Convention of National Farmer-Labor Party met at Chicago; Federated Farmer-Labor Party formed, July 5.
- 6—Union of Socialist Soviet Republics formed, with 14 countries, including Russia.
- 16—Snowden resolution to replace capitalist system by Socialism defeated in British Parliament, 368 to 121.
- 17—Charter of Nova Scotia miners' district suspended for unofficial strike.
- 23—Trial of 95 Bulgarian Communists for high treason.
- 24—Hoboken longshoremen struck under I. W. W. leadership.
- 25—Serrati expelled from Italian Socialist Party for advocating affiliation with Third International.
- 27—20,000 building workers struck in Rome.
- 29—New York State Conference for Progressive Political Action formed by railroad unionists at Albany.

August, 1923.

- 1—Jersey trolley strike begun; 20 per cent wage increase and weekly rest day won, September 20.
- 133 Italian Communists on trial at Rome.
- 3—Martial law declared against Hungarian railroad strike.
- 4—200 Finnish Labor Party members arrested, including all Parliamentary deputies.
- 10—General strike called by German Workers' Councils.
- 12—Cuno Cabinet in Germany resigned; Stresemann formed new coalition government with Social Democrats.
- 13—United States Steel Corporation began elimination of 12-hour shift.
- 70 died in German food strike and Communist riots; Communists seized Lubeck.
- 14—97 killed in mine accident at Kemmerer, Wyo.
- Third International Congress of Working Women opened at Schoenbrunn, Austria.
- 17—German government dissolved Central Committee of Workers' Councils.
- 19—General strike in Athens and other towns; crushed by martial law, August 26.
- 23—California injunction making I. W. W. membership cause for 6 months' imprisonment.
- 24—National Council of Italian Federation of Labor at Milan severed alliance with Socialist Party; voted collaboration with Mussolini.
- 27—New York *Call* taken over by progressive trade unions; renamed *Leader*.

September, 1923.

- 1—158,000 hard coal miners struck for wage increase, check-off, and 8-hour day; won, September 19.
- 7—Needle Trades Workers' Alliance reorganized at conference in New York.
- 9—International Association on Unemployment conference opened at Luxemburg.

- 16—Spanish Parliament dissolved by General Primo Rivera; Communist leaders arrested.
- 17—New York newspaper pressmen struck; strike called off under pressure by national officials, with better conditions, September 28.
- 24—German government abandoned passive resistance in Ruhr.
- 28—Daniel White, veteran Socialist speaker and writer, died in Chicago.
- Communist uprising in Bulgaria suppressed.
- 24-hour general strike in Ruhr.

October, 1923.

- 1—A. F. of L. 43rd annual convention opened at Portland, Ore.; Dunne, Communist, ousted, October 8.
- 3—Stresemann Cabinet out after resignation of 4 Social Democrats on 8-hour issue; restored October 5.
- 4—Wilhelm Pfannkuch, German trade unionist and Social Democrat, died, aged 82.
- 8—Communists entered governments of Saxony and Thuringia.
- 10—Red Peasants' International launched at Moscow.
- 11—International Association for Labor Legislation opened 11th general assembly at Basel.
- 17—Von Kahr, Bavarian dictator, disbanded all Communist Youth organizations.
- General Council of Belgian Labor Party barred Communists.
- 19—65 killed in coal mine explosion at Dohutai, China.
- 23—Communist attempt to seize Hamburg defeated; bread riots and general strike; 100 killed.
- 24—Pan-American Federation of Labor conference at El Paso, Tex.
- 26—Charles P. Steinmetz died, aged 58.
- Neue Zeit*, German Socialist weekly, suspended after 30 years.
- 29—Berlin troops arrested Saxon Socialist-Communist Cabinet on its refusal to resign.
- 30—Portuguese Cabinet resigned; general strike at Oporto.
- 31—German Social Democratic members of Reichstag decided to remain in coalition government.
- Police strike in Melbourne.

November, 1923.

- 5—Norwegian Labor Party split, minority going with Communist International.
- 6—27 killed in Glen Rogers, W. Va., mine blast.
- All-Russian Soviet convened at Moscow; adjourned November 13.
- 7—25 killed, 80 wounded, in Polish railroad strike.
- 12—New York *Leader* suspended, after 15 years as *Call*.
- 16—Conradi acquitted of assassinating Vaslav Vorovsky, Soviet representative at Lausanne Conference.
- 23—German Communist Party declared illegal; papers suppressed.
- 27—Carlo Tresca, editor of New York *Il Martello*, convicted on charge of prohibited advertising.

December, 1923.

- 5—Executive Committee of Communist Party of Italy demanded that Bombacci resign seat in Chamber for favorable reference to Mussolini revolution.
- 6—British elections, Labor won 191 seats.
- 60 Greek Communists arrested on charge of fostering sedition among troops.
- 8—German Reichstag conferred dictatorial power on Marx government, Socialists voting in favor. Communists and Monarchists against.
- Japanese Captain Amakasa sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for strangling Anarchist leader, Sakaye Osugi, wife, and son during earthquake excitement.
- 10—Strike of Austrian postal, telegraph, telephone workers for wage increase.
- 19—Strike on Cuban railroads.
- 20—Poland recognized Soviet Russia.
- 30—Arthur Gleason, American labor author and journalist, died at Washington, aged 45.

I. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, FINANCE

World Situation.—During 1922 and 1923 the world, America included, has continued to stagger under the burdens created by the war. The economic conflicts of the peace, no less than the clash of arms which preceded it, have intensified national hatreds, prevented mutual understanding, blocked social reconstruction, throttled industry, and, it is estimated, killed more human beings than the years of actual fighting. Continued exclusion of Russia from normal intercourse with the rest of the world, occupation of the Ruhr iron and coal region of Germany by French troops, and the progressive disintegration of German industrial and political life, have contributed to unsettle world conditions with disastrous results in almost every country.

The overwhelming part of the international debts contracted during the war, and even of the interest on them, remains unpaid. Efforts to pay these debts, either in gold or in commodities, tend further to depress industry in the countries which receive the payments. Due to the cost of militarist foreign policy and internal war debts, most governments are finding it impossible to raise sufficient taxes to meet their expenses. In the closing quarter of the year, the world economic trend was indicated by a new and general decline in the exchange rate of European currencies as compared with the dollar. Not only did the British pound and especially the French franc show a drop from the strengthened position which they had occupied earlier in the year. They were followed by the currencies of important neutral nations, such as Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries, which had long maintained their exchange rates near or in some cases slightly above par. Everything considered, the stable revival of world economic life which was expected in some quarters has not taken place. Whether it can take place without a fundamental reconstruction of the industrial and social system is doubtful.

America.—America has up to the present suffered least among the important capitalist nations. Economic conditions in the United States for 1922-1923 showed marked but unsteady recovery from the pit of the depression of the two preceding years. Production in basic industries rose rapidly during the latter half of 1922. A building boom, to make up for the stoppage of construction during and after the war, gained headway which carried over into 1924. Bank loans and investments increased. During the spring of 1923 production and trade expanded still further. Coal, iron, steel, and automobile production reached high levels never before equalled. Farming output also was unusually large. Retail and mail order sales were brisk. Bank operations increased in volume. Railroad car loadings and shipping activity made new high records. Foreign trade increased, with America for a short period in the spring of 1923 importing more goods, measured by value, than it exported, for the first time since 1914. Commercial failures for the year were the fewest and liabilities per failed firm were the smallest since 1920. At the height of the boom, however, warnings against overconfidence and of an impending slump began to be heard. With autumn, production of basic commodities fell off from the high points they had reached. Railroad and shipping activity also dropped, and a decline in bank activity denoted a general slowing down of manufacture and business. At the end of the year the decline had practically ceased, and predictions for 1924 were optimistic, at least until after the presidential election.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

National and Per Capita Income.—The yearly national income of the United States in 1919 was approximately \$66,000,000,000. If divided equally among the population, this would make a per capita income of about \$629¹.

Individual Incomes.—The number of individuals who filed United States income tax returns in the lean year 1921 was 6,662,176. The largest single group, nearly 2,500,000, comprised those with incomes of between \$1,000 and \$2,000. Three-quarters of those reporting received less than \$3,000 a year, or less than \$60 a week.

¹National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States*.

Table 1—Personal Incomes and Tax Paid, 1921¹

Income Group	—Incomes—		—Tax Paid—	
	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
Under \$1,000	401,849	6.03	\$ 173,678	0.03
\$1,000 to \$2,000	2,440,544	36.63	29,160,654	4.05
\$2,000 to \$3,000	2,222,031	33.36	20,712,373	2.88
\$3,000 to \$5,000	1,072,146	16.09	42,743,604	5.95
\$5,000 to \$10,000	353,247	5.30	68,871,422	9.57
\$10,000 to \$25,000	132,344	1.99	126,886,410	17.53
\$25,000 to \$50,000	28,946	.432	92,909,840	15.69
\$50,000 to \$100,000	8,717	.543	115,711,635	16.09
\$100,000 to \$150,000	1,367	.0204	52,330,056	7.27
\$150,000 to \$300,000	739	.0112	61,495,988	8.55
\$300,000 to \$500,000	162	.0025	31,859,630	4.43
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	63	.0010	25,112,090	3.49
\$1,000,000 and over	21	.0003	31,419,726	4.37
Total	6,662,176	100.00	\$719,387,106	100.00

Table 2—Percentage of Personal Income Secured from Each Specified Source, 1921

Income Class	Wages and Salaries	Business	Partnerships, Fiduciaries, etc.	Profits from Sales of Real Estate, Stocks and Bonds	Rents and Royalties	Dividends	Interest and Investment Income
Under \$1,000	34.28	12.69	3.84	4.13	12.45	17.97	14.64
\$1,000 to \$2,000	81.32	6.39	1.61	.53	3.79	1.66	4.70
\$2,000 to \$3,000	77.88	8.63	2.25	.82	4.11	1.67	4.64
\$3,000 to \$5,000	61.65	14.47	4.44	2.17	5.37	4.96	6.94
\$5,000 to \$10,000	46.93	14.06	8.59	3.59	6.01	12.21	8.61
\$10,000 to \$20,000	38.22	10.53	10.92	3.59	5.58	21.07	10.09
\$20,000 to \$40,000	30.83	8.20	12.77	3.21	5.03	29.20	10.76
\$40,000 to \$60,000	24.55	6.64	14.37	2.97	4.41	36.05	11.01
\$60,000 to \$80,000	21.28	5.36	16.38	2.32	4.08	39.83	10.75
\$80,000 to \$100,000	19.59	5.54	17.65	1.98	3.97	41.48	9.79
\$100,000 to \$150,000	15.87	5.29	17.11	1.64	3.74	45.57	10.78
\$150,000 to \$200,000	12.71	3.71	18.70	1.71	4.80	48.57	9.80
\$200,000 to \$250,000	13.09	4.54	15.40	.78	3.28	51.97	10.94
\$250,000 to \$300,000	10.10	8.08	17.87	1.83	1.56	51.23	9.33
\$300,000 to \$500,000	6.12	3.36	14.68	1.74	2.47	60.31	11.32
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	3.28	7.45	16.82	.82	7.63	54.96	9.04
\$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000	2.36	6.86	19.79	.44	.01	66.61	3.93
\$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
\$2,000,000 and over	5.04	....	.16	.62	4.28	81.47	8.43
Total	59.21	10.14	5.75	1.98	5.05	10.62	7.25

¹United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income*, 1921.

About one-eighth of the total tax collected was paid by those receiving incomes of less than \$5,000. About the same proportion was paid by those receiving \$300,000 or more. The remaining three-quarters of the tax was paid by those receiving between \$5,000 and \$300,000.

Most of the income received by those who reported less than \$5,000 a year was secured for some form of personal service. In the higher income groups the proportion was reversed. The overwhelming bulk of the income in these groups arose from some form of property ownership.

Nearly a third of the personal net income was reported by persons engaged in public service. Trade was only slightly behind. Agriculture came third, with not quite a fifth of the reported net income.

Table 3—Incomes Reported from Various Industrial Groups, Personal Returns, 1921

<i>Industrial Group</i>	<i>Number of Businesses Reported</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Net Income</i>
Agriculture and related industries	130,344	9.69
Mining and quarrying	3,871	.47
Manufacturing	55,919	7.87
Construction	33,045	4.65
Transportation and other public utilities	23,886	2.16
Trade	240,486	30.13
Public service, professional, amusements, hotels, etc.	231,395	33.61
Finance, banking, insurance, etc.	26,688	4.08
Special cases, business not sufficiently defined to be classed with any other division	61,740	7.34
Grand total	807,374	100.00

The decrease in the number of very large incomes, to which attention was called in previous years, has continued. The number of those reporting incomes of \$1,000,000 or more was 60 in 1914, the first year of the tax. It rose to 120 in 1915, and reached 206 in 1916. Since then it has dropped, both absolutely and relatively, until in 1921 only 21 such incomes were reported. How much of this apparent drop is due to an actual decrease in the number of large incomes, and how much to improved methods of investment and to deliberate evasion, particularly on the part of the large income receivers, it is difficult to say. On the other hand, the law affected at the beginning only those receiving incomes of \$3,000 or more. By amendment in 1917 it was made to apply to persons receiving \$1,000 or more, and in 1921 it was made to

apply in certain cases to persons receiving less than \$1,000. Yet in 1921 only a few more than 6,500,000 persons were affected by the law—or about one-sixth of the more than 41,500,000 gainfully occupied persons in the country.

Table 4—Number of Personal Incomes Reported, 1918-1921

<i>Income Group</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>
Under \$1,000				401,849
\$1,000 to \$2,000	1,516,938	1,924,872	2,671,950	2,440,544
\$2,000 to \$3,000	1,496,878	1,569,741	2,569,316	2,222,031
\$3,000 to \$5,000	932,336	1,180,488	1,337,116	1,072,146
\$5,000 to \$10,000	319,356	438,851	455,442	353,247
\$10,000 to \$25,000	116,569	162,485	171,830	132,344
\$25,000 to \$50,000	28,542	37,477	38,548	28,946
\$50,000 to \$100,000	9,996	13,320	12,093	8,717
\$100,000 to \$150,000	2,358	2,983	2,191	1,367
\$150,000 to \$300,000	1,514	1,864	1,063	739
\$300,000 to \$500,000	382	425	239	162
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	178	189	123	63
\$1,000,000 and over	67	65	33	21
Total	4,425,114	5,332,760	7,259,944	6,662,176

Corporation Incomes.—A total of 356,397 corporations filed income tax returns in 1921. More than half of these reported no net income, but a deficit. More than half of those declaring a net income reported having received less than \$2,000.

Table 5—Corporation Incomes, 1921

<i>Income Class Reporting Net Income:</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Net Income</i>
\$0 to \$2,000	75,451	\$61,895,581
\$2,000 to \$5,000	40,402	124,049,405
\$5,000 to \$10,000	20,134	142,168,065
\$10,000 to \$50,000	25,327	547,473,491
\$50,000 to \$100,000	4,595	320,442,399
\$100,000 to \$250,000	3,108	478,376,439
\$250,000 to \$500,000	1,136	391,713,873
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	555	380,316,893
\$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000	461	918,041,802
\$5,000,000 and over	70	971,569,865
Total	171,239	\$4,336,047,813
Reporting no net income	185,158	13,878,219,134
Grand Total	356,397	457,828,679

As just stated, more than half of the corporations which filed returns reported no net income but a deficit. Considering only those which reported a net income, the largest amount of net income was made in manufacturing, with transportation and other public utilities second, and finance, banking, insurance, etc., third. The net income of all those corporations reporting a net income amounted to less than one-twelfth of their gross income.

¹Deficit.

Table 6—Incomes of Corporations Reporting a Net Income, by Industrial Groups, 1921

<i>Industrial Groups</i>	<i>Gross Income</i>	<i>Total Deductions</i>	<i>Net Income</i>
Agriculture and related industries	\$371,039,406	\$330,321,214	\$40,718,192
Mining and quarrying	1,728,765,475	1,543,631,552	185,133,923
Manufacturing	24,422,077,076	22,644,291,468	1,777,785,608
Construction	1,281,614,507	1,214,279,139	67,335,368
Transportation and other public utilities	7,187,369,107 ¹	6,365,497,653 ¹	821,871,454
Trade	17,570,065,920	16,998,120,623	571,945,297
Public service—professional, amusements, hotels, etc. ..	1,312,596,853	1,207,724,299	104,872,554
Finance, banking, insurance, etc.	5,797,975,438	5,058,678,633	739,296,805
Combinations — predominant industry not ascertainable.	379,619,547	352,530,935	27,088,612
Total	\$60,051,123,329	\$55,715,075,516	\$4,336,047,813

The nature and extent of the deductions allowed from gross income in order to calculate net income are shown in the following table. All the corporations in the country, after all deductions were made, showed only one-half of 1 per cent of their gross incomes left to pay federal income tax on. After payment of the federal income tax, the corporations as a whole showed a deficit for 1921 of \$243,746,753.

Table 7—Deductions from Corporation Gross Incomes, 1921, in Percentages of Gross Income

<i>Industrial Group</i>	<i>Cost of Goods</i>	<i>Compensation of Officers</i>	<i>Interest Paid</i>	<i>Domestic Tax</i>	<i>Exhaustion, Amortization and Depreciation</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Expenses</i>	<i>Total Deductions</i>
Agriculture and related industries	48.87	2.70	4.40	3.11	4.90	43.09	107.07
Mining and quarrying	53.98	1.64	2.76	2.23	13.09	32.20	105.90
Manufacturing	72.20	2.29	1.66	1.15	2.99	20.02	100.31
Construction	62.43	4.74	1.97	.89	2.46	26.62	99.11
Transportation and other public utilities (data incomplete) .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Trade	80.57	2.35	.81	.51	.61	15.35	100.20
Public service — professional, amusements, hotels, etc.	23.60	5.44	1.92	1.97	3.75	59.97	96.65
Finance, banking, insurance, etc.	23.67	4.97	14.35	3.91	1.76	46.36	95.02
Combinations — predominant industry not ascertainable	60.98	2.19	3.65	2.02	4.06	31.79	104.69
Inactive concerns	82.83	19.06	3.10	2.45	2.49	22.29	132.22
Total	62.31	2.48	3.44	1.61	2.82	26.84	99.50

¹Gross income and total deductions incomplete.

Nearly a fourth of the net income reported by corporations was received by 70 businesses having incomes of \$5,000,000 or over. More than two-fifths was received by 531 businesses with incomes of \$1,000,000 or over. As in the case of individual incomes, the few large corporate units have the bulk of the income.

The Workers' Share.—In determining the share the manufacturing wage-earner receives of the values created in his place of employment, the cost of materials must first be deducted from the total value of the finished product. This will give the new value added by manufacture. From 1899 to 1919 the ratio of the wage and salary bills to the value added by manufacture has been:

Table 8—Percentage Ratio of Wage and Salary Bill to Value Added by Manufacture¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Wages</i>	<i>Salaries</i>
1899	41.5	8.5
1904	41.5	9.0
1909	40.2	11.0
1914	41.3	13.0
1919	42.1	11.5

These figures for manufactures alone agree closely with the estimate of the National Bureau of Economic Research for all industries. That Bureau places the percentage of net value product in all industries received by employees in 1918 as wages or salaries at 54.0.²

CONCENTRATION OF INDUSTRY

Development toward Large Scale Production.—While the number of persons engaged in manufactures increased 30.9 per cent, the number of establishments increased only 5.2 per cent. The period 1914-1919 therefore carried out to a fuller extent the tendency toward concentration clearly indicated in the preceding period 1909-1914, when the number engaged in manufacturing increased 7.6 per cent, while the number of establishments increased only 2.7 per cent. Furthermore, the small increase, 2.5 per cent, in the number of proprietors and firm members is not equal to the increase

¹Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VIII, *Manufactures*, 1919.

²National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States*,

in the number of establishments. This fact points to an increase in the number of establishments owned by stockholders over those owned by individual proprietors.

Growth of Manufactures.—The development of manufactures from 1914 to 1919 was:

Table 9—Manufactures in United States, 1914 and 1919¹

	1914	1919	Per Cent Increase
Number of establishments	275,791	290,105	5.2
Persons engaged	8,263,063	10,812,736	30.9
Proprietors and firm members..	262,599	269,137	2.5
Salaried employees	964,217	1,447,227	50.1
Wage-earners (average number)	7,036,247	9,096,372	29.3
Primary horse power	22,437,072	29,504,792	31.5
Capital	\$22,790,979,937	\$44,466,593,771	95.1
Salaries and wages	5,354,249,384	13,425,771,834	150.7
Salaries	1,275,916,951	2,892,371,494	126.7
Wages	4,078,332,433	10,533,400,340	158.3
Paid for contract work	198,876,826	464,403,700	133.5
Rent and taxes	582,039,665	2,291,412,446	293.7
Cost of materials	14,368,088,831	37,376,380,283	160.1
Value of products	24,246,434,724	62,418,078,773	157.4
Value added by manufacture	9,878,345,893	25,041,698,490	153.5

NUMBER OF WAGE-EARNERS

Number Gainfully Occupied.—Of the total population of more than 105,710,620 in the United States at the 1920 Census, 41,614,248 persons 10 years of age or over, or half the total population of those ages, were gainfully occupied. The number both of males and of females gainfully occupied increased since 1910. The proportion of gainfully employed persons to the total population, however, declined slightly from the high point of 1910.

Table 10—Persons 10 Years of Age and Over Gainfully Occupied in the United States, 1900-1920

Year and Sex	Total Population	Number Gainfully Occupied	Per Cent of Total Population	Per Cent of Population 10 Years of Age and Over
<i>Male</i>				
1900	38,816,448	23,753,836	61.2	80.0
1910	47,332,277	30,091,564	63.6	81.3
1920	53,900,431	33,064,737	61.3	78.2
<i>Female</i>				
1900	37,178,127	5,319,397	14.3	18.8
1910	44,639,989	8,075,772	18.1	23.4
1920	51,810,189	8,549,511	16.5	21.1
<i>Both Sexes</i>				
1900	75,994,575	29,073,233	38.3	50.2
1910	91,972,266	38,167,336	41.5	53.3
1920	105,710,620	41,614,248	39.4	50.3

¹Fourteenth Census of the United States. Vol. VIII, *Manufactures*.

Occupations.—Manufacturing and mechanical industries lead in number of persons occupied. Farming comes second, trade third, transportation fourth, and domestic and personal service fifth.

Table 11—Occupations of Gainfully Occupied Persons, 1920¹

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>—Total—</i>	
			<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry—				
Proprietors, officials and managers	5,338,047	163,695	5,501,742	50.2
Laborers	4,528,953	920,379	5,449,332	49.8
Total	9,867,000	1,084,074	10,951,074	100.0
Extraction of minerals—				
Proprietors, officials and managers	28,271	339	28,610	2.6
Semi-skilled workers ..	507,796	1,245	509,041	46.7
Laborers	551,290	1,913	553,203	50.7
Total	1,087,357	3,497	1,090,854	100.0
Manufacturing and mechanical industries—				
Proprietors, officials and managers	652,898	7,724	660,622	5.2
Skilled workers	4,613,814	75,312	4,689,126	36.6
Semi-skilled workers ..	2,491,895	1,755,337	4,247,232	33.1
Laborers	3,123,030	92,691	3,215,721	25.1
Total	10,881,637	1,931,064	12,812,701	100.0
Transportation—				
Proprietors, officials and managers	202,495	3,857	206,352	6.7
Clerks and kindred workers	256,684	198,621	455,305	14.8
Skilled workers	225,311	214	225,525	7.4
Semi-skilled workers ..	644,562	3,857	648,419	21.2
Laborers	1,522,991	7,713	1,530,704	49.9
Total	2,852,043	214,262	3,066,305	100.0
Trade—				
Proprietors, officials and managers	1,511,986	103,837	1,615,823	38.1
Clerks and kindred workers	1,515,560	547,324	2,062,884	48.6
Semi-skilled workers ..	343,146	12,059	355,205	8.4
Laborers	203,743	6,699	210,442	4.9
Total	3,574,435	669,919	4,244,354	100.0
Public service (not elsewhere classified)—				
Public officials	195,415	20,656	216,071	28.0
Semi-public officials (not elsewhere classified) .	441,742	538	442,280	57.4
Laborers	111,559	1,210	112,769	14.6
Total	748,716	22,404	771,120	100.0

¹United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1922. Slight discrepancy in totals between this table and the preceding is due to revisions in Census reports.

Occupation	Males	Females	—Total—	
			Number	Per Cent
Professional service—				
Professional persons	1,123,659	1,005,128	2,128,787	98.9
Semi-skilled workers . .	12,498	11,179	23,677	1.1
Total	1,136,157	1,016,307	2,152,464	100.0
Domestic and personal service—				
Proprietors, officials and managers	218,907	146,342	365,249	10.7
Semi-skilled workers . .	260,256	340,737	600,993	17.7
Servants	736,988	1,697,135	2,434,123	71.6
Total	1,216,151	2,184,214	3,400,365	100.0
Clerical occupations—				
Clerks and kindred workers	1,696,297	1,423,658	3,119,955	100.0
All occupations	33,059,793	8,549,399	41,609,192	100.0

Wage and Salaried Workers.—Of the 41,609,192 persons whose occupations have just been given, approximately 32,710,495 were wage or salaried workers, 520,299 were independent professionals, and 8,378,398 were proprietors or managers. The largest proportion of proprietors or managers was found in agriculture, where over 5,000,000 persons, or more than half of the total number in the industry, were in that class, either as land-owning or as tenant farmers.

Table 12—Wage and Salaried Workers in the United States, 1920¹

	—Males—		—Females—		—Total—	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Wage and salaried workers						
Skilled workers . . .	4,839,125	14.6	75,526	.9	4,914,651	11.8
Semi-skilled workers	4,260,153	12.9	2,124,414	24.8	6,384,567	15.3
Clerks and kindred workers	3,468,541	10.5	2,169,603	25.4	5,638,144	13.6
Professionally trained workers	669,237	2.1	939,251	11.0	1,608,488	3.9
Public service	637,157	1.9	21,194	.2	658,351	1.6
Laborers	10,941,566	30.4	1,030,605	12.1	11,072,171	26.6
Servants	736,988	2.2	1,697,135	19.8	2,434,123	5.9
Total	24,652,767	74.6	8,057,728	94.2	32,710,495	78.7
Independent professionals	454,422	1.3	65,877	.8	520,299	1.2
Proprietors, officials, and managers . .	7,952,604	24.1	425,794	5.0	8,378,398	20.1
All occupations . .	33,059,793	100.0	8,549,399	100.0	41,609,192	100.0

In making the above estimate, the status of the individual as employee, self-employer, or employer, has been taken as the basis of division, instead of size of income, period of

¹Adapted from United States *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1922, and *Abstract of Occupation Statistics*, 1923.

payment, or class loyalty, which are often used. Hence county, state and United States officials, marshals, sheriffs, detectives, policemen, soldiers, sailors, and marines have been included in the public service group of wage or salaried workers, along with life savers, fire fighters, and garbage men, because they are definitely employees. On the other hand, tenant farmers are included among the self-employers, along with small shopkeepers, although the economic condition of many in both groups is worse than the condition of many wage-earners. Among the professionals, actors, musicians, editors and reporters, clergymen, technical engineers, architects, librarians, college professors, and the large class of school teachers have been listed as employees, while physicians, dentists, lawyers and authors are counted as independent professionals.

WAGES

Representative Wage Rates.—At the beginning of 1922 money wages were being pushed rapidly downward from 1920 levels by the "deflation of labor" campaign. Determined union resistance to further cuts, and reviving industry during the latter part of the year and early 1923, Table 13—Average Weekly Earnings in New York State Factories¹

<i>Industry</i>	<i>July 1914</i>	<i>Sept. 1920</i>	<i>Sept. 1921</i>	<i>Sept. 1922</i>	<i>Sept. 1923</i>
Stone, clay and glass prods..	\$13.04	\$31.74	\$24.80	\$26.23	\$29.63
Brick, tile and pottery....	11.28	28.01	21.41	22.83	26.85
Metals, mach., and convey- ances	14.26	32.38	26.24	27.77	30.37
Pig iron and rolling mills.	16.20	42.68	25.76	29.77	35.16
Boat and ship building....	16.69	36.27	29.87	28.44	33.87
Wood manufactures	12.03	27.94	24.68	25.12	27.12
Saw and planing mill prods.	13.03	28.21	24.94	25.64	28.28
Furs, leather and rubber goods	11.66	26.73	24.71	24.63	24.68
Boots and shoes	12.20	27.69	24.72	24.69	24.42
Chemicals, oils, paints	13.17	27.95	26.26	25.49	27.34
Paper	13.44	33.61	26.12	26.25	28.46
Printing and paper goods....	15.59	29.69	30.36	31.41	32.34
Textiles	9.40	23.20	20.57	20.26	22.30
Wool manufactures	9.97	25.80	23.12	23.56	25.34
Cotton goods	9.26	22.88	20.06	19.96	22.26
Clothing, millinery, laundry..	10.55	23.14	24.06	24.10	23.07
Men's clothing	11.78	24.73	28.12	26.68	25.76
Women's clothing	12.95	30.15	30.84	32.85	28.16
Food, beverages and tobacco	11.50	26.07	23.46	23.35	25.09
Meat and dairy products..	14.52	31.24	27.63	27.41	30.10
Bread and bakery products	11.22	26.48	25.55	24.01	25.10
Water, light, power	15.48	35.25	33.43	32.36	33.37
All industries	\$12.54	\$28.73	\$25.07	\$25.71	\$27.41

¹New York State Department of Labor, *The Labor Market Bulletin*, July 1920: *The Industrial Bulletin*, April and October, 1922, April and November, 1923.

checked the decline and led to an upward movement in many industries. In the summer of 1923 this new series of wage increases was temporarily halted. During the autumn the rising tendency was resumed. Money wage rates at the close of the two-year period were higher than they were at its beginning, but were still on the whole somewhat below what they were in 1920.

Table 14—Average Weekly Earnings in Illinois¹

Industry	—Payroll Nearest to—			
	July 15, 1922	December 15, 1922	June 15, 1923	October 15, 1923
Stone, glass, and clay products...	\$20.91	\$24.63	\$27.99	\$28.55
Metals, machinery, and conveyances	23.72	26.93	29.57	29.92
Wood products	27.36	25.74	26.71	27.94
Furs and leather goods	20.34	21.69	21.33	21.55
Chemicals, oils, paints, etc.....	21.39	24.74	26.06	26.88
Printing and paper goods	31.79	31.47	31.54	32.20
Textiles	17.62	16.44	16.43	19.20
Clothing, millinery, and laundering	25.47	24.52	30.46	26.22
Food, beverages, and tobacco.....	21.64	22.56	27.12	26.48
All manufacturing industries	23.72	25.42	28.33	28.20
Trade—wholesale and retail .....	.....	.....	19.30	22.42
Public utilities	30.18	29.21	29.63	29.59
Coal mining .....	.....	37.96	32.19	35.16
Building and contracting	30.32	32.55	37.07	39.37
Grand average	\$24.08	\$27.07	\$28.71	\$28.80

Table 15—Building Trades Union Daily Wage Rates and Agreed Bonuses, New York City, 1923

Asbestos workers	\$10.00	Portable engineers	12.00
Bluestone cutters	10.00	Plumbers	10.00
Bricklayers	12.00	House shorers	10.00
Bricklayers' laborers	8.00	Metallic lathers	10.00
Carpenters	10.00	Mosaic workers	10.00
Cement masons	10.00	Painters	10.00
Cement and concrete laborers	7.20	Plasterers	12.00
Composition roofers	10.00	Plasterers' laborers	8.50
Electrical workers	10.00	Steamfitters	10.00
Elevator constructors	10.00	Tile layers	10.00

Table 16—Bituminous Miners' Average Half-Month Earnings, Fall and Winter, 1921-1922²

Occupation	Number	Half-Month Earnings	Occupation	Number	Half-Month Earnings
Inside—			Pumpmen	452	\$80.90
Loaders	22,611	\$59.65	Trackmen	1,393	72.05
Hand or pick			Trapper boys ...	393	34.09
miners	8,429	59.66	Outside—		
Machine miners	2,356	96.00	Blacksmiths	339	87.42
Brakemen	1,333	60.18	Carpenters	427	71.23
Bratticemen	986	70.26	Engineers	267	99.50
Cagers	185	77.82	Firemen	327	87.24
Drivers	2,080	64.84	Laborers	2,406	55.08
Laborers	2,965	56.34			
Motormen	1,298	68.52			

¹Illinois Department of Labor, *The Employment Bulletin*, July and December, 1922, June, 1923; *The Labor Bulletin*, December, 1923.

²Based on sample data from representative mines in the principal coal fields. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1922.

Table 17—Railroad Employees' Average Daily Wage Rates, 1923

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Average Daily Wage Rate</i>
Supervisory force .....	.....	\$6.88
Clerical and station	334,000	4.45
Maintenance of way	580,000	3.24
Shop employees	455,000	5.03
Telegraphers, etc.	67,000	4.78
Engine service	153,000	4.39-7.43
Train service	206,000	4.41-6.37
Stationary engineers, etc.	9,000	4.54
Signal department	16,000	5.35
Marine department	10,000	4.13
Total	1,830,000	

Table 18—Railroad Employees by Wage Groups, 1923

<i>Average Daily Wage Rate</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Average Daily Wage Rate</i>	<i>Cumulative Number</i>
Under \$3.00	389,494	Under \$3.00	389,494
\$3.00 to 3.99	218,704	Under 4.00	608,198
4.00 to 4.99	396,857	Under 5.00	1,005,055
5.00 to 5.99	415,361	Under 6.00	1,420,416
6.00 to 6.99	99,750	Under 7.00	1,520,166
7.00 to 7.43	47,923	Under 7.43	1,568,089

Table 19—Teachers' Yearly Wages, Cities, 1922-1923¹

<i>Position</i>	<i>Cities over 100,000 Population</i>	<i>Cities 30,000 to 100,000</i>	<i>Cities 10,000 to 30,000</i>	<i>Cities 5,000 to 10,000</i>	<i>Cities 2,500 to 5,000</i>	<i>All Cities</i>
Kindergarten	\$1,791	\$1,462	\$1,318	\$1,264	\$1,193	.....
Elementary	1,876	1,467	1,277	1,200	1,105	.....
Kindergarten and elementary	1,871	1,466	1,289	1,204	1,108	\$1,653
Junior high-school	2,136	1,665	1,439	1,370	1,271	1,797
Senior high-school	2,487	1,917	1,670	1,567	1,469	2,101
Special class	2,071	1,653	1,586	1,463	1,463	1,928
School nurses	1,423	1,395	1,510	1,425	1,388	1,427

Table 20—Farm Hands' Average Wages²

<i>Year</i>	<i>—By the month—</i>		<i>Day Labor —at Harvest—</i>		<i>Day Labor —Not at Harvest—</i>	
	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>
1913	\$21.38	\$30.31	\$1.57	\$1.94	\$1.16	\$1.50
1919	39.82	56.29	3.15	3.83	2.45	3.12
1920	46.89	64.95	3.60	4.36	2.86	3.59
1921	30.14	43.32	2.24	2.79	1.68	2.18
1922	29.17	41.79	2.20	2.72	1.65	2.15

Women's and Men's Wages.—In June, 1923, factory wages for men in New York State were about \$31.50 and for women about \$16.50. In New York City and upstate, respectively, wages of men were about \$32.50 and \$31.00

¹National Education Association, *Teachers' Salaries and Salary Trends in 1923*.

²United States Department of Agriculture, *Year Book, 1922*.

and wages of women were about \$18.50 and \$15.00. Thus in New York City women's wages are not much more than half those of men, and upstate they are not half so large.

Real Wages.—The worker's purchasing power, or real wage, depends not only on the amount of money wages he receives, but on the price of the goods he buys.¹ In New York City, where the increase in prices has been somewhat larger than for the country as a whole, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates that the cost of living, taking the figure for December, 1914, as 100, has been:²

September, 1920	210 ³	September, 1922	170
September, 1921	180	September, 1923	175

Average weekly earnings in New York State factories, as gathered by the New York State Department of Labor, were presented on page 21. Combining the money wages there shown with the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics index of the cost of living just cited, a moderately correct index may be secured of the trend of the workers' real wages. The showing for New York State factories is fairly representative of the situation in other industries and in other states. The index indicates an increase in real wages for 1922 and 1923, continuing the rise which set in during the war.

Table 21—Index Numbers of Real Wages in New York State Factories

<i>Industry</i>	<i>July</i> <i>1914</i>	<i>Sept.</i> <i>1920</i>	<i>Sept.</i> <i>1921</i>	<i>Sept.</i> <i>1922</i>	<i>Sept.</i> <i>1923</i>
Stone, clay, and glass prods.	100	116	106	118	130
Brick, tile, and pottery	100	118	106	119	136
Metals, mach., and conveyances ..	100	108	102	115	122
Pig iron and rolling mills	100	125	88	108	124
Boat and ship building	100	103	99	100	116
Wood manufactures	100	106	114	123	129
Saw and planing mill prods.....	100	103	107	116	124
Furs, leather, and rubber goods.....	100	109	118	124	121
Boots and shoes	100	108	113	119	114
Chemicals, oils, paints	100	101	111	114	119
Paper	100	119	108	115	121
Printing and paper goods	100	90	108	118	118
Textiles	100	118	122	126	135
Wool manufactures	100	123	129	139	145
Cotton goods	100	118	121	126	137
Clothing, millinery, laundry	100	104	127	134	125
Men's clothing	100	100	128	133	120
Women's clothing	100	111	137	139	124
Food, beverages, tobacco	100	108	113	119	125
Meat and dairy products	100	102	106	111	118
Bread and bakery products	100	112	127	126	128
Water, light, power	100	109	120	123	123
All industries	100	109	111	119	125

¹See p. 25.

²United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1923.

³Average between June and December.

COST OF LIVING

Changes in Cost of Living.—The cost of living figures collected in 32 cities by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics showed in September, 1923, an increase of 72.1 per cent over the average for 1913. Quarterly figures since 1920 are:

Table 22—Cost of Living Index, United States¹
(Average for 1913 = 100)

<i>Month</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
March .....	.....	.....	166.9	168.8
June	216.5	180.4	166.6	169.7
September .....	.....	177.3	166.3	172.1
December	200.4	174.3	169.5	.....

The September cost of living expenditures, as compared with the 1913 averages, show the following increases over 1913 by items:

Food 49.3 per cent, clothing 76.5, housing 64.4, fuel and light 81.3, furniture and furnishings 122.4, and miscellaneous 101.1 per cent.

In the total cost of living the Bureau apportions 38.2 per cent of the total expenditures for food, 16.6 for clothing, 13.4 for housing, 5.3 for fuel and light, 5.1 for furniture and furnishings, and 21.3 per cent for miscellaneous.

Budget Estimates.—In 1919 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated the minimum amount of food, clothing, housing, and other essentials necessary for a family of father, mother, and three children. The estimate was intended to establish a "bottom level of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical or moral deterioration." The family living wage would consist of sufficient money to purchase the required articles and services. This "minimum health and decency quantity budget" has been priced in many cities as a basis for wage demands. According to the Labor Bureau, Inc., New York, the quantity budget would have cost in various cities in June, 1923:

Table 23—Minimum Health and Decency Budget Priced by the Labor Bureau, Inc., Corrected to June, 1923

<i>City</i>	<i>Budget</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Budget</i>
Brooklyn	\$2,282.03	Philadelphia	\$2,283.11
Chicago	2,430.93	Reading	2,079.87
Los Angeles	2,581.94	Rochester	2,184.96
Minneapolis	2,541.93	San Francisco	2,535.42
New York	2,256.21	Schenectady	1,995.93

¹United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1923.

HOURS

Trend toward Shorter Hours.—The average working week in the United States in the first quarter of 1922 was estimated at 50.3 hours, a reduction of 36 minutes in the preceding two years. Figures for the first quarter of the three years were:

Table 24—Average Weekly Full-Time Hours¹

Industry	First Quarter 1920	First Quarter 1922	Industry	First Quarter 1920	First Quarter 1922
Agriculture	53.8	53.6	Commerce and trade	53.2	52.9
Extraction of min- erals	50.5	49.4	Wholesale	50.1	50.3
Building and con- struction	46.3	42.9	Retail	53.5	53.2
Other hand trades..	51.2	51.5	All factories	50.3	49.6
Finance	45.9	45.8	Food, drink, tobac- co.	51.1	51.6
Public and profes- sional service	48.8	47.6	Lumber and its prod- ucts	53.4	52.4
Domestic and pers. service	57.1	56.7	Metals and metal products	51.0	50.2
All transportation ..	49.3	49.2	Paper and printing ..	48.3	47.8
Steam railways ..	48.2	48.1	Mineral products ..	50.4	50.7
Other transporta- tion	51.4	50.7	Textile and leather products	47.5	47.2
			All Industries	50.9	50.3

The trend toward shorter hours shown in the above figures is a continuation of the development which marked the preceding decade. The proportion of wage-earners working 48 hours or less a week has increased from about one-twelfth in 1909 to nearly half in 1919.

Table 25—Wage-Earners in Establishments with Specified Number of Hours²

Hours a Week	—Average Number—			— Per Cent of Total—		
	1909	1914	1919	1909	1914	1919
44 and under.....			1,111,107	....	....	12.2
48 and under	523,652	833,330	4,418,693	7.9	11.8	48.6
Between 48 and 54	481,157	945,745	1,496,177	7.3	13.4	16.4
54	1,019,438	1,818,390	828,353	15.4	25.8	9.1
Between 54 and 60	1,999,307	1,543,018	1,248,854	30.2	22.1	13.7
60	2,017,280	1,487,891	827,745	30.5	21.1	9.1
Between 60 and 72	344,011	247,798	276,550	5.2	3.5	3.0
72	116,083	104,294		1.8	1.5	
Over 72	114,118	55,881		1.7	.8	
Total	6,615,046	7,036,337	9,096,372	100.0	100.0	100.0

Twelve-Hour Day.—In 1923 the Committee on Work Periods of the Federated American Engineering Societies estimated that about 300,000 wage-earners, out of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 in continuous industries, were work-

¹National Bureau of Economic Research, *Employment, Hours, and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression*.

²United States Census reports on *Manufactures*.

ing on 12-hour shifts. Iron and steel was the most important industry maintaining the 12-hour day.

Agitation against these long hours was reawakened in connection with a projected new drive by the American Federation of Labor to organize the steel workers. At a dinner to leading employers in the steel industry, President Harding in 1922 urged adoption of the eight-hour day. A few days later Judge Gary, as president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, appointed another committee, with himself at its head, to investigate the question. The committee's report, read by Gary at a meeting of the Institute on May 25, 1923, stated that in its opinion the twelve-hour day in steel was not necessarily injurious physically, mentally, or morally, and that the present shortage of labor made it impossible to shorten hours without seriously curtailing needed production. The labor movement protested vehemently against this report. So did Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish church groups representing 50,000,000 persons, which condemned the twelve-hour day as morally indefensible. Engineers like Harrison E. Howe of the Federated Engineering Societies pointed out that profits need not be injured but that labor costs in many cases could even be cut if the change to an eight-hour day were made carefully. J. F. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller interest, reported that for five years his plants had demonstrated that the eight-hour day was practicable. The unionizing campaign, though not very active, gathered support among the steel workers. Men were hard to attract into the mills, in view of better conditions elsewhere, and there was little idle surplus of unskilled labor which might be used to break a strike. Finally, in July, Gary declared that the steel corporation was ready to move toward an eight-hour day, and that 600,000 men would be needed to make the change. In the middle of August the first units of blast furnace workers were put on the three-shift basis at Gary and South Chicago. The movement spread slowly to other plants. At the close of 1923 the twelve-hour day still existed in the making of iron and steel, and was prevalent in cement, beet sugar, salt, cottonseed oil, and paper.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Number of Unemployed.—The National Unemployment Conference called by President Harding in September, 1921, found that in the first quarter of 1922 there were 5,033,000

fewer workers employed in American industries than at the time of maximum employment in the third quarter of 1920. This was a cyclical decline of 14.06 per cent.

Table 26—Estimated Number on Pay Rolls of All Industries, Continental United States¹

	1920	1921	1922
First quarter	27,232,000	24,828,000	24,147,000
Second quarter	28,378,000	24,598,000	
Third quarter	29,180,000	25,078,000	
Fourth quarter	27,416,000	24,774,000	

A later study indicated that in ordinary times,

Industrial wage-earners in those states for which data are available lose about 10 per cent of their working time through unemployment, mainly from lack of work and exclusive of idleness due to slackness and labor disputes. On this basis an average of at least a million and a half industrial wage-earners in the United States are constantly unemployed, taking poor and prosperous years together.²

Massachusetts reports on the percentage of trade unionists unemployed because of lack of work or materials show even more marked variations:

Table 27—Percentage of Massachusetts Trade Unionists Unemployed Because of Lack of Work or Materials³

End of—	1913	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
March	7.3	11.2	3.4	21.8	18.8	4.9
June	4.3	2.7	14.2	19.9	12.2	4.8
September	4.3	2.5	16.1	18.8	3.5	3.5
December	7.3	3.8	23.7	23.4	8.7	....

Table 28—Days Lost in the Bituminous Coal Industry⁴

Year	Days Lost	Year	Days Lost
1912	81	1917	61
1913	72	1918	55
1914	109	1919	109
1915	109	1920	84
1916	74	1921	134

The three main causes of lost time in the mining industry are business depression 16 per cent, overdevelopment 37 per cent, and seasonal demand 47 per cent. Time lost on account of strikes is only 10 per cent of the total.

Table 29—Farm Labor Supply and Demand⁵

Year	Farm Labor Supply Per Cent of Normal	Farm Labor Demand Per Cent of Normal	Per Cent of Sup- ply to Demand
1920	72.4	105.3	68.8
1921	95.2	87.5	108.8
1922	99.5	89.3	111.4
1923	83.6	94.6	88.4

¹National Bureau of Economic Research, *Employment, Hours, and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression*.

²United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin 310*, "Industrial Unemployment."

³Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, *Industrial Review*, March, 1923.

⁴Based on figures of United States Geological Survey, assuming 304 days as a full year.

⁵United States Department of Agriculture, *Year Book*, 1922.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

Number and Cost of Industrial Accidents.—The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that there are every year in the United States 2,453,418 industrial accidents, which cause a loss of more than 225,000,000 working days and a wage loss of more than \$1,000,000,000. According to the Bureau:

In general it may be said that the number of industrial accidents has varied directly with the volume of employment. Present indications point to an exceptionally large number of accidents for the year 1923—in some states more than have ever before been reported.

Table 30—Estimated Annual Number of Industrial Accidents in the United States¹

<i>Injury Resulting in</i>	<i>Number of Accidents</i>	<i>Days Lost per Accident</i>	<i>Total Working Days Lost</i>	<i>Total Wage Loss (\$4.50 per Day)</i>
Death	21,232	6,000	127,392,000	\$573,264,000
Permanent total disability	1,728	6,000	10,368,000	46,656,000
Permanent partial disability: Dismemberment or complete loss of use of—				
Arm	1,699	2,550	4,332,450	19,496,025
Hand	2,399	2,010	4,821,990	21,698,955
Thumb or 1 phalange.	6,900	415	2,872,500	12,926,250
Finger or 1 phalange.	35,055	190	6,669,840	30,014,280
2 or more thumbs or fingers	14,820	600	8,892,000	40,014,000
Leg	1,720	2,550	4,386,000	19,737,000
Foot	1,189	1,500	1,783,500	8,025,750
Great toe or 1 pha- lange	1,486	360	303,120	1,364,040
Other toe or 1 pha- lange	849	90	42,030	189,135
Two or more toes	977	120	117,240	527,580
Hearing, 1 ear	149	300	44,700	201,150
Hearing, both ears....	21	2,010	42,210	189,945
Eye	8,089	1,200	9,706,800	43,680,600
Subtotal (dismem- berments, etc.) ..	75,353	....	44,014,380	198,064,710
Disfigurement	1,401	300	420,300	1,891,350
Other permanent partial disability	28,875	....	7,059,677	31,768,547
Total (permanent partial disability).	105,629	....	51,494,357	231,724,607
Temporary total disability of—				
1 week and under ..	918,762	3.5	2,756,286	12,403,287
Over 1 to 2 weeks....	493,856	9	4,531,321	20,354,943
Over 2 to 3 weeks....	304,467	17	4,436,519	19,964,335
Over 3 to 4 weeks....	174,739	24	3,594,631	16,175,840
Over 4 to 8 weeks....	283,659	32	9,276,120	41,742,539
Over 8 to 13 weeks....	85,459	60	5,093,648	22,921,417
Over 13 to 26 weeks..	48,027	104	4,972,459	22,376,067
Over 26 weeks	15,860	240	3,262,629	14,681,831
Total (temporary total disability) ..	2,324,829	....	37,915,613	170,620,259
Grand total	2,453,418	....	227,169,970	\$1,022,264,866

¹United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1923.

Table 31—Estimated Annual Number of Industrial Fatalities in the United States, by Industry¹

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Number of Fatalities</i>	<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>Fatality Rate per 1,000 300- Day Workers</i>
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry			
General farming	2,359	2,335,761	1.02
Gardening, fruit growing, etc.	30	160,083	.20
Lumbermen, woodchoppers, etc.	903	205,315	5.00
Extraction of minerals:			
Coal mining	2,370	780,837	4.08
Metal mining	524	151,792	3.66
Quarrying	135	77,960	2.04
Oil and gas production.....	177	91,022	2.05
Manufacturing:			
Food	247	494,523	.67
Tobacco	2	191,526	.01
Liquors and beverages	24	27,857	1.02
Printing and publishing	31	308,141	.13
Wood products	467	753,806	.70
Glass, clay, and stone products	178	257,942	.78
Leather products	113	388,209	.32
Paper and pulp products....	187	113,620	1.76
Paper goods (boxes)	2	25,508	.08
Chemical and allied products..	324	198,996	1.76
Textiles	137	1,021,864	.20
Laundries, cleaning and dyeing	44	137,320	.34
Clothing	43	719,109	.07
Rubber and composition goods	32	161,530	.23
Iron and steel	571	497,330	1.35
Shipbuilding	200	166,862	1.33
Metal working	1,532	2,393,957	.72
Metal products (not iron and steel)	106	459,201	.26
Miscellaneous industries	773	1,309,909	.66
Construction:			
Road and street building	170	129,829	1.54
Building erection	1,773	2,162,268	1.46
Transportation:			
Water (all occupations except longshoremen)	384	96,067	4.00
Stevedoring	113	85,928	1.76
Road and street (chauffeurs, deliverymen, etc.)	1,625	878,669	2.05
Steam railroads	2,591	1,280,137	2.25
Street railroads	303	177,146	1.90
Telegraph and telephone companies	229	343,879	.74
Other, including pipe lines..	13	29,414	.50
Public utilities:			
Electric light and power....	160	31,366	5.73
Gas and water works and miscellaneous	104	146,418	.79
Trade:			
Stores, etc.	453	1,968,373	.26
Warehouses, etc.	333	131,442	2.84

¹United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1923.

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Number of Fatalities</i>	<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>Fatality Rate per 1,000 300- Day Workers</i>
Clerical and professional service: Agents, inspectors, etc. (out- side)	99	708,167	.18
Office employees	89	2,950,769	.04
Professional employments ...	99	1,655,337	.08
Care and custody of buildings and grounds	250	373,160	.74
Domestic and personal service	178	2,546,739	.08
Firemen	80	50,771	1.76
Policemen, sheriffs, etc.	431	116,621	4.10
Miscellaneous occupations	244	387,283	.66
Total	21,232	29,679,763	....

Principal Coal Mine Disasters.—There have been in the United States 19 mine disasters in which 100 or more men were killed, and since January 1, 1916, nine disasters in which 25 or more have died.

Table 32—Principal Coal Mine Disasters¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location of Mine</i>	<i>Nature of Accident</i>	<i>Killed</i>
1869 Sept. 6	Plymouth, Pa.	Mine fire	179
1884 Mar. 13	Pocahontas, Va.	Explosion	112
1891 Jan. 27	Mount Pleasant, Pa.	Gas explosion	112
1892 Jan. 7	Krebs, Okla.	Explosion	100
1900 May 1	Scofield, Utah	Coal-dust explosion	200
1902 May 19	Coal Creek, Tenn.	Coal-dust explosion	184
1902 July 10	Johnstown, Pa.	Gas explosion	112
1903 June 30	Hanna, Wyo.	Mine explosion and fire	169
1904 Jan. 25	Cheswick, Pa.	Coal-dust explosion	179
1905 Feb. 20	Virginia City, Ala.	Coal-dust explosion	108
1907 Dec. 6	Monongah, W. Va.	Coal-dust explosion	361
1907 Dec. 19	Jacobs Creek, Pa.	Coal-dust explosion	239
1908 Nov. 28	Marianna, Pa.	Coal-dust explosion	154
1909 Nov. 13	Cherry, Ill.	Mine fire	259
1911 Apr. 8	Littleton, Ala.	Coal-dust explosion	128
1913 Oct. 22	Dawson, N. Mex.	Coal-dust explosion	263
1914 Apr. 28	Eccles, W. Va.	Gas explosion	181
1915 Mar. 2	Layland, W. Va.	Coal-dust explosion	112
1916 Feb. 11	Ernest, Pa.	Gas explosion	27
1916 Nov. 4	Palos, Ala.	Gas explosion	30
1917 Apr. 27	Hastings, Colo.	Coal-dust explosion	121
1917 Aug. 4	Clay, Ky.	Gas explosion	62
1919 June 5	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Powder explosion	92
1922 Feb. 2	Brownsville, Pa.	Coal-dust explosion	25
1922 Nov. 6	Spangler, Pa.	Gas explosion	77
1922 Nov. 22	Dolomite, Ala.	Coal-dust explosion	90
1923 Aug. 14	Kemmerer, Wyo.	Gas explosion	97
1923 Nov. 7	Glen Rogers, W. Va.	Coal-dust explosion	27

Accidents to Working Children.—The accident rate among working children is extremely high. In a Connecticut textile mill, 301 out of 1,164 accidents, or over 25 per cent, were to employees under 20 years of age. During one year in Massachusetts there were 1,691 industrial accidents to children under 16 years of age; 10 were fatal. In four years, 4,663 industrial accidents, 10 of which were fatal, occurred

¹United States Department of Mines, *Coal Mine Fatalities in the United States, 1922*. Last two disasters added.

to children under 16. In the same period there were 59 fatal accidents to children of 16 and 17, although the state law prohibits employment of children under 18 in extra-hazardous occupations. Figures issued by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company show 43 industrial fatalities among its boy policy-holders 13 to 17 years old. Eight of these deaths occurred in mines and quarries, seven in machinery accidents, six were caused by vehicles, three on railroads, and three were due to electricity.

Accidents and Labor Turnover.—A study of 28,939 industrial accidents in relation to labor turnover made at Indiana University showed approximately one accident to each new man hired.¹ This ratio is four times as large as the ratio of accidents to total number of men on the payroll. Monthly number of accidents varied directly with the number of new employees.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE

Lead Poisoning.—Lead poisoning remains the most prevalent industrial disease among American workers. A recent study in the pottery trades, conducted by the United States Public Health Service, showed 270 employees out of 1,809 examined, or 15 out of every 100, to be suffering from some form of the disease. An examination of 400 painters by the New York City Department of Health showed that 60 per cent had lead poisoning. Among these, 40 per cent had the disease to a marked degree, 9 per cent had it in latent form, and 11 per cent had it in various intermediate stages.

Benzene and Anthracene.—A new industrial disease hazard lies in the growing use of benzene instead of petroleum benzin as a solvent. It is a more powerful solvent than benzin for fats, gums, and resins, and is also cheaper. The fumes are much more dangerous. Anthracene, used in the dye industry, has been found to produce cancer of the skin among workers handling the crude anthracene cake. Zinc oxide dust causes a form of dermatitis known as "oxide pox."

Industrial Health Hazards.—Among the health hazards in industry are abnormalities of temperature, air pressure, humidity, or light; infections; repeated motions and jars; and no fewer than 52 common poisons.

¹*Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, Boston, July, 1923.

Table 33—Industrial Health Hazards¹

<i>Hazard</i>	<i>Industries Which Offer Such Exposure</i>
<i>Temperature:</i>	
1. Extreme dry heat....	Iron, steel, smelting, glass, enameling
2. Variations of temperature	Artificial ice, baking, laundries, paper, rubber
<i>Air pressure:</i>	
1. Compressed air	Caissons, tunnels, diving
<i>Humidity:</i>	
1. Dampness	Acid dipping, tanning, laundries, textiles, dyeing
<i>Dust:</i>	
1. Inorganic dust	Stone cutting, mining, buffing, grinding, sand blasting
2. Organic dust	Baking, flour, tobacco, fur, textiles
<i>Light:</i>	
1. Extreme light	Blacksmithing, foundries, glass, welding
2. Poor illumination ...	Buffing, caissons, typesetting, embroidery, printing
<i>Infections:</i>	
1. Anthrax	Tanning, brushes, fur, wool, longshore work
2. Hookworm	Mines, quarries, bricks, trench digging
3. Septic infections....	Butchering, fertilizer, feathers, shoddy, soap
<i>Motion, Jar.</i>	
1. Repeated motion, jar.	Writing, telegraphing, use of pneumatic tools, mining
<i>Poisons:</i>	
1. Acetaldehyde	Celluloid, dyes, explosives, mirrors
2. Acridine	Dyes
3. Acrolein	Bone and fat rendering, linoleum, soap, varnish
4. Ammonia	Artificial ice, artificial silk, dyes, gas
5. Amyl acetate	Alcohol, dry batteries, polishing, explosives
6. Amyl alcohol	Alcohol, dyes, flavoring
7. Aniline	Dyes, explosives, feather work, rubber
8. Antimony	Brass, colors, fire works, rubber, glazing
9. Arsenic	Artif'l flowers, felt hats, colors, wall paper, rubber
10. Arseniureted hydrogen	Dyes, enamel, fertilizer, lime
11. Benzene	Buffing, celluloid, decorating, paints, rubber
12. Benzol	Artif'l leather, coal tar, colors, vulcanizing
13. Brass (zinc)	Smelting, galvanizing, junk metal refining
14. Carbon dioxide	Boiler rooms, foundries, charcoal, starch
15. Carbon disulphide ..	Asphalt, artificial silk, glue, matches, tallow
16. Carbon monoxide ...	Bakeries, pottery, calico printing, copper, soda
17. Chloride of lime ...	Bleaching, disinfectants, dyes, laundries, tanning
18. Chlorine	Paper and pulp, bleaching, disinfectants, dyes
19. Chlorodinitrobenzol...	See nitrobenzol
20. Chloronitrobenzol ...	See nitrobenzol
21. Chromium compounds:	Artificial flowers, colored candles, glass, ink
22. Cyanogen compounds:	Calico printing, case hardening, celluloid, dyes, gas
23. Dimethyl sulphate ..	Dyes, perfumes
24. Dinitrobenzol	See nitrobenzol
25. Gasoline	See naphtha
26. Hydrochloric acid ..	Acid dipping, camphor, glass, rubber, glue
27. Hydrofluoric acid ...	Art glass, bleaching, dyeing
28. Lead	Painting, smelting, plumbing, typesetting
29. Mercury	Hats, mirrors, storage batteries, fur
30. Methyl alcohol	Dry cleaning, rubber shoes, paints, varnish
31. Methyl bromide	Dyes, fire extinguishers
32. Naphtha	Cleaning, waterproofing, painting
33. Nitraniline	See aniline
34. Nitrobenzol	Dyes, explosives, perfume, soap
35. Nitroglycerine	Explosives
36. Nitronaphthalene ...	See nitrobenzol
37. Nitrous gases, nitric acid	Bleaching, fur, explosives, photo-engraving

¹United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin 306*, "Occupation Hazards and Diagnostic Signs."

38. PetroleumFeathers, oil, paraffin
 39. Phenol (carbolic acid)Calico printing, etching, dyes, gas
 40. Phenyl hydrazine ...Dyes, fire extinguishers
 41. PhosgeneDyes
 42. PhosphorusBoneblack, fertilizer, matches, insecticides
 43. Phosphuretted hydro-
 genAcetylene, phosphorus
 44. Picric acidDyes, explosives, photography
 45. Sulphur chlorideRubber substitutes, vulcanizing
 46. Sulphur dioxideSalt, brass, bricks, brooms, preserves, smelting
 47. Sulphuretted hydro-
 genSmelting, celluloid, fertilizer, gas, glue
 48. Sulphuric acidBurnishing, dyes, explosives, felt hats, salt
 49. TarBrush making, chimney sweeping, gas, tar
 50. Tetrachlorethane ...Airplane wing varnishing, artificial silk
 51. Trinitrotoluol.....Explosives
 52. Turpentine..... Camphor, enamel, linoleum, paint, patent leather

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Increase of Gainfully Occupied Women.—A total of 8,549,-511 women 10 years of age and over were gainfully occupied in 1920. This is nearly 500,000 more than in 1910. If, however, the increase of population is taken into consideration, the proportion of women 10 years of age and over gainfully occupied dropped from 23.4 per cent. in 1910 to 21.1 per cent. in 1920. In all industries except farming and domestic service the number of women increased. In those two there was an absolute as well as a relative decrease in the number of women, 723,373 women dropping out of farming, and 344,297 out of domestic service, in the course of the decade. In the case of farming the decrease is reported to be largely apparent, due to a change in instructions to the census enumerators.

Table 34—Women Over 10 Years of Age Gainfully Occupied¹

Occupation	—1910—		—1920—	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	1,807,501	5.2	1,084,128	2.7
Extraction of minerals	1,094	(2)	2,864	(2)
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	1,820,570	5.3	1,930,341	4.8
Transportation	106,625	.3	213,054	.5
Trade	468,088	1.4	667,792	1.7
Public service	13,558	(2)	21,794	.1
Professional service	733,891	2.1	1,016,498	2.5
Domestic and personal service.....	2,531,221	7.3	2,186,924	5.4
Clerical occupations	593,224	1.7	1,426,116	3.5
All occupations	8,075,772	23.4	8,549,511	21.1
Population 10 years of age and over	34,552,712	100.0	40,449,346	100.0

¹United States Women's Bureau, *The Occupational Progress of Women*, 1922.

²Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

In 11 manufacturing industries, including clothing, silk, linen, knitting, lace and embroidery, candy, paper boxes, and blank books and paper bags, women predominate over men. Occupations in which 1,000 or more women were employed increased from 203 in 1910 to 232 in 1920. The 30 occupational groups each employing 50,000 or more women comprise 857 per cent. of those gainfully occupied.

Table 35—Occupations Employing 50,000 or More Women¹

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
Farmers, general farms	257,703	247,253
Farm laborers, general farms	1,514,107	788,611
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)	447,760	235,519
Milliners and millinery dealers	122,447	69,598
Semi-skilled operatives:		
Cigar and tobacco factories	71,845	83,960
Clothing industries	237,270	265,643
Food industries	36,600	72,402
Iron and steel industries	23,557	57,819
Shoe factories	59,266	73,412
Cotton mills	140,666	149,185
Knitting mills	65,338	80,682
Silk mills	50,360	72,768
Woolen and worsted mills	52,056	61,715
Telephone operators	88,262	178,379
Clerks in stores	111,594	170,397
Retail dealers	67,103	78,980
Saleswomen (stores)	250,487	356,321
Musicians and teachers of music	84,478	72,678
Teachers (school)	476,864	635,207
Trained nurses	76,508	143,664
Boarding and lodging house keepers	142,400	114,740
Housekeepers and stewardesses	173,333	204,350
Laundresses (not in laundry)	520,004	385,874
Laundry operatives	76,355	80,747
Nurses (not trained)	110,912	132,658
Servants	1,309,549	1,012,133
Waitresses	85,798	116,921
Bookkeepers and cashiers	183,569	345,746
Clerks (except clerks in stores)	122,665	472,163
Stenographers and typists	263,315	564,744

Married Women Workers.—Approximately 2,000,000 married women are working at breadwinning occupations. Their number has grown steadily since 1890, although in the last decade they have decreased relatively to the whole number of women at work.

Table 36—Married Women at Work

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Women</i>	<i>Percentage of Women at Work</i>
1890	515,260	4.6	13.9
1900	769,477	5.6	15.4
1910	1,890,661	10.7	24.7
1920	1,920,281	9.0	23.0

¹United States Women's Bureau, *The Occupational Progress of Women*, 1922.

The largest single group of married women is in domestic and personal service, with manufacturing and mechanical industries second and farming third.

CHILD LABOR

Child Labor on Increase.—The number of children 10 to 15 years of age who are gainfully employed nearly doubled, according to the United States Children's Bureau, between 1920 and 1923. Reasons for this sudden growth of child labor were falling wages and the striking out of the federal child labor law for the second time by the United States Supreme Court, on May 15, 1922. In the decade before 1920 there had been a decrease of nearly 50 per cent in the number of child workers, due to higher money wages of the parents, more widespread disapproval of child labor, especially by trade unionists, temporary existence of a federal child labor law, better compulsory school laws, and better legal enforcement.

Table 37—Children 10 to 15 Years of Age in Gainful Occupations

Year and Sex	Total Number of Children	—Engaged in Gainful Occupations—	
		Number	Per Cent
1900:			
Male	4,852,427	1,264,411	26.1
Female	4,760,825	485,767	10.2
Both sexes	9,613,252	1,750,178	18.2
1910:			
Male	5,464,228	1,353,139	24.8
Female	5,364,137	637,086	11.9
Both sexes	10,828,365	1,990,225	18.4
1920:			
Male	6,294,985	714,248	11.3
Female	6,207,597	346,610	5.6
Both sexes	12,502,582	1,060,858	8.5

Occupations of Working Children.—The largest number of children were employed in farming. Manufacturing comes second, clerical occupations third, and trade fourth. Most of the children engaged in extraction of minerals worked around coal mines, and most of those listed as in public service were newsboys or street vendors.

Table 38—Occupations of Children, 1920¹

Occupation	10 to 15 Years		10 to 13 Years	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculture, forestry, etc.	647,309	61.0	328,958	87.0
Farm laborers (home farm)	569,824	53.7	.....	(2)
Farm laborers (working out)	63,990	6.0	.....	(2)
Extraction of minerals	7,191	.7	647	.2
Mfg. and mechanical industries...	185,337	17.5	9,473	2.5
Transportation	18,912	1.8	1,899	.5
Trade	63,368	6.0	17,213	4.6
Public service	1,130	.1	153	(3)
Professional service	3,465	.3	621	.2
Domestic and personal service	54,006	5.1	12,172	3.2
Clerical occupations	80,140	7.6	6,927	1.8
Total	1,060,858	100.0	378,063	100.0

IMMIGRATION

Renewed Immigration.—The law enacted in 1921 restricting immigration from any country to 3 per cent of the number of people from that country living in the United States in 1910 resulted in a sharp drop in the number of immigrants admitted during 1922. In 1923, due to hard times in Europe and the expansion of American industry, the number of immigrants increased about two-thirds. It is still less than half of the figure for the record year 1914.

Table 39—Immigration to the United States, 1914-1923

1914	1,218,480	1919	141,132
1915	326,700	1920	430,001
1916	298,826	1921	805,228
1917	295,403	1922	309,556
1918	110,618	1923	522,919

Occupations of Immigrants.—Unskilled laborers constitute the largest single occupational group of immigrants. Farm laborers are second, clerks and accountants third, and carpenters and joiners fourth.

Table 40—Occupations of Immigrants, Fiscal Years 1922 and 1923⁴

Occupations	1922	1923	Occupations	1922	1923
Skilled Workers			Brewers	35	33
Bakers	1,629	2,928	Butchers	1,059	2,055
Barbers, hairdress- ers	1,168	1,898	Cabinetmakers	160	370
Blacksmiths	880	2,296	Carpenters, joiners	3,930	12,305
Bookbinders	97	183	Cigarette makers..	39	39
			Cigar makers ...	147	269

¹United States Children's Bureau, *Child Labor in the United States*, 1923.

²Figures not yet available.

³Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

⁴United States Commissioner General of Immigration, *Annual Reports*, 1922, 1923

<i>Occupations</i>	1922	1923	<i>Occupations</i>	1922	1923
Cigar packers	7	8	Wheelwrights	7	62
Clerks, accountants	9,444	16,470	Woodworkers	89	283
Dressmakers	3,726	4,189	Other skilled	2,472	4,826
Engineers (locomotive, marine, and stationary)	931	2,817	Total	51,588	106,213
Furriers	131	271	Professional		
Gardeners	431	900	Actors	704	731
Hat and cap makers	165	238	Architects	127	233
Iron and steel workers	751	4,076	Clergy	1,204	1,709
Jewelers	146	278	Editors	66	74
Locksmiths	540	1,952	Electricians	713	2,409
Machinists	1,291	4,418	Engineers (prof.)..	1,103	2,483
Mariners	2,845	6,288	Lawyers	131	166
Masons	1,411	3,276	Literary and scientific	392	621
Mechanics	1,683	4,644	Musicians	714	1,076
Metal workers: (other than iron, steel, and tin).	187	764	Officials (govt.)....	744	550
Millers	177	399	Physicians	458	704
Milliners	600	632	Sculptors, artists..	164	287
Miners	2,227	5,423	Teachers	2,118	2,589
Painters, glaziers..	881	2,550	Other professional..	2,317	2,860
Pattern makers....	54	237	Total	10,955	16,542
Photographers	198	343	Miscellaneous		
Plasterers	170	503	Agents	611	1,461
Plumbers	219	1,197	Bankers	125	118
Printers	409	930	Draymen, hackmen, and teamsters...	308	943
Saddlers, harness makers	96	226	Farm laborers	10,529	25,905
Seamstresses	1,972	2,074	Farmers	7,676	12,502
Shoemakers	2,287	3,307	Fishermen	640	2,165
Stokers	348	729	Hotel keepers.....	165	187
Stonecutters	162	521	Laborers	32,726	83,552
Tailors	4,331	5,559	Manufacturers	202	320
Tanners, curriers..	99	164	Merchants and dealers	7,278	8,856
Textile workers....	131	351	Servants	44,531	52,223
Tinners	176	512	Other miscellaneous	11,172	20,346
Tobacco workers ..	20	27	Total	115,963	208,579
Upholsterers	78	208	No occupation (including women and children) ...	131,050	191,585
Watch and clock makers	290	345	Grand total	309,556	522,919
Weavers and spinners	1,262	1,930			

NEGRO MIGRATION

Northward Movement.—An outstanding fact in American industrial life in recent years is the northward movement of Negro workers. Introduced to the North in large numbers during the war, Negro workers have made good in the industries, have frequently become foremen over men of their own race, and have joined the trade unions where these were open to them. Efforts to use Negroes as strikebreakers in the steel, packing house, building trades, and railroad shop strikes of the last few years served to give them new opportunities and responsibilities in industry and to put them in closer touch with trade union organization.

The early induced migration, which was checked at the close of the war, was followed in 1922 and 1923 by spontaneous movements of large masses of southern Negroes toward the freer social life, the wider industrial opportunities, and the higher wages of the North.

In the spring of 1923 complaints of a shortage of farm help in the South became so acute that the Department of Agriculture investigated the situation. It found that 32,000 Negro farm hands, or 13 per cent of the total of that race and occupation in the state, had left Georgia within a year for northern industrial centers. Alabama had lost 10,000 and Arkansas 15,000, making in each case about 3½ per cent of their Negro farm population. South Carolina had lost 22,700, or 3 per cent, Florida 2 per cent, Louisiana 1 per cent. Mining, lumbering, and manufacturing industries also lost workers.

The immediate effects of this migration upon the South were temporarily reduced farm planting and crops, a shortage of domestic servants, higher wages on farms and in factories for those Negroes who remained, and improved housing and school conditions for them. In the North also, due to the higher wages they received, Negroes improved their homes and sent their children to school more fully.

Southern Employers Alarmed.—Alarmed by the exodus of previously submissive and cheap labor, Southern planters and manufacturers began casting about for means of stopping it. The first step was to enact drastic legislation requiring license fees sometimes as high as \$2,500 from agents soliciting labor to leave the state, and to threaten jail for those who evaded the fee. These measures proving ineffective, attention was turned toward holding the Negro by making conditions in the South more attractive to him.

In spite of tardy efforts to redress long-standing social and economic grievances, the migration continued. According to the United States Department of Labor, 478,100 Negroes left the South in the year ending September 1, 1923. Many whites had also joined in the movement. The Negro migration by states was as follows:

From Georgia, 120,000; Alabama, 90,000; Florida, 90,000; Mississippi, 82,600; North Carolina, 25,000; South Carolina, 25,000; Louisiana, 15,000; Tennessee, 10,000; Virginia, 10,000; Arkansas, 5,000; Kentucky, 2,500; Texas, 2,000; and Oklahoma, 1,000.

CONVICT LABOR

Tabert Case.—Sensational revelations of conditions in southern convict labor camps led to a wave of hostile sentiment and the moderation of some of the worst practices. The subject was forced into prominence by an investigation in the spring of 1923 into the killing of Martin Tabert, a North Dakota boy who died under the lash in a private lumber camp in Florida. Before the legislative investigating committee it was shown that Tabert had received 119 lashes with a strap weighing seven and a half pounds. T. W. Higginbotham, the whipping boss who caused Tabert's death, admitted flogging as many as 10 men weekly. One guard testified that he had seen 200 beaten, the number varying from one to 12 a day.

As a result of the exposure, the legislature passed a law prohibiting the lash in convict camps, but retained the convict leasing system. Higginbotham was found guilty of second degree murder, which carries a sentence of 20 years' imprisonment. The Putnam Lumber Company, in whose camp the murder occurred, paid \$20,000 indemnity to the boy's family.

Alabama Mines.—Later charges were made that conditions in Alabama convict camps were even worse than in Florida. The Banner mines were reported to be particularly bad, the flogging of 17 prisoners at once being before a county grand jury. The whipping strap was supposedly abolished two years ago by the governor's order. Recently it was reintroduced. Prisoners at the mine said their tasks were made unbearable by rocks in the coal seam, poor food, and forced labor when they should have been on the sick list. In December, 1923, negotiations were begun between the state convict board and the coal operators for the abolition of the convict leasing system.

Prison-Made Goods.—The question of goods made in prison shops has been much discussed. The United States Department of Labor sent investigators to New York and Chicago to investigate union charges that the clothing markets were being flooded with prison-made goods, in the production of which the workers are paid little or nothing. Desiring to prevent the undesirable competition, the National Association of Garment Manufacturers took a hand in the campaign. It sent out to wholesalers who dealt in shirts, aprons, rompers, and other goods made in prisons, a

list of prison contractors in various states and the number of prisoners employed by them. It was said that nearly 40 per cent of the work shirts sold in the country were made wholly or partly by prison labor, and that the competition in house dresses and aprons was almost as keen. In August, 1923, Oklahoma terminated the shirt contract in the Oklahoma State Prison. Shortly thereafter the Reliance Manufacturing Company, known as the "convict labor trust" which held prison contracts in at least seven states, announced that it would accept no further contracts from governments. Direct state employment of prisoners, with state use of the products, was proposed instead.

FARMERS' CONDITIONS

Period of Hardship.—The condition of the American farmer in the past two years has been marked by increased hardship. Prices obtained for farm products have sunk below the pre-war level, while the prices of goods which the farmer must buy have remained from 50 to 100 per cent above pre-war level. The cost of distributing farm produce is excessive, compared to other similar services. In 1913 taxes were about one-tenth of the farmer's net receipts; in 1921 they had risen to about one-third. In spite of a tremendous drop from 1920¹, wages of farm hands are still higher than many farmers can afford.

Spread of Bankruptcy.—As a result of these conditions there has been a startling development of bankruptcy and a resulting drift of farmers to the cities to swell the ranks of propertiless wage-earners.

A survey made by the United States Department of Agriculture showed that in the 15 grain-growing states of Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Wyoming, more than 8½ per cent of the owner-farmers had lost their farms between January, 1920, and March, 1923. In addition, 15 per cent were for a time actually insolvent, but escaped foreclosure. Among tenant farmers the conditions were worse, 14 per cent losing their farms, and 21 per cent being insolvent but not being pressed by the bankers or other creditors. Before the war only 5 per cent of bankruptcy cases in these states were of farmers. Now the farmers form nearly 15 per cent of the bankrupts.

See p. 23.

Fully as many others gave up their farms without going through court procedure.

During 1922 almost 1,200,000 persons left the farms for the cities.

In its annual report the Department of Agriculture reports on the situation as follows:¹

Many thousands of farmers have not been able to weather the storm, notwithstanding their most strenuous efforts. Thousands who purchased land during the period of high prices, making a small payment down, have been obliged to give up the struggle, let the land go back, lose all the money they paid for it, and start anew. Many thousands of renters who had substantial savings invested in farm equipment and live stock have gone through the same experience and lost everything.

Increase of Tenancy.—The proportionate decrease of farm ownership and increase of farm tenancy, due to the difficulty of making a living on the land, has continued. In the United States as a whole, in 1920, 60.9 per cent of all farms were operated by their owners. Tenants constituted 38.1 per cent of the total number of farmers. In 1880 the percentage of tenant farmers was 25.6; in 1890, 28.4; in 1900, 35.3; and in 1910, 37.0. Detailed figures for the last three decades are:

Table 41—Farm Tenure in the United States, 1900-1920²

	1900	1910	1920	1920 Percentage,
Owners	3,653,323	3,948,722	3,925,909	60.9
Renting additional land..	3,201,947	3,354,897	3,366,510	52.2
Renting additional land..	451,376	593,825	558,580	3.7
Managers	59,085	58,104	68,449	1.0
Tenants	2,024,964	2,354,676	2,454,804	38.1
Share	1,273,299	1,399,923	1,678,812	26.0
Share—cash		128,466	127,822	2.0
Cash	751,665	712,294	585,005	9.1
Not reported		113,993	63,165	1.0
Total	5,737,372	6,361,502	6,448,343	100.0

Mortgages.—Of the 3,925,090 farms operated by owners in the United States, 2,074,325, or 52.8 per cent, were free of mortgages, while 1,461,306, or 37.2 per cent were mortgaged. On the remaining 10 per cent no report was received. The average farm mortgage amounted to \$3,356.

¹United States Department of Agriculture, *Year Book*, 1922.

²14th Census of the United States, 1920, Volume V, *Agriculture*.

HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Ownership of Homes.—The total number of homes reported in the United States in 1920 was 24,351,676. During the last 30 years the proportion of rented homes increased, and the percentage of owned homes decreased. Of the homes which were owned, the percentage of those owned free decreased, while the percentage of those which were encumbered increased. Though the changes were slight, the trend shows a decrease in economic independence of the American population.

Table 42—Ownership of Homes in the United States¹

Year	—Per cent of All Homes—				of Owned Homes—	
	Rented	Owned	Owned Free	Owned Encumbered	Free	Encumbered
1890	52.2	47.8	34.4	13.4	72.0	28.0
1900	53.9	46.1	31.7	14.5	68.7	31.3
1910	54.2	45.8	30.8	15.0	67.2	32.8
1920	54.4	45.6	28.2	17.5	61.7	38.3

Families and Dwellings.—The 105,710,620 persons recorded in the United States in 1920 were grouped in 24,351,676 families, inhabiting 20,697,204 dwellings. The number of persons in the American family has been gradually decreasing. The number of persons to a dwelling is decreasing less rapidly, indicating an increase of unattached persons and a growth of the practice of taking in roomers.

Table 43—Persons to a Family and to a Dwelling¹

Year	Person to a Family	Persons to a Dwelling
1880	5.0	5.6
1890	4.9	5.5
1900	4.7	5.3
1910	4.5	5.2
1920	4.3	5.1

New York Housing Investigation.—A state Commission of Housing and Regional Planning appointed in New York in 1923 reported that the situation had grown worse since 1920, and that rents had increased in the three years from 40 to 93 per cent. The life, health and welfare of tenants are menaced, the commission reported. There was a shortage of houses, rents were high and frequently increased, and rooms were generally overcrowded. Families with an income of \$1,000-\$1,500 a year, which comprised the largest group of tenants, were found to pay 23 per cent of their incomes for rent, as compared with 13.7 per cent in the

¹Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920.

group with incomes of \$5,000 and over. Sanitary conditions were growing worse instead of better.

Table 44—Rentals in Relation to Family Income, New York, 1923¹

<i>Income Class</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>	<i>Average Annual Family Income</i>	<i>Average Annual Rental</i>	<i>Percentage of Family Income for Rent</i>
Under \$1,000	371	\$789.49	\$224.40	28.4
\$1,000—\$1,500	1,036	1,224.16	282.00	23.0
\$1,500—\$2,000	1,024	1,684.38	315.48	18.8
\$2,000—\$2,500	605	2,169.33	384.48	17.7
\$2,500—\$3,000	268	2,600.99	450.84	17.3
\$3,000—\$3,500	231	3,125.96	486.84	15.5
\$3,500—\$4,000	99	3,630.72	488.04	13.4
\$4,000—\$4,500	76	4,087.81	610.56	14.9
\$4,500—\$5,000	28	4,642.21	630.72	13.6
\$5,000 and over	103	5,922.33	822.36	13.7
All families	3,841	\$1,933.98	\$354.25	18.3
Under \$2,500	3,036	\$1,514.88	\$306.68	20.2
\$2,500—\$5,000	702	3,151.00	491.28	15.6
\$5,000 and over	103	5,992.33	822.36	13.7

The report showed that high rents had drained off money that should have gone for food and for education of the children. Houses once abandoned as unfit are now being used. A progressive aggravation of conditions formerly complained of has been going on.

"Increases in rent are general," stated the commission, "in some cases seriously high, in others moderate. Countless instances can be cited of \$10, \$20, \$30, and even \$50 a month increases in rents." Change of ownership was pointed out as a contributing factor in raising rents. Some houses had four landlords in two years and each one raised the rent \$2 on every apartment. "New tenants have to pay considerably more than the old tenants. Instance after instance is reported where the new tenants pay 50 to 300 per cent increase over the rental of the old tenants."

Approximately 165,000 families, comprising 663,000 persons, were reported to the commission as improperly quartered in New York City, while rents continued to rise. The city tenement house commissioner stated that 30,000 would be homeless if the tenement safety law were enforced.

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

School Attendance.—Of the 33,250,870 persons of both sexes five to 20 years of age, inclusive, in the United States

¹New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning, *Report*, 1923.

in 1920, 21,763,275, or 65.4 per cent, were attending school. The percentage of both boys and girls attending school has, with occasional setbacks, been on the increase.

Table 45—Percentage of Population 5 to 20 Years Old, Inclusive, Attending School, 1900-1920¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Both Sexes</i>
1900	51.1	51.6	51.3
1910	60.4	60.5	60.5
1920	65.4	65.5	65.5

Illiteracy.—The percentage of illiteracy among all groups of the population of the United States 10 years of age or over has steadily decreased. In 1870 it was 20.0 per cent; in 1880, 17.0; in 1890, 13.3; in 1900, 10.7; in 1910, 7.7; and in 1920, 6.0 per cent.

Table 46—Illiteracy in Population 10 Years of Age and Over, 1920¹

<i>Group of Population</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>—Illiterate—</i>	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
White	74,359,749	3,006,312	4.0
Colored	8,379,566	1,925,593	23.0
Negro	8,053,225	1,842,161	22.9
Native white	60,861,863	1,242,572	2.0
Native parentage	44,077,564	1,109,875	2.5
Foreign or mixed parentage	16,784,299	132,697	0.8
Foreign parentage	11,462,926	98,076	0.9
Mixed parentage	5,321,373	34,621	0.7
Foreign-born white	13,497,886	1,763,740	13.1
All groups	82,739,315	4,931,905	6.0

Children Leaving School.—Probably not more than one-half of the young people between the ages of 14 and 16, and not more than one-quarter of those between 16 and 18 are in school. From one-fifth to one-fourth of those 14 to 15 years of age, and three-fourths of those 16 years of age, are estimated to leave school to go to work. Of those entering school, it was found:

Table 47—Percentage of Pupils Reaching Each School Grade²

86 per cent reach 5th grade
73 per cent reach 6th grade
64 per cent reach 7th grade
58 per cent reach 8th grade
32 per cent reach 1st year high school
23 per cent reach 2nd year high school
17 per cent reach 3rd year high school
14 per cent reach 4th year high school
13 per cent are graduated from high school

¹*Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920.*

²United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1920, No. 11.

Pupils who get through the fifth grade learn "to read poorly, to write badly, and to do the simplest operations with whole numbers." There are apparently about three-quarters of the pupils who pass this grade, and thus receive the education intended for a child of 10 or 11 years. More than two-fifths of the pupils have dropped out before entering the eighth grade, and only one-third enter high school. Theoretically, high school education is free to all. Practically, two-thirds of the pupils who enter the schools never reach the high schools at all. Even in high school the dropping out is so rapid that for each 1,000 pupils who enter high school only about 400 are graduated.

"School mortality," as this dropping out process is sometimes called, is so heavy in American schools, that of 100 pupils entering first grade, only 32 enter the high school and 13 (less than one in seven of those who began in the first grade) finish the high school.

II. TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Membership.—The American Federation of Labor, at its Portland convention, October, 1923, reported a paid-up membership of 2,926,468. This figure marks a decrease of more than a quarter of a million from 1922.

The following is the average membership of the Federation reported or paid upon for the past twenty-seven years:

Table 48—Membership of American Federation of Labor, 1897—1923

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1897	264,825	1906	1,454,200	1915	1,946,347
1898	278,016	1907	1,538,970	1916	2,072,702
1899	349,422	1908	1,586,885	1917	2,371,434
1900	548,321	1909	1,482,872	1918	2,726,478
1901	787,537	1910	1,562,112	1919	3,260,068
1902	1,024,399	1911	1,761,835	1920	4,078,740
1903	1,465,800	1912	1,770,145	1921	3,906,528
1904	1,676,200	1913	1,996,004	1922	3,195,635
1905	1,494,300	1914	2,020,671	1923	2,926,468

The Federation consisted in 1922 and 1923 of the following bodies:

	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
Departments	5	4
National and international unions	112	108
State federations	49	49
City central bodies	905	901
Local department councils	838	818
Local unions	35,277	35,534
Local trade and federal labor unions	666	523

The national and international unions, the local trade and federal labor unions, the state federations of labor, the city central bodies, and the departments are all chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The local unions and the local department councils are chartered by the national or international unions and by the four departments with which they are directly affiliated. The international unions include local unions in Canada, while the national do not. The local trade unions are craft unions without any international or national affiliation, and the federal labor unions are mixed craft unions in localities where no national or local trade unions exist. The state federations and the city central bodies include theoretically all union groups in the state

or city. Actually numerous local trade, federal labor, and local unions do not affiliate with the state federation or city central bodies. The departments are federations of national or international unions in an entire industry, such as the building trades or the railroad industry. The local department councils are local or district sub-divisions of these industrial federations.

The national or international unions are practically supreme in their jurisdiction. The departments and the local unions have limited powers. The local trade and federal labor unions are taken care of directly by the A. F. of L. much as the local unions are by their parent bodies. The city centrals and state federations are legislative chiefly, and serve as clearing houses for general union interests in the territory. In the year between the Cincinnati and Portland conventions three international unions disbanded:

International Union of Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.
International Union of Fruit and Vegetable Workers.
International Union of Timber Workers.

The Federation suspended the Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen. The International Jewelry Workers' Union and the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, which had been suspended because of jurisdiction disputes, were reinstated, while the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association withdrew.

The following table is based on the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor, as given in the report of the Executive Council. It includes unions which are not at present affiliated, as well as those now belonging and paying per capita tax to the Federation:

**Table 49—Membership of National and International Unions
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor,
1916-1923**

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
Actors	9,000	3,000	6,900	11,800	9,400	7,700
Asbestos Workers	1,000	1,600	2,200	2,600	2,000	2,000
Bakery & Conf. Workers....	17,500	20,400	27,500	28,000	24,800	22,900
Barbers	35,900	38,400	44,200	47,000	45,200	43,200
Bill Posters	1,500	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600
Blacksmiths	9,700	18,300	48,300	50,000	36,700	5,000
Boilermkrs & Iron Shipbldrs.	18,200	55,500	103,000	84,500	41,700	19,400
Boot & Shoe Workers	39,000	35,800	46,700	41,000	40,200	39,900
Bookbinders	9,300	14,500	20,700	24,700	16,300	12,900
Brewery Workmen	49,600	45,000	34,100	27,300	19,000	16,600
Brick and Clay Workers ...	3,200	2,500	5,200	5,400	4,100	4,800
Bricklyrs, Masons, & Plast.		70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs.	10,000	16,000	24,200	19,900	14,000	14,600

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
Broom & Whisk Makers ..	800	700	1,400	1,200	800	700
Brushmakers	200	200	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Building Service Employees .....	.....	.....	.....	800	9,400	7,800
Carpenters & Joiners	197,700	267,300	331,500	352,100	313,800	315,000
Carriage & Wagon Workers	4,000	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Carmen, Railway	30,800	53,400	182,100	200,000	171,700	160,000
Carvers, Wood	1,100	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,100	900
Cement Workers	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Cigarmakers	37,700	39,500	38,800	34,200	32,000	30,900
Clerks, Railway	5,100	17,200	186,000	169,600	137,800	96,100
Clerks, Railway Postal	2,700	(4)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)
Clerks, Retail	15,000	15,000	20,800	21,200	16,700	10,300
Clerks, Post Office	4,200	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)
Cloth Hat & Cap Makers ..	6,300	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Compressed Air Workers ..	1,400	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)
Conductors, Sleeping Car ..	.....	.....	1,200	2,500	2,600	2,300
Coopers	3,600	4,000	4,300	4,400	2,800	1,700
Cutting Die & Cutter Makers ..	200	200	200	300	300	(1)
Diamond Workers	300	400	600	600	500	500
Draftsmen .....	.....	.....	3,500	2,200	1,000	600
Electrical Workers	36,200	54,400	139,200	142,000	142,000	142,000
Elevator Constructors	2,800	2,900	3,100	3,800	3,800	5,200
Engineers, Marine .....	.....	7,900	17,000	21,100	19,000	(8)
Engineers, Steam	21,000	23,000	32,000	32,000	32,000	27,100
Engravers, Stl. & Cop. Plate ..	.....	.....	200	400	300	200
Engravers, Metal .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	100
Engravers, Photo	5,100	5,100	5,900	6,500	6,500	6,500
Express Messengers, Rail ..	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Federal Employees .....	.....	10,900	38,500	33,000	25,000	21,200
Fire Fighters .....	.....	2,300	22,100	18,000	16,100	16,000
Firemen, Stationary	17,000	17,100	29,600	35,000	25,000	12,500
Foundry Employees	800	3,300	3,100	5,200	4,000	4,000
Freight Handlers, Railroad ..	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)
Fruit & Vegetable Workers ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,900	(1)
Fur Workers	5,700	10,000	12,100	4,500	4,700	9,200
Garment Workers, United ..	43,000	45,900	45,900	47,200	47,500	47,600
Glass Bottle Blowers	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	9,700	7,000
Glass Workers, Amalg.	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)
Glass Workers, Flint	9,400	9,900	9,900	9,700	8,700	8,100
Glass Window Workers .....	.....	700	4,800	5,000	5,000	5,000
Glove Workers	1,000	700	1,000	700	400	200
Grinders & Finishers	200	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)
Granite Cutters	13,100	11,900	10,500	10,500	10,000	9,500
Hatters, United	8,500	9,100	10,500	11,500	11,500	11,500
Hodcarriers & Com. Lab'rs ..	32,400	36,700	42,000	46,000	46,000	47,500
Hotel & Rest. Employees ..	59,000	65,200	60,400	57,200	46,500	38,400
Horseshoers	5,800	5,400	5,400	5,400	2,500	2,000
Iron, Steel & Tin Workers ..	6,700	16,100	31,500	25,400	15,900	11,700
Jewelry Workers	5,300	4,800	8,100	(11)	(11)	2,200
Lace Operatives	1,100	1,200	(12)	(12)	(12)	(12)
Ladies' Garment Workers ..	85,100	89,500	105,400	94,100	93,900	91,200
Lathers	6,000	6,000	5,900	8,000	8,000	8,000
Laundry Workers	4,300	5,500	6,700	7,000	6,500	5,500
Leather Wks., Horse Goods ..	1,800	(13)	(13)	(13)	(13)	(13)
Leather Workers, United ...	.....	4,100	11,700	8,000	3,400	2,000
Letter Carriers .....	.....	30,500	32,500	32,500	32,500	32,500
Letter Carriers, Rural .....	.....	.....	300	1,600	1,000	600
Lithographers	4,200	4,900	6,100	7,200	7,600	6,300
Lithographic Pressfeeders ..	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)
Longshoremen	25,000	26,000	74,000	64,100	46,300	34,300
Machinists	100,900	143,600	330,800	273,600	180,900	97,300
Maintenance of Way Empl's ..	8,900	5,600	(12)	(12)	(12)	37,700
Marble Workers	600	1,000	1,200	1,200	1,700	2,300
Masters, Mates, & Pilots ..	4,000	4,800	7,100	9,100	5,500	4,100
Meat Cutters & Butchers ...	7,300	29,100	65,300	43,900	19,600	10,400
Metal Workers, Sheet	17,500	18,300	21,800	24,200	25,000	25,000
Mine Workers, United	318,000	413,400	393,600	425,700	372,900	404,900
Mine, Mill, & Smelter Wkrs..	16,100	16,700	21,100	16,200	4,600	8,100
Molders	50,000	50,000	57,300	58,500	26,500	32,100

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
Musicians	60,000	65,000	70,000	74,600	75,000	75,000
Oil Field Workers .....	.....	.....	20,900	24,800	6,100	2,500
Painters	78,200	84,500	103,100	113,300	97,800	92,800
Papermakers	5,200	6,000	7,400	10,700	8,300	7,000
Patrolmen, Railroad .....	.....	.....	2,600	1,600	900	(9)
Patternmakers	6,500	8,800	9,000	9,000	8,000	8,000
Pavers & Rammermen	1,500	1,700	1,900	2,000	2,000	2,000
Paving Cutters	3,300	3,200	2,600	2,400	2,400	2,400
Piano & Organ Workers ..	1,000	2,000	3,200	2,700	900	700
Plasterers	18,400	19,000	19,400	23,900	24,600	25,200
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc..	32,000	32,000	32,000	31,000	35,000	35,000
Polishers, Metal	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	8,200	6,700
Post Office Clerks .....	.....	10,100	16,200	17,000	17,800	18,000
Potters, Operative	7,700	7,800	8,000	9,100	9,200	9,100
Powder & High Expl. Wkrs.	300	400	300	200	200	300
Printing Pressmen	29,000	34,000	35,000	37,000	37,000	37,000
Printers, Plate	1,200	1,200	1,400	1,500	1,500	1,200
Printers & Color Mixers ..	500	500	500	500	500	(14)
Print Cutters	400	400	400	400	300	(14)
Pulp & Paper Mill Workers.	4,400	8,000	9,500	11,300	6,800	4,600
Quarry Workers	3,500	3,100	3,000	3,000	3,000	2,400
Railway Employees, Street.	64,600	78,600	98,700	100,000	100,000	100,000
Railway Mail Association..	.....	9,400	14,400	15,000	16,600	16,700
Roofers	1,200	1,200	1,800	2,800	3,000	3,000
Sawsmiths	100	100	100	100	100	100
Seamen	21,700	37,100	65,900	103,300	49,200	17,900
Siderographers	100	100	100	100	100	100
Signalmen, Railroad	900	900	12,300	11,300	10,500	8,900
Slate Workers	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Slate & Tile Roofers	600	600	(15)	(15)	(15)	(15)
Slate Workers	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Spinners	2,200	2,200	(15)	(15)	(15)	(15)
Stage Employees	18,100	18,600	19,600	19,400	19,500	19,600
Steam Shovel & Dredge Men.	2,000	3,700	(16)	(16)	(16)	(16)
Stereotypers & Electrotypers	4,900	5,300	5,900	6,100	6,000	6,200
Stonecutters	4,300	4,200	4,000	4,400	4,600	6,900
Stove Mounters	1,200	1,900	1,900	2,000	2,000	1,800
Switchmen	9,300	10,700	14,000	10,100	8,800	8,700
Tailors, Journeymen	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	11,900
Teachers	2,700	1,000	9,300	9,300	7,000	4,600
Teamsters, Chauffeurs	59,000	72,900	110,800	105,700	76,400	72,700
Telegraphers, Commercial ..	1,000	1,000	2,200	3,200	3,400	2,600
Telegraphers, Railroad	25,000	37,700	48,700	50,000	50,000	50,000
Textile Workers, United ..	25,500	45,900	104,900	82,900	30,000	30,000
Tile Layers & Helpers	2,800	2,500	(16)	(16)	(16)	(16)
Timber Workers .....	.....	2,300	10,100	5,800	800	(1)
Tip Printers	300	300	(17)	(17)	(17)	(17)
Tobacco Workers	3,400	3,300	15,200	12,300	3,400	1,900
Travelers' Gds. & Lea. Nov.	1,000	(13)	(13)	(13)	(13)	(13)
Tunnel & Subway Constr's.	2,700	2,400	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Typographical Union	60,700	63,300	70,500	74,800	68,900	68,100
Upholsterers	3,900	4,800	5,600	6,000	6,700	7,300
Wall Paper Crafts .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	700
Weavers, Elastic Goring ...	100	100	100	100	100	100
Weavers, Shingle	400	(18)	(18)	(18)	(18)	(18)
Wire Weavers	300	300	400	400	400	400

(1) Disbanded. (2) Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. (3) Merged with Operative Plasterers. (4) Merged with National Federation of Post Office Clerks. (5) Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore convention. (6) Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. (7) Merged with Hodcarriers. (8) Withdrawn from affiliation. (9) Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. (10) Merged with Painters. (11, 12) Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City convention. (13) Merged with Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Union. (14) Amalgamation of both and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. (15) Merged with Composition Roofers. (16) Not recognised. (17) Merged with Bookbinders. (18) Merged with Timber Workers.

American Federation of Labor Conventions of 1922 and 1923

Secretary's Reports.—The forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 14 to 24 inclusive, 1922, and the forty-third at Portland, Oregon, October 1 to 12, 1923.

Secretary Morrison's report for 1922 showed an average membership of 3,195,636, a loss of 710,893 for the year. His report for 1923 showed a membership of 2,926,468, a further loss of 269,167. The railroad shop crafts, which had made very notable increases during the war years, showed the most striking losses.

The report of the secretary showed total receipts of \$886,-675 for 1923, total expenses of \$662,398.84, with a balance on hand August 31, 1923, of \$224,276.16. The per capita tax from the international unions, state and city central bodies, and directly affiliated local unions is practically the only source of income. Among the expenses listed, the largest items are for office employees in the Federation office, organizers' salaries and expenses, printing the *American Federationist*, and strike and lockout benefits for the local unions directly affiliated.

Committees.—The constitution of the Federation provides for thirteen committees, consisting of fifteen members each, to be appointed by the president at each convention. President Gompers has usually made it a practice to appoint the same chairmen year after year, and the committees have generally selected the same secretaries to present their reports to the convention. The names of the chairmen and secretaries of the committees for 1922 and 1923, therefore, give some clue to the machinery inside the convention, in the same manner as the personnel of the Executive Council elected by the conventions indicates those who direct the A. F. of L. between conventions.

Committees for the 1922 convention were:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business: John Sullivan, of the Brewery Workmen, chairman; Henry Abrahams, of the Cigarmakers, secretary.

Committee on Executive Council Report: James Wilson of the Pattern Makers, chairman; T. W. McCullough, of the Typographical Union, secretary.

Committee on Resolutions: James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, chairman; John P. Frey, of the Molders, secretary.

Committee on Laws: Daniel J. Tobin, of the Teamsters, chairman; Martin Joyce, of the Electrical Workers, secretary.

Committee on Organization: Frank Duffy, of the Carpenters, chairman; Sara A. Conboy, of the Textile Workers, secretary.

Committee on Labels: John J. Manning, of the Union Label Trades Department, chairman; C. J. Hayes, of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, secretary.

Committee on Adjustment: Thomas A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers, chairman; Edward Flore, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, secretary.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies: Jacob Fischer, of the Barbers, chairman; no secretary given in report of proceedings.

Committee on Education: Matthew Woll, of the Photo-Engravers, chairman; Charles B. Stillman, of the Teachers, secretary.

Committee on State Organizations: Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders, chairman; F. J. Coleman, of the Maryland State Federation of Labor, secretary.

Committee on Boycotts: W. D. Mahon, of the Street and Electric Railway Employees, chairman; James B. Connors, of the Switchmen, secretary.

Committee on Building Trades: John Donlin, of the Plasterers, chairman; Arthur M. Huddell, of the Steam and Operating Engineers, secretary.

Committee on Shorter Workday: William Green, of the Mine Workers, chairman; Edward J. Gainor, of the Letter Carriers, secretary.

Committee on Legislation: C. L. Baine, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, chairman; Thomas F. Flaherty, of the Post Office Clerks, secretary.

Committee on International Labor Relations: George W. Perkins, of the Cigarmakers, chairman; Matthew Woll, of the Photo-Engravers, secretary.

In the Portland convention, 1923, the only changes in the chairmen of committees were: Committee on Education—William Green in place of Matthew Woll. Committee on

State Organizations—Martin Ryan, the appointed eighth vice-president of the Federation, in place of Joseph F. Valentine. Committee on Shorter Workday—Charles P. Howard of the Typographical Union replaced William Green.

The changes in the secretaries were: Committee on Rules—P. J. Ryan of the Theatrical Stage Employees took the place of Henry Abrahams, who was not a delegate. Committee on Resolutions—Matthew Woll replaced John P. Frey, who could not be present because of union duties elsewhere. Committee on Labels—C. A. Weaver of the Musicians in place of C. J. Hayes. Committee on Adjustment: Charles J. Lamert of the Painters in place of Edward Flore. Committee on Education—Peter J. Brady of the Photo-Engravers in place of Charles B. Stillman. Committee on State Organizations: E. G. Hall of the Minnesota State Federation in place of F. J. Coleman. Committee on Boycotts—J. W. Buckley of the Railway Carmen in place of James B. Connors. Committee on Shorter Workday—William P. Hohman of the Post Office Clerks in place of Edward J. Gainor.

Organization Work.—The A. F. of L. seeks to maintain and increase the number of organized workers affiliated with it. In the 1922 convention the delegates voted in special resolutions to assist the International Ladies' Garment Workers to organize the smaller cities, and to organize the telephone operators, all classes of janitors, and laundry workers. Again, in the 1923 convention the Federation went on record for more extensive organization of (1) steel workers; (2) women wage-earners; (3) casual and migratory workers; (4) office workers; (5) textile workers in the southern states; (6) laundry workers, teachers, newswriters, and gardeners and florists; (7) meat packing and stockyard workers; and (8) workers in the rubber industry. The list reveals some of the most unorganized centers of American industry, where the Federation has been able to do very little. The A. F. of L. has 32 organizers on salary, together with thousands of voluntary organizers. The international unions and the state and central bodies also have paid officers and organizers who assist in general organizing campaigns.

As a means toward the organization of women workers, the Federation in 1922 went on record to the effect "that where women workers are refused admission to international unions having jurisdiction over the industry in which they are

employed, the Executive Council [is] to take up the subject with the international unions involved and endeavor to reach an understanding as to the issuance of federal charters." An attempt by resolution, however, to force the hand of an international union, as was done in the 1923 convention in connection with a local of lady barbers of Seattle, was defeated, the Federation going on record against any compulsion upon an international. Similarly, the Executive Council reported in the Cincinnati convention that it had brought as much pressure as possible, but without much success, to induce the Railway Carmen and the Boilermakers to change their constitutions so as to admit Negroes. However, the council had organized six system boards of adjustment on railroads to assist colored freight handlers, and colored men were organized in separate locals directly attached to the Federation.

The Courts.—The American Federation regards the courts as among its most powerful and bitter foes. It considers its very existence threatened by the actions of judges. The situation is a cumulative one, but it reached a most severe stage when the 1922 convention met, due to the recent decisions handed down by the United States Supreme Court. Hence at Cincinnati a special committee on the subject of the courts was appointed, and its report was discussed at considerable length by the leading delegates. The special committee considered, among other subjects, "the class-biased decisions of our courts, embracing Judge Anderson's injunction against the United Mine Workers, Judge McClintic's injunction against the miners, the Tri-City case, Truax versus Corrigan, the Coronado case," also the national child labor decision of the Supreme Court and other decisions of that body. Incidentally, this committee consulted with a number of prominent attorneys, among whom was Morris Hillquit of New York City.

The committee recommended that the Federation urge upon Congress the adoption of four amendments to the Constitution of the United States: (1) prohibiting child labor; (2) prohibiting the enactment of any law or the making of any judicial determination denying workers the right to organize, to bargain collectively, to strike and picket; (3) providing that Congress may override a decision or assertion of public policy of the United States Supreme Court by repassing the

law by a two-thirds majority; and (4) providing for an easier method of amending the constitution itself. In addition, after acknowledging the difficulties of securing amendments to the basic law of the land, the committee urged the convention to declare for: (1) a new law on child labor, overcoming if possible the objections of the one found unconstitutional; (2) laws embodying amendments to the Clayton act—an act which Gompers formerly regarded as the Magna Charta of American labor—filling up the gaps made by the courts; and (3) a law repealing the Sherman anti-trust law. All of these recommendations were adopted by the convention. The 1923 convention instructed the Executive Council to petition Congress for a further amendment to the constitution providing for the election of federal judges.

At Cincinnati (1922) the A. F. of L. favored the establishment of a Legal Defense Bureau to co-operate with lawyers friendly to labor in defending its fundamental rights. United States Senator Robert M. La Follette addressed the convention by invitation and made a very vigorous attack on the courts. He was greeted most enthusiastically.

Labor Legislation.—The headquarters of the American Federation of Labor are, for obvious reasons, in Washington, D. C., the capital of the government. Next to organization work, the securing or preventing of legislation is one of its main objects. Lobbying by the officers and committees, and political effort through the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committees, are the methods used. Thirteen finely printed pages of the report of the Executive Council to the 1923 convention deal with a summary of legislation in which the Federation was interested. The report declares that “the sixty-seventh Congress will find an unenviable place in history. Reaction and incompetence . . . made it impotent to remedy any of the evils troubling the people of our country.” The report signalled out for special consideration the “lame ducks” or hold-over congressmen, who continue to hold their places for a session although they have already been defeated for re-election. The council voiced its joy at the defeat of the ship subsidy bill and the sales tax; it showed concern over an unsuccessful attempt to import coolie labor into Hawaii; it made clear its opposition to a special court control of aliens or their registration, and opposed any scraping of bureaus of the Department of Labor. It declared

itself in favor of a soldiers' bonus, and showed its usual opposition to any form of compulsory arbitration or possible conscription of labor in time of war or peace.

The National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, with its executive committee of Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, and James O'Connell, claimed, in a signed statement to the convention, that through its activities in the 1922 Congressional elections "23 candidates for United States senators who had been loyal to labor and the people were elected and 11 reactionary senators defeated. Of the friendly senators elected, 18 were Democrats and 5 Republicans. Of the candidates for representatives, 170 were elected either because directly supported by the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committees or by reason of the opposition to their opponents. Of these, 105 were Democrats, 63 Republicans, one Farmer-Labor, and one Independent." These results were accomplished with the expenditure of but \$4,928.33, the use of the voluntary and paid organizers of the A. F. of L. and affiliated bodies, the activities of the political committees of the various local unions, and repeated circularization. The A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Committee in its literature emphasized as its slogans: "No judge-made laws; abolish the injunction abuse; no compulsory labor laws; no sales tax; no subsidies for the privileged few; whatever injures labor injures the farmer; whatever benefits labor benefits the farmer." The Executive Council issued a special statement on the Eighteenth Amendment, asking that the Volstead enforcement act be modified to permit the manufacture and sale of beer and light wines. During the campaign of 1922 the committee requested James Duncan, secretary of the Seattle Central Labor Council and running for United States senator on an independent Labor ticket, to withdraw in favor of Dill, the Democratic candidate. He refused. The committee stated in its report that it "believes that no individual member of the labor movement should allow himself to be forced into a political contest which would result in the election of a bitter and relentless antagonist to labor."

The 1923 convention instructed the Executive Council to visit the party conventions of 1924 as usual and seek to have them incorporate labor's demands in their platforms. In order that the time and energy of the active heads of the

labor movement might be free for the coming election, the date for the 1924 convention was set for November 17, 1924. El Paso, Texas, was chosen as the place. The convention directed that greater effort than ever be expended in the national election and urged the international unions to give generous financial aid to the work.

Education.—The agreement entered into by the Executive Council with the Workers' Education Bureau was approved by the convention of 1923. George W. Perkins of the Cigar-makers, John P. Frey of the Molders, and Matthew Woll of the Photo-Engravers, were designated as representatives of the A. F. of L. on the Executive Board of the bureau. The report of the Council to the convention stated that there were affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau one national federation of labor, 14 national or international unions, five state federations of labor, 26 central labor unions and district councils, eight local unions, 18 workers' educational enterprises, three co-operative societies, and three student organizations, making a total of 78 bodies. "The greatest care has been exercised to prevent any taint of propaganda from intruding itself into the activities or the literature of the bureau. The bureau proposes to make its work sustained by working people. Unions and workers participating in educational endeavors should jointly share the expenses." Dual and seceding unions of the A. F. of L. are not admissible to membership.

The Committee on Education reported on its efforts to secure laws in the states providing free text books in public schools, its opposition to the Lusk laws and restrictive influences upon the teacher. It recommended that every affiliated unit of the A. F. of L. organize an educational committee and help in developing a constructive program for the public schools, for general educational effort, for adult education, for college curricula and teaching, and for research work for the labor movement. The committee of 1922 reported on the *Survey of Text Books and Social Studies*, which it endorsed. It recommended opposition to any state censorship of the motion picture and stage productions.

The Portland convention ordered the continuation of affiliation of the A. F. of L. with the Personnel Research Foundation, an association of various research groups interested in personnel problems. The Executive Council report announced

the coming publication of a *Book of Charts*, showing the form and scope of the A. F. of L. achievements. It also reported the printing of *Labor Information*, a pamphlet publication sent to those outside of the trade union ranks who occupy posts of importance in influencing public opinion; *The News Budget*, a small clipsheet of very brief items and quotations sent to newspapers of the smaller cities; the *International Labor News Service*, the news service of the International Labor Press of America, an organization of bona-fide trade union publications in the United States and Canada; the *Guide to Sources of Information* in loose leaf form; a second volume of the *History, Encyclopedia, and Reference Book*, and an *American Federationist Index*.

The report of the special committee, appointed by Gompers by authority of the 1922 convention, to investigate the news and editorial policy of the Federated Press, was adopted by the convention. The report stated that the Federated Press served 75 publications and about 200 local unions and central bodies, and that the policy of the F. P. "is to report the news of all pretending-to-be factions of the labor movement and to admit to membership in the F. P. publications representing all factions and wings of the movement." The committee declared that "a majority of the present directors would in any test be either hostile to the American Federation of Labor or lukewarm toward it," and that the F. P. includes or can include "all the various revolutionary elements outside of the American Federation of Labor hostile to the A. F. of L., hostile to democratic principles in general and in open warfare, in an effort to undermine and destroy the American Federation of Labor." It could not recommend membership in the F. P. in sufficient numbers to outvote the present majority, because not less than four-fifths of the present members must vote for the admission of an applicant and because of an indebtedness of \$48,000. The committee held, and was supported by the votes of the convention, that the "Federated Press lends itself continuously to the spreading of doctrines subversive of the best interests of the American working people as expressed in the bona-fide trade union movement."

Unseating of William F. Dunne.—The condemnation of the Federated Press gave Matthew Woll an opportunity to urge the convention to condemn individual labor papers and expel individual trade unionists from the convention of the A. F.

of L. He urged "that not alone the labor press that does not follow the viewpoint of the trade union movement as expressed by the American Federation of Labor should not receive its support, but that anyone coming to this convention seeking to represent a state or central body who edits such a paper (as the *Butte Bulletin*, edited by William F. Dunne, delegate from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, Butte, Mont.), and who has direct connection with the Communist Party and is playing for the Soviet and Moscow government, has no right in this convention as a trade unionist." He hoped the delegates would "make this a respectable convention by the unseating of Delegate William F. Dunne." Delegate Murray, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, made the motion to unseat Dunne, and Tracy of the Brick and Clay Workers of Chicago, Greenstein of the Jewelry Workers of New York, as well as some of the Mine Workers' delegates, secured the floor to speak in favor of the motion. Dunne alone spoke in the negative. By a roll call vote 27,837 were cast in favor and 108 votes against. Gompers declared it was the second episode where a delegate had been expelled from a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Evolution versus Amalgamation.—Three separate resolutions, two by city central delegates and one by a delegate from the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, were introduced in the 1923 convention, calling upon the Federation to instruct the Executive Council to perfect some plan for the amalgamation of the existing international unions into industrial units. The committee, in commenting upon them, denied in the first place that the A. F. of L. is confined to "craft" unions, or that the A. F. of L. exercised any power of resistance against affiliated "craft" unions cooperating, federating, or amalgamating. The Resolutions Committee went on further to impugn the motives of those advocating amalgamation. "Demonstrative proof is overwhelming that those who are constantly at work dividing the organized workers on abstract discussions or forms of organization and spreading the poison of suspicion against the officers of trade unions have never been loyal trade unionists. . . . In addition, the self-acclaimed 'amalgamationists' are not bent on amalgamation, but upon the disruption and destruction of the organized labor movement of America."

The Executive Council report instanced a number of cases

of evolutionary progress toward unification on the part of affiliated unions. It stated that the printing unions had recently rejected the resolution of the Typographical Union for an amalgamation of all unions in the printing trade. It upheld the Scranton convention declaration favoring autonomy of the unions and voluntary assistance by the A. F. of L. toward preserving craft autonomy or helping allied craft action, and subsequent action establishing the departments in the Federation. Not a single delegate spoke in favor of the amalgamation resolutions, which were defeated. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council took the floor to state that "propaganda of a lying nature that does not give credit to the A. F. of L. for the work it has already done along amalgamation lines not only does not advance the sound amalgamation program, but hinders amalgamation."

Opposition to Independent Political Action.—The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, with the record of having helped elect two United States senators upon the Farmer-Labor Party ticket, the delegates from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the delegate from the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, all introduced resolutions calling upon the American Federation to head up and organize an independent Labor Party. The Resolutions Committee declared "the procedure followed . . . in the state of Minnesota . . . was unquestioned, indeed was supported by the American Federation of Labor." One of the surprises of the discussion was the attitude of John Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, former chairman of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, and candidate of the party for governor in his state. He declared on the floor: "I feel if, instead of forming Socialist parties and Farmer-Labor parties, we had adopted this plan (non-partisan plan of the A. F. of L.) we would have reached our objective by this time." Max Hayes of the Typographical Union, among others, made his plea, oft repeated in A. F. of L. convention halls, for an independent party. Finally 25,066 votes were cast against an independent Labor Party and 1,895 in favor. Among those voting for a Labor Party were delegates from the Bakery Workers, Fur Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Painters, Journeymen Tailors, Typographical Union, Upholsterers, Iron, Steel, and Tin

Workers, Clay Workers, and from numerous city and state federations.

International Labor Relations.—Resolutions calling upon the government of the United States to resume official trade relations with and eventually recognize Russia went down to defeat both in 1922 and 1923. At Portland, delegates Johnston of the Machinists, Madsen of the Painters, Timothy Healy of the Stationary Firemen, and Hayes of the Printers, advocated adoption of the resolution, while delegate Woll and President Gompers argued against it. A request for a roll call vote, requiring by constitutional provision one-tenth of the delegates present, was not supported by the required number, and the recommendation of the committee not to concur in the resolution was carried by a very large majority.

The request of the Executive Council to the convention of 1923 that it be allowed to continue negotiations with the International Federation of Trade Unions "in the hope that opportunity may yet be had for affiliation" was granted. The Executive Council stated that the International Federation had made no move to meet any of the objections of the A. F. of L., based on a desire for national autonomy, for less radical commitments, and for lower dues, and that therefore it could not join "without the sacrifice or repudiation of principles which the American trade union movement regards as inviolable."

The convention endorsed the council in assisting to clear up the estrangement between the governments of Mexico and the United States, and approved the continued affiliation of the A. F. of L. with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Immigration.—The immigration policy of the Federation was reaffirmed in both conventions. The Committee on Legislation in the 1923 convention recommended "that the Executive Council be instructed to advocate before the 68th Congress a more stringent immigration policy under which immigration shall be curtailed below the present quotas." Opposition to any change of policy as applied to Asiatic labor, and a request that Congress enforce the existing immigration laws to the letter by efficient administrative agencies and proper expenditures, were also expressed by resolutions adopted. A resolution introduced by the delegates from the International Ladies' Garment Workers, to the effect that the A. F. of L. declare in favor of the United States maintaining

at all times "the glorious tradition of keeping its doors open to the victims of racial, religious, and political persecution in all lands," was referred to the Executive Council.

Labor Banking.—The Portland convention took a more friendly position with reference to labor banks. The Executive Council reported that 23 labor banks were either doing business or were about ready for business, in addition to which about 20 more were in the process of organization. It declared that "the formation of labor banks could not possibly operate as a remedy for the economic injustices" existing. But, it added, "if, through the development of relations between labor banks on sound lines, there can come into being a credit administration in the interests of productive effort. . . . we shall have reason to look upon labor banking as having the character of a truly fundamental step in advance."

General.—The cordial relations existing between the Federation and the American Legion were manifest at the two conventions.

Resolutions denouncing the Ku Klux Klan and the American Fascisti were adopted. The 1923 convention voted support to the American Red Cross and of the rehabilitation work of the Veterans' Bureau. It went on record again in favor of a national old age pension law. It urged a careful check-up on the use of intelligence tests and "labor participation in direction," where used in industry. It authorized an investigation of the benefit features of the affiliated unions, group insurance plans, and employers' insurance.

The 1922 convention went on record in favor of a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti and instructed the Executive Council to continue its efforts to free the remaining political prisoners. Both conventions voted to petition the governor of California for a pardon for Mooney.

A fairly comprehensive report of the Committee on Unemployment, authorized by the Denver (1921) convention was made to the 1922 gathering. It recommended a continuous study of the problem through a committee, designated agency, or executive secretary, and urged that the labor movement make special efforts to secure legislation providing for an adequate federal employment service and public credit for public works and public purposes. The 1922 con-

vention favored the repeal of all discriminatory laws against women and advocated specific laws to that end, but opposed blanket legislation which might place in jeopardy labor laws for women. It endorsed the action of the Council in assisting the Conference on Limitation of Armament, and urged an economic conference to be called by and held in the United States with an agenda prepared by this government. It favored a Coal Commission. It declared that the launching of a daily or chain of newspapers was not practicable, but that it would start a national weekly when the time was propitious. It endorsed self-government for India. It urged the labor movements of all Latin-American countries to prevail upon their governments to consider the future welfare of their peoples as the first consideration before agreeing upon terms with foreign bankers. It went on record to request the Department of State to recognize the government of Mexico.

In the 1922 convention the railroad shop crafts introduced a resolution, unanimously adopted, affirming opposition to the iniquitous Cummins-Esch law, and calling upon Congress for its repeal; declaring that the Railroad Labor Board had in the overwhelming majority of decisions functioned in the interest of the railroad management and against the employees; and commending the three members of the labor group of the board.

The 1922 convention defeated a resolution providing for the amalgamation of all needle trades unions, including the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.

A resolution commending Howat and Dorchy of the Kansas Miners for their stand against the Industrial Court law was referred to the United Mine Workers.

The convention of 1923 reaffirmed its demand for modification of the Volstead act.

It ordered an investigation of the Industrial Workers of the World, and its relation to hostile employers and private detective agencies.

Election of Officers.—The 1922 convention elected all officers of the previous year—in fact, in nearly all instances, of a good many years. Samuel Gompers was re-elected president without opposition, as were James Duncan, first vice-president; Joseph F. Valentine, second vice-president; Frank

Duffy, third vice-president; William Green, fourth vice-president; W. D. Mahon, fifth vice-president; T. A. Rickert, sixth vice-president; Matthew Woll, eighth vice-president, and Frank Morrison, secretary. Jacob Fischer had a contest against Thomas F. Flaherty, but was elected seventh vice-president by a vote of 17,725 to 13,279. Likewise, Daniel J. Tobin had to stand a contest from Joseph A. Franklin, but beat the latter for treasurer by a vote of 18,519 to 12,543. Benjamin Schlesinger of the Ladies' Garment Workers was elected without opposition as delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, and Edward J. McGivern beat Edward J. Gainor for second fraternal delegate.

The 1923 convention re-elected the officers and Executive Council unanimously.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Membership.—The oldest and most extensively developed department of the American Federation of Labor is that of the Building Trades. When its seventeenth annual convention was held in September, 1923, just prior to the A. F. of L. meeting, 435 organizations were affiliated as follows:

International unions	16
Local building trades councils	411
State councils	8

The international unions and their membership were:

Table 50—Membership of Building Trades Unions, 1923

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1923 Membership</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>1923 Membership</i>
Asbestos Workers	2,040	Sheet Metal Workers	24,999
Bricklayers	69,999	Painters	91,823
Iron Workers	16,000	Plumbers and Steamfitters	35,000
Electrical Workers	142,000	Plasterers	25,064
Elevator Constructors	4,701	Roofers	3,000
Steam Engineers	15,999	Stone Cutters	4,841
Granite Cutters	9,500		
Hod Carriers	47,202	Total	502,132
Lathers	8,001	Carpenters (Withdrawn)...	315,000
Marble Workers	1,963		
			817,132

Non-Affiliation of Carpenters.—The outstanding fact in regard to the Building Trades Department has been the non-affiliation of the Carpenters since 1921. The latter organization, numbering three-eighths of the entire membership of the 17 building trades' unions, refused to accept a decision handed down by the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, with which the Department is affiliated. This Board was

formed in August, 1919, and hears and decides all disputes of a jurisdictional nature in the building industry. The Department is represented on the Board by Preece of the Bricklayers, Hedrick of the Painters, and Coefield of the Plumbers and Steamfitters. The other bodies represented on the Board are the National Association of Building Trades Employers, the Associated General Contractors of America, the American Engineering Council, and the American Institute of Architects. After a repeatedly postponed hearing, in which the Carpenters refused to participate, the Board awarded the Sheet Metal Workers jurisdiction over the erection of hollow sheet metal window frame and sash and hollow metal doors and trim, while it gave the Carpenters jurisdiction over metal floor domes and metal forms for concrete columns. Thereupon the president of the Carpenters withdrew from the Board, of which he had been vice-chairman, and the Carpenters' union withdrew from the Building Trades Department. Innumerable controversies have taken place on buildings and in local and state Building Trades Councils because of this controversy. The Sheet Metal Workers have gone ahead to secure enforcement of the decision of the National Board, while the Carpenters pay no attention to it.

President Gompers has done all in his power to induce the Carpenters to rejoin the Department. The Executive Council of the Department after a conference with representatives of the Carpenters reported back to the convention that they "were informed by the Carpenters' delegates that until such time as the Department changed its relationship with the National Board of Jurisdictional Awards it would not be possible to bring about the affiliation of the Carpenters with the Department." The Executive Council was authorized to continue its efforts to the end that the Carpenters might reaffiliate. No change in its policy or the award of the National Board itself was made.

Local Building Trades Councils.—In reference to the division in Chicago where two sets of officers claimed to represent the Building Trades Council, the convention instructed the president of the Department, the Executive Council, and the presidents of the international unions to go to Chicago within 60 days of adjournment and bring about harmony in the building trades of the city. The delegates upheld the Executive Council in revoking the charter of the Cleveland council and setting up another, and a committee was instruct-

ed to visit that city within 60 days to see that local unions affiliate with the regularly chartered body. It was voted that no officer or delegate from a suspended council would thereafter be seated as a delegate to the Building Trades Department conventions. As in Cleveland, where the Carpenters' controversy with the Sheet Metal Workers forced the Department to organize a new council, so in Los Angeles. Largely for the same reasons, and after considerable haggling, the Executive Council set up there a new Building Trades Council, despite the claims of the California State Building Trades. Its action was sustained by the convention. The St. Louis Building Trades Council, for refusal to seat delegates from the authorized local of Iron Workers, and for supporting an older union which had been disciplined, was suspended until it complied with the demand of the Iron Workers' International Union. The convention ordered a meeting of international presidents to be held in New York City, where the present chartered A. F. of L. Building Trades Council is not recognized by a number of local unions who constitute the older and rival council.

Applications.—Applications of the Machinists and the Teamsters for membership in the department were denied. The San Francisco convention of 1915 had declared the Machinists ineligible, and the Portland gathering unanimously upheld its previous action. Despite a letter to the Executive Council from Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters, and a speech in favor of their admission by Duncan of the Granite Cutters, the Teamsters were refused admission. A delegate from the Iron Workers declared that his union was opposed because the Teamsters had encroached upon its jurisdiction.

General.—The committee on President Donlin's report rejected his suggestion that the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards be augmented to include all crafts represented in the Department. "Your committee can well recall the specter of the pre-Board days of jurisdictional strife and the farcical sessions of the 'one from each craft' Department executive board, born of the Seattle convention (1913) which made a feeble effort at functioning and survived but one short year." The committee did, however, approve Donlin's recommendation that the general offices of the affiliated unions be centralized in Washington, D. C., the headquarters of the Department. It also recommended that regular quarterly meetings of all affiliated union officials be held at De-

partment headquarters. The committee's report was adopted by the convention.

The per capita from affiliated organizations was raised to $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per member per month.

Affiliation of the Department with the American Construction Council, which seeks to minimize the number of labor disputes and stimulate building operations by standardizing reasonable building costs and determining the differential between wages and profits, was ordered continued, with the hope that all the building trades crafts would affiliate.

Secretary-Treasurer William J. Spencer referred in his report to the averting of a controversy between the bricklayers and plasterers, a dispute "which without doubt would have engendered the most disastrous contention we have yet been called upon to face . . . for every trade would be involved, as would almost every structure from the modern skyscraper to the humblest home."

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Unions Attached.—The fifteenth and sixteenth annual conventions of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. were held in Cincinnati and in Portland, Oregon, in June, 1922, and September, 1923, immediately prior to the A. F. of L. gatherings. The voting strength of the affiliated international unions at the two conventions was as follows:

Table 51—Voting Strength in Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, 1922 and 1923

<i>Organizations</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>Organizations</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
American Fed. of Labor..	5	5	Machinists	625	500
Blacksmiths	250	50	Metal Polishers	81	68
Boilermakers	430	195	Molders	265	(1)
Technical men	9	5			
Electrical workers	360	360	Pattern Makers	80	80
Steam & Oper. Engineers..	160	160	Plumbers & Steamfitters..	350	350
Stationary Firemen	41	20	Sheet Metal Workers....	250	250
Foundry Employees	40	40	Stove Mounters	14	14
Iron Workers	141	145	Iron, Steel & Tin Workers	—	107

Metal trades councils from the following points were each represented by one delegate at the Cincinnati convention: Brooklyn, Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, Panama, St. Louis, and the Canadian District Council. At Portland there were delegates from Brooklyn, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Portland, Panama, and San Francisco.

¹No delegates on account of own convention being held.

Finances.—The report of the secretary-treasurer, A. J. Berres, showed that for the fiscal year 1922-1923 total receipts were \$27,288.96, of which \$26,037.32 came from the affiliated internationals.

Federal Employees.—In his annual report to the Portland convention, President O'Connell of the department declared that the chiefs of the bureaus of the United States War Department were decidedly hostile to organized labor, and he condemned the United States Shipping Board for permitting the reconditioning of ships to go to other than government navy yards. The convention supported the demands of the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad for restoration of conditions taken from them January 1, 1922, and demanded the employment of American citizens only on all classes of work above that of messenger and laborer. The delegates petitioned the government to build up a navy on the Washington treaty ratio. They demanded that government navy yards and arsenals be authorized to bid upon all contracts let by the government, with the setting up of a Wage Board of Adjustment. They favored application of the federal eight-hour law to all goods manufactured by and for the government. They opposed any sweeping preference being given to veterans of the World War. They commended the Navy Department for its fairness in permitting the establishment of the Wage Reviewing Board of which the secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department is a member. The convention opposed any reclassification of federal employees which would include those in the mechanical departments.

Organization Work.—Five charters were issued in the year 1921-1922, but none in the fifteen months between the two conventions of 1922 and 1923. Efforts to organize the locomotive building shops and the electrical industry had ended in failure. President O'Connell said: "It is almost useless and an extravagant expenditure of effort and finances for any one organization with one or two organizers to attempt the organization of these great industries without joint cooperation of all trades interested . . . I am convinced that the time is auspicious for such an undertaking." Plans are to be worked out along these lines, and special organization drives are to be conducted in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and in connection with the steel workers' campaign. The international unions were urged to put active organizers in the field,

and to amend their constitutions to require all local unions to join local metal trades councils.

The A. F. of L. was urged to grant federal charters to colored workers in the federal service. O'Connell paid his respects to detectives and operatives inside of unions. He spoke of radicals and radicalism as a vicious and destructive force. He declared that nationalism, radicalism, and the influence of church authorities, were causing dissension in Canada. He suggested, and the convention approved, closer relations of the affiliated international unions with the International Metal Workers' Federation, with recognition of traveling cards by the organizations in the United States.

Amalgamation.—At the 1922 convention, John P. Frey of the Molders inquired as to the action of the Railway Employees' Department convention on the question of amalgamation. J. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers replied that the majority of the delegates were not in favor of amalgamation, "but it was a kind of hysteria or idea that had gotten into their minds that the only solution of the ills under which they were suffering could be brought about by some kind of amalgamation in the railroad trades." No definite plan was proposed. William H. Johnston of the Machinists added that he was opposed to the railroad men, who belonged to organizations including other classes of workers, forming one railroad union by themselves; mutual assistance would be lacking in time of trouble. Some of the delegates declared themselves in favor of amalgamation but President O'Connell ruled the whole matter out of order. At the 1923 convention he recommended that editors of international union organs print articles showing the unsoundness and snags of the amalgamation program.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

Membership.—The entry of the United States into the World War, with the taking over of the railroads by the government which entered into contract relations with the sixteen standard railroad unions, caused an unprecedented growth of the membership of the unions affiliated with and constituting the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor. The passage of the Cummins-Esch bill on March 1, 1920, the return of the railroads to their private owners, the national open shop drive, the militant policies of certain railroad companies, the business de-

pression, and the national shopmen's strike, have all in various degrees helped to whittle down the war membership. The membership for 1916 and 1923 of the nine organizations which at present make up the department was:

Table 52—Membership of Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, 1916 and 1923

Organization	1916	1923
Machinists	160,900	97,300
Boilermakers	18,200	19,400
Blacksmiths	9,700	5,000
Railway Carmen	30,800	160,000
Sheet Metal Workers	17,500	25,000
Electrical Workers	56,200	142,000
Switchmen's Union	9,300	8,700
Firemen and Oilers (Stationary)	17,000	12,500
Maintenance of Way	8,600	37,700
	248,500	507,600

The power of the enlarged railroad unions was manifested in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, where the railroad bloc secured an endorsement of the Plumb Plan and of a program of industrial democracy in 1920 and 1921, although it did not elect a representative on the Executive Council. However, with the resignation of W. D. Mahon, the council appointed Martin Ryan, president of the Railway Carmen, as eighth vice-president of the A. F. of L. and he was re-elected at the Portland convention.

Railway Employees' Department Convention.—Conventions of the Railway Employees' Department are unique. They are held at a different time and place from those of the A. F. of L. conventions. They are biennial. Above all, the delegates come exclusively from the subdivisions of the department, the system federations and the federated crafts. The presidents of the international unions, if not delegates, have a voice but no vote.

The latest convention, which was held in Chicago, April 10-22, 1922, was attended by several hundred delegates from the six shop crafts, besides the Railway Clerks who were then affiliated, and the Switchmen. The Maintenance of Way men were suspended from the A. F. of L. and therefore out of the department at the time. The Stationary Firemen were not then affiliated. On roll-calls each union casts one vote regardless of size, a majority of the delegates determining the vote of the organization.

When the department convened in April, 1922, the delegates were in a mood for action. Some of them sought to take control into their own hands and out of the domination of the presidents of the affiliated unions. A resolution to

this end called for the election by the convention of six vice-presidents, to devote their full time to their tasks, to be the mechanical section of the executive council. The resolution met with opposition from the Switchmen and Clerks, the lone delegate's vote of each organization helping to defeat it, for the vote stood five unions against and three in favor. The international officers almost unanimously spoke against it.

A second battle took place over the question of financing the department. Resolutions to raise the per capita tax to 5 or 10 cents per member per month were defeated. The system federations, however, were empowered to levy assessments without a referendum vote of the membership affected.

Amalgamation.—The amalgamationists advocated a referendum vote of all members on the question of one amalgamated railroad union. The executive council declared that the department had no power to consider this question as it involved the dissolution of the affiliated organizations. The drift of the debate was decidedly in favor of amalgamation, but the leaders and A. O. Wharton, the outstanding figure representing labor on the Railroad Labor Board, attacked it and no roll-call vote was taken.

The leading act of the convention was the unanimous decision to take a strike vote and have it compiled and tabulated within sixty days of the adjournment of the gathering.¹ Effective declaring of the strike, however, was put in the hands of the executive council. To make proper financial preparations for the strike, a resolution was carried calling for a donation of \$1 a month from mechanics and 50 cents from helpers.

A very important discussion developed in connection with the application of the Maintenance of Way men to join the department, despite the fact that they were suspended from the A. F. of L. because of a jurisdictional dispute with the Carpenters. President Jewell of the department ruled that no organization could be affiliated with it which was not affiliated with the A. F. of L. Applications of the Plumbers and Steamfitters, Painters, and Railroad Signalmen for membership in the department were declined, because of jurisdictional disputes with organizations already attached. The Electrical Workers opposed the Railroad Telegraphers and the Railroad Signalmen entering the department. The Stationary Firemen and Oilers were accepted after considerable

¹ See p. 111.

discussion, the delegates overruling a committee report not to accept.

The convention urged the membership to contribute \$1 each toward financing the Conference for Progressive Political Action. It defeated the proposal of a referendum and recall of officers. It adopted a resolution instructing the executive council to take steps to secure the affiliation of the four transportation Brotherhoods.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Affiliations.—The sixteenth annual convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor met September 27-28, 1923, at Portland, with delegates present from the following affiliated organizations:

American Federation of Labor	Machinists
Bakery Workers	Meat Cutters and Butchers
Barbers	Sheet Metal Workers
Bookbinders	Paper Makers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Plate Printers
Brewery Workers	Metal Polishers
Carpenters and Joiners	Stage Employees
Retail Clerks	Stereotypers
Cigar Makers	Stove Mounters
Electrical Workers	Journeyman Tailors
Photo-Engravers	Teamsters
United Garment Workers	Typographical Union
Hatters	Upholsterers
Horseshoers	Women's International Union
Hotel and Restaurant Workers	Label League and Trades Union
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers	Auxiliary

The report of the secretary-treasurer, John J. Manning, showed that Union Label Leagues had been formed in 18 cities during the year, and there were 170 Leagues affiliated with the Department.

Methods for Pushing Label.—The convention concerned itself largely with the methods of extending the use of the union label. President Hays of the Department recommended that the officers of the internationals induce their local unions to organize label committees, and to affiliate with the Union Label Leagues of their cities. Secretary Manning likewise urged that local unions tie up with the Leagues, and "assume their full responsibility, financially and otherwise, in this work." The Union Label Leagues in some cities, as in New York and Cleveland, were specially mentioned for their activity and effective methods used to push the label. The convention adopted a resolution instructing the Executive Board to cooperate with the United Hatters to create a better demand for their label in fur felt, straw, Panama, and wool hats. The Committee on Organi-

zation commended the field work of the New York representative, and urged its extension.

Officers.—The convention elected J. W. Hays of the Typographical Union as president, Jacob Fischer of the Barbers first vice-president, G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers second vice-president, Matthew Woll of the Photo-Engravers third vice-president, Charles L. Baine of the Boot and Shoe Workers fourth vice-president, Joseph Obergfell of the Brewery Workers fifth vice-president, and John J. Manning of the United Garment Workers secretary-treasurer.

NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS

Membership and Affiliations.—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Fur Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, and the Journeymen Tailors' Union, constitute what are generally known as the needle trades unions. Their membership is approximately:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers	135,000
International Ladies' Garment Workers	110,000
Journeymen Tailors	12,000
International Fur Workers	11,000
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	15,000

The percentage of men and women in the largest two unions in November, 1923, was:

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Amalgamated Clothing Workers	59	41
Ladies' Garment Workers	51	49

Neither the Amalgamated Clothing Workers nor the Cap Makers is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The last-named organization regards the Amalgamated as a seceding and dual union and recognizes the United Garment Workers only. It suspended the Cap Makers because of a jurisdictional dispute with the United Hatters. The bulk of the membership of the needle trades is located in New York City. The national offices of all except the Journeymen Tailors are also located there. In 1922 and 1923 there were no changes among the presidents and secretaries of these unions, except for the resignation of Benjamin Schlesinger as president of the Ladies' Garment Workers and the election of Morris Sigman to succeed him at a special convention on February 15, 1923.

Needle Trades Workers' Alliance.—Following the unsuccessful attempt of 1920, a second alliance of the needle trades

unions was established at a meeting of representatives of the Executive Boards of the five unions on September 7-8, 1923. The Alliance was a compromise, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers being in favor of the immediate formation of an amalgamated union, while the others sought at present an alliance only. The Alliance provides for membership of all needle trades unions. It calls for an annual conference with five representatives from each national union, and an Executive Council made up of one representative from each affiliated organization. The council at present consists of:

Morris Sigman, president.....	Ladies' Garment Workers
Max Zaritsky, secretary-treasurer..	Cap Makers
Sidney Hillman	Amalgamated Clothing Workers
Morris Kaufman	Fur Workers
Thomas Sweeney	Journeymen Tailors

Finances are provided for by a budget of \$20,000, raised from a per capita tax of not more than 1 cent per member of the affiliated bodies. Expenses of special organization campaigns will be met proportionately by the unions involved. A paid executive secretary or manager is to be employed. The platform calls for an organization department to carry out joint efforts, and for moral and financial assistance in trade matters, strikes, and lockouts. As yet but little practical work has been done by the Alliance, although a few local councils have been established. President Kaufman of the Furriers was requested, after leaving the A. F. of L. convention at Portland, to visit the coast and make a survey of the field for an organization drive.

Unemployment Insurance.—The needle trades unions are the pioneers in America of voluntary unemployment insurance funds maintained jointly by workers and employers. Three of the unions have established or are in the process of organizing such funds. The Cleveland plan of the Ladies' Garment Workers is the oldest, having been made a part of an agreement between the manufacturers and the union in the middle of 1921. The agreement between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the clothing manufacturers of Chicago establishing an unemployment insurance fund went into effect on May 1, 1923. The Cap Makers, by referendum vote, have decided to demand from their employers in new trade negotiations a small additional increase of wages, to begin an insurance fund wholly under the control of the national union.

The Cleveland employer who signs the Ladies' Garment Workers' agreement, which has been once renewed, guarantees his regular workers who do not leave voluntarily and are not justifiably discharged, 20 weeks of work during each half year. If he does not provide these 20 weeks, then for the unemployed part he pays his employees one-half (formerly two-thirds) of their minimum wages, provided that the maximum for all employees does not exceed more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his total direct labor pay roll for the six-month period. Each employer submits weekly to the impartial chairman of the Board of Referees an employment report, showing the voluntary absences and compulsory lay-offs of his men and women, and deposits an amount equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his weekly pay roll. Each manufacturer receives back at the end of the six-month period as much of his own fund as has not been needed to pay his employees for time lost. But a worker does not lose his right to draw unemployment pay from his regular employer if he secures other work during his lay-off.

The Chicago plan of the Amalgamated stipulates that each manufacturer shall deduct $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from each member's wages and, after adding an equal amount, deposit the total weekly with a Board of Trustees. The plan is to continue until April 30, 1925, with provisions for disposal of the fund in case the agreement is not renewed. Six trustees and Professor John R. Commons as chairman constitute the board. The union and the employers have equal representation and equal voting power. The moneys of the fund are to be invested in direct obligations of the United States government only. An employee in order to receive benefits for unemployment must: (1) have made contributions regularly during his employment; (2) have been a member of the union in good standing from May 1, 1923, up to the time when he applies for benefit, or one year after date of his first contribution if he joins the union after May 1, 1923; (3) promptly register at the unemployment exchange; (4) be involuntarily out of work, not discharged for cause, nor unwilling to accept suitable employment; and (5) not be out of work because of strike, stoppage, or violation of agreement.

Benefits will be at the rate of 40 per cent of the average full time weekly wage, but not to exceed \$20 for each full week of unemployment, nor more than the equivalent of five full weekly benefits in a single year. In case he interrupts the regularity of his payments the worker is not to receive

benefit to exceed one full weekly benefit for every 10 full weekly contributions in a year. Benefits are not to begin earlier than January 1, 1924, nor later than May 1, 1924. Whenever the fund for a manufacturer's employees amounts to the total maximum unemployment benefits which would be payable during a period of two years to all of the contributing employees of the manufacturer, the obligation of the employer and the employees ceases, with revival of payments when the fund is less than the total maximum benefits payable for one year.

Most of the trade agreements of the Cap Makers expire on July 1, 1924. In their new wage negotiations the local unions will as part of any increase in wages asked, specifically demand an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to begin an unemployment insurance fund. The membership of the local union will assess itself another $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent weekly. Members in good standing for six months will be entitled to an unemployment benefit not to exceed six weeks out of one year. At the end of 1923 no percentage of weekly earnings or fixed maximum amount to be paid as benefit had been decided upon. Administration and control of the fund will rest exclusively in the hands of the General Executive Board of the Cap Makers.

Assistance to Russia and War Sufferers.—The most liberal and constructive trade union contributions to Russia and the war-stricken peoples of Europe in the last few years have come from the needle trades. The Amalgamated contributed \$167,206.80 and the Ladies' Garment Workers \$35,538.30 toward Russian famine relief, and this at a time when they were fighting almost for existence in their most important centers. The Furriers and the Cap Makers have been generous as well, and all five contributed heavily to the National People's Relief Committee.

A very practical form of industrial relief for Russia was organized by the Amalgamated in 1923—the Russian-American Industrial Corporation (RAIC). The corporation was chartered under Delaware laws in June, 1922. President Sidney Hillman conducted the negotiations with the Russian government on the ground. Soviet law protects the corporation and guarantees the principal invested and a minimum payment to the corporation of 8 per cent per annum. The corporation is capitalized at \$1,000,000. The stock sells at \$10 a share and is held for the most part by small shareholders. About one-third of the capital has been subscribed

to date. The Amalgamated controls the corporation, its initial purchase of stock amounting to \$50,000, in addition to \$10,000 for promotion.

The corporation became a partner and invested in the All-Russian Clothing Syndicate, Inc., a state syndicate comprising at present 35 factories and 18,000 workers together with 25 wholesale and retail selling agencies. The sales of the syndicate which are, by policy, confined to Soviet territory, averaged \$1,000,000 monthly in 1923, while its profits measured over 10 per cent. RAIC's first semi-annual payment to its 5,500 shareholders amounted to 3 per cent and was paid in the fall of 1923. Shares in the corporation are still being bought by individual workers, trade unions and other friends of Soviet Russia.

Impartial Arbitration Machinery.—One of the features of the needle trades unions is the extensive use of arbitration and trade boards, making up the impartial machinery. In Cleveland the Ladies' Garment Workers and the employers work under an agreement providing for a Board of Referees with representatives from both sides, and an impartial chairman, who also administers the unemployment fund. The most complete development of the impartial arbitration machinery has taken place in the men's clothing industry. There are trade and arbitration boards in this industry in Baltimore, Montreal, and Rochester, and two in Chicago, one for the Federation of Clothing Manufacturers and the other for Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Among the decisions of the machinery for two years the largest single group of cases, 862 in all, involved discipline of workers. Discharge took place in 169. Workers in 136 cases were reinstated with pay for time lost. In 346 other cases the worker lost his time but was not discharged, and in 183 cases he was disciplined in other ways. There were 192 cases involving adjustment of wages and piece work rates where the trade boards had to make the final decision; while in 400 other cases adjustments had to be made to protect the workers' earnings so that they might not suffer because of the introduction of changes in the factory. Another 140 cases involved standardization of workers' pay for similar effort and skill. One-sixth of all cases concerned the workers' right to the job, such as preference as a union man, equality in sharing of work and in lay-offs, protection in work nominally or normally done by him, and the like. Home

work and rights as to union activities in the shop were other issues.

General Forward Steps.—The needle trades unions have continued among the leaders in labor education,¹ and have taken up actively the new development of labor banking.² The conventions of the Amalgamated and the Cap Makers in 1922 and 1923 went on record in favor of the formation of an inclusive Labor Party, while the Ladies' Garment Workers and the Fur Workers, both in favor of a Labor Party, in addition endorsed the Socialist Party specifically by resolution.

The contributions of the needle trades to the radical organizations have been for the last two years as generous as any in their history, if not more so. Besides the heavy contributions to Russian and European war-sufferers, the New York *Leader* which succeeded the *Call* as New York's labor daily received \$70,000, \$25,000 apiece from the Amalgamated and the International and \$10,000 from the smaller internationals, together with District Council No. 9 of the Painters, and other bodies. The *Avanti*, an Italian labor daily, received close to \$10,000 up to the 1922 conventions of the Amalgamated and the International, while the Furriers during their strike were given \$30,000 by the former. The Ladies' Garment Workers contributed \$50,000 to the striking coal miners in 1922. Hundreds and thousands of dollars, the sinews of the fighting militant movement of America, have come from the garment workers and the many little local unions belonging to the United Hebrew Trades of New York, the Italian Chamber of Labor or Painters' District Council No. 9.

The needle trades unions in 1922 and 1923 again reaffirmed their demands for recognition of Russia, while those affiliated with the A. F. of L. demanded the reaffiliation of the latter with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Amalgamated referred to the Executive Board a resolution calling for unity of the two Internationals, the Amsterdam and the Red. The needle trades unions led and helped finance the amnesty campaign among labor groups for liberation of all political and industrial prisoners. They have demanded a policy on immigration which would not shut the door to those fleeing from political and racial persecution. They demanded abolition of war preparations, and a peace founded on the

¹ See pp. 219, 227.

² See pp. 234, 236, 238.

gradual elimination of capitalism and of the economic causes of war.

International Pocketbook Workers' Union.—On October 29, 1923, the fancy leather goods workers of New York and New Jersey came together to form the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, a national organization with a membership of 6,000. In the last two years 135 non-union shops in New York and New Jersey have been organized, and extensive organization work is being carried on in Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia, newly developed centers of the trade. The International Pocketbook Workers' Union regards itself as a needle trades organization, because its members work on silks, satins, woolens, and embroidered materials as well as on leather. The union proposes to affiliate with the Needle Trades Alliance and also to apply for a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

In 1921 the fancy leather goods workers suffered a reduction of 10 per cent in their wage scale, which they have since recovered. For the last six years they have conducted negotiations with the Associated Leather Goods Manufacturers on both sides of the Hudson without a single general strike. They have reduced hours to 44 a week, and have practically eliminated the small shop curse. The organization has had to face numerous injunctions in its attempt to organize and secure decent conditions. Like the other needle trades it has been a generous contributor to radical and progressive causes abroad as well as at home, and like them it cooperates with the Rand School in its educational work.

STATE FEDERATIONS AND CITY CENTRAL BODIES

Jurisdiction.—The 1923 report of Secretary-Treasurer Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor showed 49 state federations and 901 city central bodies affiliated. The Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico is included. Though these bodies have no power to call strikes or direct either the local or international unions, their activity in the field of politics and labor legislation, the assistance they give to unions in organization campaigns and disputes, and, finally, the resolutions they adopt on trade union and labor policy are of great significance to the entire movement. At the conventions of the American Federation of Labor these bodies have but one vote each.

Political Action.—During the past two years a number of

notable election and legislative campaigns were conducted by the state federations and city central bodies. In the state of Illinois a new constitution was before the voters. The Illinois Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and other central bodies were most energetic in their efforts to defeat this constitution which would, if adopted, have taken many fundamental rights away from labor and the people. The constitution was overwhelmingly repudiated by the voters.

In Minnesota, Oklahoma, the Dakotas, and the Northwest states generally, the activities of the territorial subdivisions of the A. F. of L. were in considerable measure responsible for the victories of the Farmer-Labor political movement. In a number of states, as a result of the 1922 elections, the relations between the officials of the state federations and city central bodies and the public officials of the states and cities are very friendly, as in New York and New Jersey. The Minnesota and Pennsylvania Federations of Labor instructed their delegates to the 1923 convention of the American Federation of Labor to fight for a Labor Party, while the Illinois Federation of Labor at its Decatur convention in September, 1923, went back on its former action, and defeated a resolution for a Labor Party. It also defeated resolutions favoring recognition of Russia, and for the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial organizations.

Amalgamation.—The Chicago Federation of Labor in March, 1922, adopted a resolution urging the American Federation of Labor to call a conference of its affiliated unions for the purpose of planning the amalgamation into single industrial unions of the existing craft organizations. Amalgamation or industrial unionism was endorsed by 14 state federations at their regular conventions in the last two years, namely:

Colorado	Montana	Ohio	Washington
Indiana	North Dakota	Oregon	Wisconsin
Minnesota	Nebraska	Pennsylvania	
Michigan	New Hampshire	Utah	

A great many city central bodies followed the lead of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. did not approve the resolution. President Gompers, while in Chicago, attacked Foster in connection with the agitation for amalgamation. Both Foster and Fitzpatrick defended the resolution. The relations between these two men, however, became strained after the July, 1923, conven-

tion of the Farmer-Labor Party, and at the Illinois state federation convention in September the opposition to amalgamation focussed on Foster, the Trade Union Educational League, and the Communists.

Radical City Centrals.—In the early part of 1923 the city central bodies of Seattle and Minneapolis were informed that the American Federation of Labor condemned their resolutions and actions which ran counter to the official program of the national body. The Executive Council charged the Seattle council with lack of loyalty, friendship for the I. W. W., sympathy with Russian Sovietism, sending delegates to conventions hostile to the A. F. of L., seating delegates from unions not affiliated with the parent body, and referring communications from the A. F. of L. to a subordinate group, without reading them to the body. The particular acts the A. F. of L. Executive Council objected to were the sending of a delegate to the Congress of the Red International of Russia, opposition to the A. F. of L. non-partisan political policy, and endorsement of an independent Labor Party. The Seattle body denied that it ever sanctioned dual unionism, the I. W. W., or any similar organization. The delegate to the Red Labor International went only as an observer. The council did not approve of Communism, but was in favor of the United States recognizing Russia, and it was loyal to the A. F. of L. Subsequently, it adopted resolutions on these matters, and satisfied the A. F. of L. sufficiently not to lose its charter.

The Minneapolis central body was not given specified charges as was the Seattle council, and has continued along the same lines as formerly.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

Affiliations.—The National Women's Trade Union League provides "a common meeting ground for women of all groups who endorse the principles of democracy and wish to see them applied in industry." It is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and seated in their Conventions as a fraternal body. It has one state committee, in Illinois, and it has local branches or leagues in the following cities:

Birmingham, Ala.
Boston, Mass.
Chicago, Ill.
Cumberland, Md.

Grand Rapids, Mich.
Kansas City, Mo.
Madison, Wis.
Minneapolis, Minn.

New York, N. Y.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Seattle, Wash.
St. Louis, Mo.
Tri-City, Moline

Rock Island, Ill.
Davenport, Iowa
Washington, D. C.
Worcester, Mass.

Under the constitution of the national organization, local leagues must consist of at least 25 members, representing at least three trade unions, with a majority of trade unionists in good standing on the Executive Board. Likewise, for the national body, a majority of the Executive Board must also be trade unionists, in good standing. The National Women's Trade Union League called the first International Congress of Working Women, opened October 28, 1919, in Washington, D. C. It was represented at the second and third Congresses of the International Federation of Working Women, the name adopted for the working women's international, and contributed generously to the financing of the new organization. The League took the responsibility of making contacts for the international body with North and South American countries.

Platform and Functions.—As amended by the last deferred biennial Convention, June 5-10, 1922, at Waukegan, Ill., the following seven points comprise the platform of the League:

1. Organization of workers into trade unions.
2. Equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex or race.
3. Eight-hour day and the 44-hour week.
4. An American standard of living.
5. Full citizenship for women.
6. Outlawry of war.
7. Closer affiliation of women workers of all countries.

At the 1922 and 1923 Conventions of the American Federation of Labor the League's delegate sought unsuccessfully to have the Federation committed to the policy of granting local charters to women workers when the international union having jurisdiction refuses them admission. Previously, on August 23, 1921, at the meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., three representatives of the League appeared to present the case for the unionization of working women, by the issuance of federal charters, but they did not convince the Council to over-ride what it declared was the jurisdiction of the affiliated national unions.

Local leagues have helped to organize a number of women's unions in the last two years, have assisted in strikes, co-operated in matters of compensation for injured working women, gathered statistics on women who work, have spread out beyond their localities into many sections of the state for

union organization purposes, have assisted colored women workers to organize, helped the national unions in their organization campaigns, and have acted as centers for organized working women and those who were being organized.

The National League has given effective cooperation to the Bryn Mawr Summer School, of which Agnes Nestor was appointed assistant director. The League has continued in 1922 and 1923 to conduct its training school, established in 1913, training women trade unionists by study and field work to become more capable leaders in the labor movement. The local leagues have conducted workers' education activities alone or in cooperation with other labor groups, giving courses in parliamentary law, public speaking, English, psychology, and economics.

Legislative Activity.—The National Women's Trade Union League maintains a legislative and publicity headquarters in Washington. Together with other organizations constituting the Women's Joint Legislative Committee, this headquarters in the last two years has concentrated on the passage of the child labor amendment, the civil service reclassification bill, the maternity aid bill, and opposition to the blanket "Equal Rights" amendment proposed by the Women's Party. In the various states the local leagues have proposed legislation affecting women, have called state conferences, cooperated with the state federations and central bodies of labor, and have persistently lobbied and conducted an educational campaign for their bills, chiefly the eight hour and minimum wage laws.

Convention.—The 1922 Convention added the "outlawry of war" to the platform of the League. To make this plank a reality, it has conducted a vigorous campaign for the limitation of armaments, and for peace. At this Convention the League went on record in favor of amnesty for political prisoners, opposed all federal and state laws establishing a censorship over knowledge, and approved the demand of the mine workers for nationalization of the mines. It demanded strict enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, an amendment to the federal farm loan act to permit the granting of loans for home building purposes in cities and towns, withdrawal of troops from Haiti and the recognition of Russia and Mexico, opposition to any racial discrimination in colleges, an anti-injunction law, unemployment compensation legislation, a federal employment service, and study of

methods of regularizing industry as well as timing public works to increase public employment when private employment is slack.

Officers.—Mrs. Raymond Robins, president, resigned, and the 1922 Convention elected Mrs. Maud Swartz in her place, Rose Schneiderman as vice-president, and Elizabeth Christman as secretary-treasurer. The Executive Board consists of Mrs. Sarah Green, Agnes Nestor, Pauline M. Newman, Julia S. O'Connor, Mrs. Raymond Robins, who was also made honorary president, and Ethel M. Smith. The next convention of the League will be held in New York City, June 16-21, 1924. The League publishes an official organ, the *Life and Labor Bulletin*.

THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS

Membership.—The latest triennial conventions of the Railroad Brotherhoods were held in June, 1921, for the Engineers, and in May, 1922, for the three others. When they met, their membership was approximately as follows:

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	88,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemenn..	112,177
Order of Railway Conductors	60,000
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	175,000

The report of the secretary-treasurer of the Trainmen showed that for the three fiscal years preceding the convention disbursements from the beneficiary fund amounted to \$10,251,258.37. On December 31, 1921, there was a total in the four beneficiary funds of the Locomotive Firemen of \$7,528,660.70. The Locomotive Engineers decided to inaugurate a widows' pension fund in addition to the members' pension fund, and cut the rate on indemnity accident insurance 20 per cent. They voted to deposit all their insurance funds in their own bank¹ and save the cost of bonding.

Amalgamation.—Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Locomotive Engineers, together with a committee representing the organization, visited the convention of the Locomotive Firemen in connection with the Chicago joint agreement and possible amalgamation of the two organizations. Stone's remarks on amalgamation are of sufficient interest to be quoted:

Another thing I am going to talk on—and now don't have heart failure—is amalgamation of the two organizations. A number of our men, when you talk about amalgamation, state it can't be done. It can be done just as easily as not, if both sides will go at the problem and do justice in

¹ See p. 232.

the consideration of it. The greatest problem that will confront us will be in regard to our pension and insurance departments, and I imagine that this is a matter for some insurance actuary to work out. . . . It would stop the enormous overhead expenses of the two organizations. It would materially reduce the number of field officers, permit of having but one instead of two salaried chairmen on each road. . . . It is true that some of these salaried chairmen may be out of a job. . . . Don't legislate for your general officers. . . . Forget your officers.

The Firemen authorized a committee to meet with the Engineers and draft a plan of amalgamation and submit it to a referendum vote of the membership. Though the committees of the two organizations have frequently met, difficulties in equitably combining the insurance funds of the Brotherhoods have thus far prevented the merger.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen went on record to seek a consolidation with the Switchmen's Union of North America. The Trainmen declared their insistence on securing a settlement of jurisdictional disputes with the Conductors.

Political Action—One of the main features of all the Brotherhood conventions was the emphasis placed on the necessity for political activity. Any barriers in their constitutions, as among the Trainmen, were officially removed. The Firemen detailed two men to devote their full time to the primary contest of Senator Robert M. La Follette. They voted to expend money for national legislative representatives and a National Legislative Board. All the Brotherhoods endorsed the Conference for Progressive Political Action. To help educate their membership along political lines, they all subscribed for their entire membership to the railway unions' official paper, *Labor*, issued weekly from Washington, which has a circulation of between 400,000 and 500,000. The paper accepts no paid advertisements, and is in excellent financial condition. In his speech, referred to above, Warren S. Stone declared that "You will have to get into the political game if you are going to live as an organization—not into partisan politics, but by voting for the man who is your friend, regardless of party." The Locomotive Firemen twice invited William G. McAdoo to address their convention, as well as La Follette. The Ladies' Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen voted to cooperate with the state legislative representatives of the Brotherhoods, by having a representative of its own.

General Labor Relations.—The Brotherhood unions have traditionally been aloof and conservative in policy and attitude. At their last conventions, however, they showed a lively interest in general labor relations. The Firemen voted

\$10,000 to assist the United Textile Workers' strike. They endorsed the alliance of Railroaders and Mine Workers, and voted to assist the latter if necessary. They extended best wishes to the New York *Call* and its editor, Charles W. Ervin. The convention protested the wage cuts of the poorest paid men on the railroad, the Maintenance of Way men. The Trainmen demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners, and declared for the election of all federal judges including those in the Supreme Court. They also demanded representation of labor on the Federal Reserve Board.

Cutting Convention Costs.—One of the points made by Stone was that the Engineers had cut down the enormous cost of holding conventions by holding them in Cleveland, Ohio, and having only 400 delegates representing the 912 divisions. The convention of 1921 cost \$238,000, about half of the expense borne by other Brotherhoods, which have about 1,000 delegates. The Firemen instructed a committee to work out a plan along similar lines. Stone also asked the Conductors to move their headquarters from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to Cleveland. They did not approve of the step at this time, but decided to look into the matter.

The conventions re-elected their presidents, with the exception of the Firemen who elected D. B. Robertson in place of W. S. Carter, who resigned and who has since died.

TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Organization and Structure.—The Trade Union Educational League is the logical successor of the International Trade Union Educational League founded in 1916 by William Z. Foster, which broke up in 1917. It is also a descendant of the Syndicalist League of North America, organized in 1912. Both had fundamentally the same principles as the present T. U. E. L. They differed from it in one most important respect: they had no relations officially or unofficially with any political group in the United States or abroad, nor did they have the Russian Revolution behind them, historically and intellectually. Foster gives the following account of the League's development:¹

The present Trade Union Educational League was organized in Chicago in November, 1920. For about a year it lingered along more dead than alive, due as usual to the dualistic attitude of the militants generally. But in the latter part of 1921, after the Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions had condemned dual unionism so categorically and advocated the organization of nuclei within the mass

¹William Z. Foster, *The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement*.

unions, it took on sudden vigor and importance. With the hard shell of dualism broken, the militants, particularly those in the extreme left wing, came with a surprising change of front to see in it exactly the type of organization they needed. One after another, the Communist Party, the Workers' Party, the Proletarian Party, and the United Toilers went on record officially in favor of its general policy. Hence the League rapidly extended its organization and sphere of influence.

The Trade Union Educational League is a highly centralized organization. At the top there is a National Committee, at present consisting of seven members. The only national officer is a secretary-treasurer, who is elected by the National Conference and is a member of the National Committee. The latter elects the editor of the official organ, *The Labor Herald*, issued monthly, and controls its policy. In addition to the National Committee there are International Committees for the industrial sections already organized. The organization program calls for 14 such industrial sections, the secretaries of which, together with the general secretary-treasurer, will make up the perfected National Committee.

These 14 industrial sections are:

Amusement trades
Building trades
Clothing trades
Food trades
General transport trades
Lumber trades
Metal trades

Mining trades
Miscellaneous trades
Printing trades
Public service trades
Railroad trades
Textile trades
Local general trades

Corresponding to the national T. U. E. L., there are local Trade Union Educational Leagues. These are mixed bodies of all craftsmen in the locality. The industrial unit, however, is the local industrial league section, which is a branch of the international industrial section. There is also a craft league section. And as the craft unions in the larger cities have a number of locals, there is a sub-craft or local craft league section. Thus there is a net work of organizations, corresponding exactly to the unions themselves in which the League is at work as the "Left" bloc. The League has divided the country into three districts, East, Central States, and West, and also operates in Canada and Mexico.

Membership.—No charters are issued by the national body, and members pay no dues. Any one can become a member of the League and of all its branches by (1) belonging to a recognized trade union (this excludes those belonging to universal organizations such as the I. W. W. or the O. B. U., but does not shut out individuals or groups expelled from either the A. F. of L. or independent unions); (2) subscribing to the *Labor Herald* and receiving a special receipt; and (3) satisfying a local membership committee as to his ac-

ceptance of the general program of the League. The membership in all its sections comes together regularly, has an elected set of officers, and raises money by voluntary contributions, picnics, mass meetings, and the like. At the Second National Conference a financial statement was submitted by William Z. Foster as secretary-treasurer showing for the period from September 1, 1922, to August 30, 1923, an income of \$2,565.05 for subscriptions to the *Labor Herald*, and \$8,123.94 for bundle orders, with money coming in on the sustaining fund amounting to \$4,194.04. No figures were given as to membership of the League. If the sum of \$2,655.05 is divided by \$1.50, the subscription price of the *Labor Herald*, the result is a membership of a little over 1,700 for the entire movement. At the Second National Conference the credentials committee reported credentials for 143 delegates from 90 cities, including three from Canada and one from Mexico. There seemingly is no constitution except the organization committee report to the 1922 conference.

National Conferences.—Two national conferences have been held, the first on August 26-27, 1922, and the second September 1-2, 1923, both in Chicago, the headquarters of the League. The first conference was in the nature of a get-together, to lay the foundations. There were present 45 delegates from 26 cities. J. W. Johnstone, T. U. E. L. delegate to the Second Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, was elected chairman.

The resolutions committee's report, which was adopted, condemned the raids on the headquarters of the League (in connection with an explosion during the railroad shopmen's strike) and on the conference itself, with the arrest of several delegates and visitors (following the Communist Party meeting at Bridgman, Michigan).¹ It demanded pardons for Mooney and Billings, the release of Sacco and Vanzetti and of all political and economic prisoners. It called upon the workers to contribute generously to Russian famine relief, and to support the Russian Soviet republic. It endorsed the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. It voted support to the Federated Press. It declared that "direct pressure of the working class against capitalist control of the productive processes is the only means of effective struggle against unemployment." It expressed sympathy with the shopmen's strike, and congratulated the miners on their solidarity in their struggle. It laid down the fundamental program of the

¹ See p. 166.

League on industrial unionism and amalgamation, political action, shop committees, secession and dual unionism, the Red Trade Union International, and a workers' republic.

Program.—"The Trade Union Educational League endorses the principle of consolidating the old craft unions until they become industrial in character." This is the keynote of the League's program. The committee on resolutions at the 1922 conference explained the League position as follows:

Labor unionism, with rare exceptions, passes through three distinct phases, which may be called isolation, federation and amalgamation. . . . The American labor movement is now quite generally in the secondary, or federation phase of development. That is the meaning of the many building trades councils, printing trades councils, metal trades councils, railroad system federations, etc., etc. The big task now confronting us is to develop these federations into amalgamations. . . . The rank and file of the trade union membership are in favor of the amalgamation plan, once it is presented to them. The only important opposition comes from the reactionary leadership, which fears to lose its good paying positions in the event of a general reorganization.

At the second conference, in 1923, the National Committee submitted a lengthy statement on why the League is not a dual union. The T. U. E. L. is opposed to secession, and believes in the militant elements remaining inside the mass unions where they can reach the rank and file with their propaganda. They are cautioned by the League from setting up dual unions when expelled. Instead they are advised to make an issue of the expulsions and, primarily, to build up a following which would make it impossible for them to be expelled. The branches of the League meet and take action on practically every measure of importance coming before local and national union bodies, and represent an organized Left wing within the union. They have official organs in those industries in which they are organized.

The T. U. E. L. has four delegates on the Red Labor International Committee of the United States. This is a propaganda group coordinating the activities of those organizations and labor unions affiliated or in sympathy with the Red International of Labor Unions. The T. U. E. L. seeks to secure affiliation of the labor unions of America with it, and conducts propaganda along the lines of the R. I. L. U. program.

Politically, the T. U. E. L. is committed to independent working class action, and at its 1923 conference endorsed the Federated Farmer-Labor Party which was organized at a convention held on July 3-4, called by the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States. The T. U. E. L. at its conference also pledged its undivided support to the *Daily Worker*, the organ of the Workers' Party, of which Foster is a member of the Central Executive Committee.

The T. U. E. L. program includes advocacy of shop committees and workers' control of industry, which, in its opinion, will lead to a workers' republic. It calls for the organization of wage-earners, and especially for organization drives. It seeks the organization and education of young workers and women, as well as of Negroes, particularly.

Its program, like the R. I. L. U. program, embraces an agitation for the united front on the economic and political fields. It desires the Workers' Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party to federate with other workers' parties and farmers' groups, the independent unions to amalgamate with the A. F. of L. unions.

Industrial Sections.—The report of the National Committee to the second conference claimed the existence of committees in the following industries: railroad, coal mining, metal, building, food, printing, marine transport, tobacco, clothing, leather and textile. In 1922 and 1923 conferences were held of the railroad workers, the needle trades, the miners, textile workers, shoe and leather workers, as well as district meetings in the Eastern, Canadian, and Western districts.

Building Trades.—For the Building Trades Section, delegate Johnstone reported that connection with 65 building trade centers, including 19 states and six Canadian provinces, had been made up to the time of the September, 1923, convention of the League. His group recommended an organization drive during the building boom, under the direction of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and demanded a low and uniform initiation fee and a universal transfer card system between the unions. He called for the abolition of the National Board of Jurisdictional Awards. Since the conference, a *Bulletin* for building trades workers has been started under control of the International Building Trades Committee of the League. The amalgamation program of this section, outlined at the 1922 conference, calls for agitation along the lines of the Seattle resolution of O. A. Tvietsmoe, adopted by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in 1913. It provided for the fusion of the many building trades unions into five groups, namely: Mason Group, Iron Group, Pipe Fitting and Power Group, Building Finishing Group, and Wood Working Group.

Railway Employees.—The Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee, after the convention of the Railway Employees' Department of April, 1922, outlined an amalgama-

tion program for the 16 railroad unions which was endorsed by the general conference of railroad unionists held in Chicago, December 9-10, 1922. An attendance of over 400 delegates was claimed. The conference chose an International Committee of 100. The railroad unionists publish an official paper, *The Railroad Amalgamation Advocate*, have sent out a national referendum to all of the local unions of the railroad organizations, hold conferences in different sections, and keep up a continued fight on officers of the unions, and at conventions and at local union meetings, in favor of their amalgamation program. This program is similar to that of the other industrial sections of the League and is based on a departmentalized amalgamated union, with one executive board member chosen from each of the constituent unions, one official organ, one headquarters, one administrative staff, one convention. The amalgamated union alone would collect dues and take strike action, and the local unions would be united into industrial sections, operating locally as the national body does nationally. Ultimately, the number of the departments would be reduced as far as possible.

Printers.—The printing trades for a number of years have had a little paper, *The Industrialist*, which advocates the amalgamation program. The Typographical Union, the Lithographers, and the Bookbinders, three out of six unions in the printing industry, have officially gone on record in favor of one amalgamated union.

Metal Trades.—In the metal trades, the delegate to the 1923 conference declared, the great need was organization of those who were once members, through action by joint organization committees and metal trades councils. The candidate of the Left wing in the Machinists' Union, William Ross Knudson, was officially given 14,598 votes in 1922 as against 41,837 for William H. Johnston, the present president.

Miners.—The Progressive Miners' International Committee held a conference in Pittsburgh, June 2-3, 1923. Its program demands (1) nationalization of the coal mines, with their operation under the direction of competent union miners exclusively; (2) a Labor Party; (3) complete organization of the mine workers; (4) an alliance between miners and railroad workers; (5) reinstatement of Howat and other Kansas miners; (6) direct election of national organizers; (7) the six-hour day and five-day week; (8) international affiliation of the American miners with mine workers of the

world; (9) holding officers of the union to the pledges of the convention; (10) honest elections inside the miners' union; and (11) an educational campaign in the organization. Thomas Meyerscough, for the Mining Trades, reported in detail on each district of the United Mine Workers of America. A paper called *The Progressive Miner* is issued, and a persistent agitation carried on against the officialdom as well as for the principles of the group.

Needle Trades.—In the needle trades the League claims branches in practically all the important centers in the United States and Canada. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Executive Board has outlawed the T. U. E. L. by declaring it a dual union. The League papers are conducting a fight against the leadership of this union, as well as that of the Furriers and the Journeymen Tailors. At a meeting held in Chicago on August 27, 1923, to protest some expulsions by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, three shots were fired in Foster's direction while he was speaking.

Canada and Mexico.—The League claims Canada as one of its most active districts. The Nova Scotia miners sought affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions. Active groups inside the needle trades locals of Canada are claimed, three delegates having attended the Needles Trades Conference in May, 1923, in New York City. Sub-district conferences are being constantly held in Canada. In June, 1923, a Mexican Trade Union Educational League was formed. Rafael Mallen, the secretary, and the other officers, are active Communists.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Membership.—At the Fifteenth General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (founded in 1905 but re-organized along strictly economic lines in 1908), held at Chicago, Ill., November 12-December 3, 1923, the following industrial unions were represented:

Table 53—Representation at I. W. W. Convention, 1923

<i>Industrial Union</i>	<i>Votes</i>
120, Lumber Workers	422
110, Agricultural Workers	260
310, General Construction Workers	180
210, 220, Mine Workers	108
520, Railroad Workers	60
330, House and Building Construction Workers.....	34
440, Metal and Machinery Workers	22
510, Marine Transport Workers	8
Small industrial unions	34

The convention was reported to represent a membership of 58,000, the majority of whom are English speaking. The organizations represented include mainly out-of-door migratory workers in lumber camps, on farms, on railroads, and on the sea or along river fronts, workers in basic industries of the Northwest. The delegates numbered about 25, all from the rank and file.

Prosecutions and Amnesty.—The members of the I. W. W. have been continuously persecuted in the last two years. They have been arrested on sight, thrown into city and county jails, fined, ridden out of town, or jailed for long terms. The 1920 convention of the I. W. W. unanimously adopted a statement of the General Executive Board to the effect that the I. W. W. "does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reform." The state of California has been most repressive in prosecuting I. W. W. members. The report of the defense secretary to the 1923 convention declared that there were "upwards of 80 fellow workers now confined in San Quentin, and as many awaiting trial, under the criminal syndicalist law of that state." The action of the California courts has called forth considerable moral and financial support for the I. W. W. from those who are not in sympathy with the purposes or tactics of the organization. The defense committees of the I. W. W. are working energetically for the release of the victims of the Centralia, Wash., affair, of three men in Idaho jails, and for the final disposition of the cases of a number of others in various states. The pardon of President Coolidge of the federal I. W. W. prisoners did not free those convicted under state criminal syndicalist laws.

One of the methods the I. W. W. has used to secure the freedom of its members is to boycott California, its products, and to threaten and call general strikes. In the spring and autumn of 1923 it called such strikes in the Northwestern states, affecting chiefly the lumber camps and in addition San Pedro, the harbor of Los Angeles. Some feeling was manifest at the convention over the acceptance of commutation by certain of the federal prisoners. The convention adopted the report of the committee which stated that "of the 26 workers who were offered conditional commutation, 15 accepted and 11 rejected," and this, in their judgment, was rule by majority.

International Labor Relations.—James P. Cannon and Rob-

ert Minor, authorized by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions to speak for the Red International, requested the I. W. W. convention to seat a fraternal delegate from their body. This the I. W. W. refused to do, with but one delegate dissenting. Thereupon the spokesmen for the Moscow Labor International asked permission to address the gathering, and after some debate the I. W. W. convention decided to listen to them. C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers' Party, wrote two letters to the I. W. W. asking its cooperation on a Committee of Action to wage a fight for "Hands Off Workers' Germany," and for a "united front organization" for the purpose of "carrying on the struggle for freedom of all political prisoners and against the measures directed against the labor movement." The convention refused to commit itself on any form of international labor affiliation and ordered all matter on the question filed.

Structural Changes.—The 1923 convention abolished the existing form of the General Executive Board, and placed the administrative affairs of the general office in the hands of three officials—a general secretary-treasurer, an assistant secretary, and a general organizer. The general organizer and the chairmen of the industrial unions now constitute the General Executive Board, with full executive power. An effort to increase from one to two consecutive years the time that an official might hold office was barely defeated. The salaries of officials were raised from \$4 to \$5 a day. The delegates decided to continue the rank and file character of their conventions by providing that before any member could become eligible as a delegate he must have been out of office and off the pay-roll for at least 90 days prior to the convention.

Organization.—The I. W. W. attempted an organization campaign among the steel workers. One of the members of the General Executive Board was sent into the Mahoning Valley district. In his report to the convention he wrote that "the enthusiasm had been overestimated" and that an army of delegates or organizers would have to be maintained in the various camps run by the steel mills, properly to organize the steel workers. Another General Executive Board member who worked among the metal and coal miners declared that "the sentiment for the I. W. W. is good throughout the coal mining industry in the East wherever our literature has been spread." The Marine Transport Workers' Industrial

Union, No. 510, has been struggling as an international organization in the sense of having members in countries outside of North America, and was faced by peculiar problems of its own. It held an enthusiastic industrial union convention prior to the general convention, and was given an impetus in its reorganization. A resolution to define more strictly the constitutional steps to be taken before any general strike could be declared was tabled.

Education.—The manager of the Work People's College of Duluth, Minn., which has been run for 16 years by the I. W. W. Finns, reported an average attendance for the year of 39 students. Courses are offered in economics, trade and industrial unionism, public speaking, and other subjects, all in the Finnish language. The Educational Department was instructed to write an I. W. W. history of the organization. It was ordered that the department should be furnished with an up-to-date reference library, with all the financial, industrial and trade papers necessary to keep it posted on conditions in the various industries. It in turn is to keep the membership informed through literature that is not too dry, statistical, or philosophical.

WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION

Membership.—The Detroit I. W. W., which split off from the Industrial Workers of the World in 1908, changed its name in 1915 to the Workers' International Industrial Union. Secretary E. La France claims a membership at present of 300. The headquarters are now in Troy, N. Y., and a monthly, the *Industrial Union News*, is issued.

Convention.—The latest convention of the organization was held at Akron, Ohio, May 13-15, 1923. Some 20-odd delegates from locals in Akron and Youngstown, Ohio, Troy and Amsterdam, N. Y., Baltimore, Md., Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Detroit, as well as several foreign language federations, besides a representative of the Socialist Labor Party, attended. Communications were read from English and Australian locals. One of the most important matters discussed was the action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party which called "upon the members of the S. L. P. to do all in their power to help the S. L. P. to the exclusion of any other organization." The statement of the representative of the S. L. P. was to the effect that "there is a danger that at the

present time if the members of the S. L. P. divide their energy, both the S. L. P. and the W. I. I. U. will go on the rocks." The convention, however, refused to concur and voted to continue the efforts of the industrial organization. The secretary's offer to continue to act voluntarily for another year was accepted. In his report to the gathering he stated that there were no funds for traveling organizers, and urged each member to become an organizer in his locality.

In the last few years, the official organ of the W. I. I. U. has carried articles in opposition to the Trade Union Educational League and the Communists, besides its earlier objects of attack, the Socialist Party, the A. F. of L., and the I. W. W. It has continued its propaganda for Socialist Labor Party principles on the economic and political field.

III. LABOR DISPUTES

GENERAL TABLES

Number and Industrial Distribution.—With the exception of 1919, in no year since the war were there so many gigantic labor battles as in 1922. The total number of strikes and lockouts of all sizes was, however, less than in any year since 1916. The figures for the first six months of 1923 show a greater number of labor disputes than for the whole year 1922. The following tables give the best data available in this country, although they are not absolutely complete.

Table 54—Labor Disputes and Employees Involved, 1916-1923¹

Year	Total Disputes Reported	Disputes in Which No. of Employees was Reported	Employees Involved	Average No. of Employees per Dispute
1916	3,789	2,667	1,599,917	600
1917	4,450	2,325	1,227,254	528
1918	3,353	2,151	1,239,989	576
1919	3,577	2,612	4,154,733	1,591
1920	3,299	2,114	1,441,381	682
1921	2,347	1,753	1,097,847	626
1922	1,039	829	1,600,522	1,931
1923 (1st 6 mos.)	1,121			

Table 55—Industry Groups and Number of Disputes in Each, 1916-1922²

Industry	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Building trades	394	468	434	468	511	581	113
Clothing industry	227	495	436	317	336	239	209
Furniture industry	50	43	26	35	26	17	4
Iron and steel	72	56	74	76	25	25	10
Leather industry	34	19	16	27	32	26	17
Lumber industry	44	299	76	46	38	25	10
Metal trades	547	515	441	581	452	192	81
Mining	416	449	208	176	183	94	48
Paper manufacturing	54	41	40	47	39	42	12
Printing and publishing	27	41	40	71	83	477	56
Shipbuilding	31	106	140	109	45	20	4
Slaughtering and meat cutting	70	38	42	73	42	30	6
Stone work	61	26	14	13	29	32	55
Textile industry	261	247	212	273	211	114	115
Tobacco	63	47	50	56	34	19	11
Transportation, steam & electric	228	343	227	186	238	36	66

Of the 817 labor disputes of 1922, over 25 per cent took place in the clothing industry, including the men's and women's garment trades, located chiefly in New York City. The building trades, which usually lead in number of dis-

¹United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June and December, 1923.

²United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1923.

putes, showed a decided drop in 1922, as also did the metal trades. The year 1921 was extraordinary in the printing and publishing industry for its large number of disputes. In point of numbers involved, the strike of the anthracite and bituminous coal miners, involving 600,000, was first. The strike of 400,000 railroad shopmen was second, and the New England textile strike and the needle trades strike followed. In 1922 there were only 20 unauthorized strikes which involved 1,846 employees. In 1919, on the other hand, there were about 125, involving over 1,050,000 strikers; in 1920, 50, with 850,000 out on strike; and in 1921, 50 unauthorized strikes, involving 65,000.

Causes and Results.—The following two tables are suggestive, although incomplete. The first gives the principal causes of disputes beginning in each year, and the other the results.

Table 56—Principal Causes of Disputes Beginning in Each Year, 1916-1923¹

<i>Matter in Dispute</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
Increase of wages.....	1,301	1,571	1,397	1,074	1,328	120	133	310
Decrease of wages.....	35	36	36	86	147	895	255	20
Wages, not otherwise stated							28	20
Non-payment of wages ..	13	18	31	11	20	5	10	..
Increase of hours	7	18	6	25	8	18	12	1
Decrease of hours	113	132	79	117	62	265	18	3
Increase of wages and decrease of hours	481	378	256	578	269	34	16	37
Decrease of wages and decrease of hours .....	....	....	....	....	....	77	40	..
Recognition of union	349	292	179	350	123	53	64	56
Recognition and wages..	93	132	79	78	87	106	10	26
Recognition and hours ..	20	27	16	16	6	14	3	9
Recognition, wages, hours	56	48	49	76	45	11	7	11
General conditions	59	104	61	70	82	71	58	43
Conditions and wages ...	58	71	54	62	58	43	31	42
Conditions and hours	3	18	2	5	2	7	..	1
Conditions, wages, hours.	25	26	8	37	43	6	4	3
Conditions and recognition	4	13	7	14	6	6	4	3
Discharge of foremen demanded	17	38	54	19	30	7	7	1
Discharge of employees ..	127	208	138	144	140	38	35	31
Employment of non-union men	73	79	60	12	38	24	9	15
Objectionable persons hired	1	8	2	11	22	16	8	1
Discrimination	9	12	32	52	34	12	8	7
Open or closed shop.....	13	22	45	42	113	87	45	41
Closed shop, etc.	42	19	18	128	72	48	11	..
Unfair products	7	9	1	5	30	27	16	4
In regard to agreement..	40	84	46	50	59	68	72	42
New agreement	40	24	4	36	11	33	11	7
Sympathy	33	71	35	107	63	36	30	21
Jurisdiction	19	21	16	16	20	10	10	6
Unsatisfactory food	4	11	1	8	2	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	116	168	181	100	74	51	22	51
Not reported	631	792	461	248	305	159	62	50

¹1923 figures are for the first six months only. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June and December, 1923.

Table 57—Results of Disputes Ending in Each Year,
1916-1923¹

<i>Result</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
In favor of employers..	748	395	465	680	650	701	229	165
In favor of employees ..	749	631	627	583	397	256	229	207
Compromised	777	720	691	797	448	291	104	110
Employees returned pending arbitration	73	137	204	50	61	80	15	10
Not reported	101	191	211	57	204	198	111	102
Total	2,448	2,074	2,198	2,167	1,760	1,526	688	594

In 1921 and 1922 the employers took the offensive and sought to reduce wages, increase hours, and eliminate the unions. The labor organizations fought back, as is clearly indicated by the number of disputes over these questions. Detailed study of different industrial groups will also show that a number of trade unions were successful in resisting wage cuts, as well as the attacks on their existence. The unorganized New England textile workers, the powerfully organized New York cloakmakers, and the anthracite and bituminous coal miners, constituting alone 725,000 out of a total of 1,600,000 strikers involved in 1922, beat back the tide of wage-reductions. In the latter part of 1922 and throughout 1923 the unions were quick to take advantage of the business revival. In the whole period of the return to "normalcy," the open-shop or non-union shop campaign, the business depression, and the pick-up of business activity, the unions of America were not seriously weakened in fighting strength. They were generally successful in retaining working conditions and the real wages obtained during the war period. The table on results of labor disputes does not show the increases in wages which the unions were able to obtain in 1922 and 1923 *without* striking. The unions, by their determined resistance in 1922 and their wage efforts in 1923, were not only able to help themselves, but were undoubtedly responsible for the preservation of working conditions and the obtaining of wage increases for the unorganized masses as well.

CLOTHING AND TEXTILE TRADES

General Summary.—There was one outstanding strike of textile workers in 1922, the New England strike, which began on January 23, 1922. Strikes and stoppages of clothing workers in 1922 and 1923 were numerous. The following table gives only the more important general strikes of the men's and women's clothing workers, the cap makers, and the textile workers, in the two years:

¹1923 figures are for the first six months only. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June and December, 1923.

Table 58—Important Labor Disputes in the

<i>Date of Beginning</i>	<i>Class of Workers</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Union Involved</i>
Nov. 14, 1921 .	Cloakmakers ..	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Nov. 14, 1921 .	Cloakmakers ..	Montreal	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Nov. 28, 1921 .	Cloakmakers ..	Philadelphia ...	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Dec. 1, 1921 .	Cloakmakers ..	Chicago	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Jan. 23, 1922 .	Textile: Cotton mill Worsted mill.	Blackstone and Pawtuxet Valleys	United Textile Workers.... Amalgamated Textile Wkrs.
		Manchester, etc., N. H.	United Textile Workers....
		Lowell, L a w- rence, Ware, etc., Mass.	One Big Union..... United Textile Workers....
March, 1922..	Children's dressmakers	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
June 5, 1922 .	Capmakers	Boston	United Cl. Hat & Cap Mkrs.
June 15, 1922 .	Children's cl'g	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs...
June 21, 1922 .	Men's clothing..	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs...
July 11, 1922 .	Men's clothing..	Philadelphia ...	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
July 11, 1922 .	Capmakers	New York ...	United Cl. Hat & Cap Mkrs.
July 18, 1922 .	Men's clothing..	Baltimore	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
July 25, 1922 .	Men's clothing..	Montreal	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs.. .
July 25, 1922 .	Cloakmakers ..	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
July 26, 1922 .	Shirtmakers	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
Aug. 16, 1922 .	Embroidery	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Sept. 20, 1922 .	Men's clothing..	Cleveland	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....

Clothing and Textile Trades, 1922-1923

<i>Number Involved</i>	<i>Duration of Dispute</i>	<i>Causes</i>	<i>Results</i>
55,000	9 weeks	Piece work, increase of hours and reduction in wages	Won. Shops opened on existing agreement, with no reduction in wages, week work and no incr. of hours, 44-hour week
—	—	Piece work, increase of hours and reduction in wages	Retained 44-hour week, and week work
—	4 weeks	Piece work, increase of hours and reduction in wages	Won. Same wage scale, no increase of hours, and week work
3,000	5 weeks	Piece work and 48-hour week demand by employers	Won. Old conditions retained. Impartial machinery set up
60,000 to 80,000	10 mos.	20 per cent reduction in wages; increase of hours from 48 to 54	No reduction in wages; New Hampshire workers forced to accept 54 hours
—	—	Demoralization of unemployment period; wage cuts	Individual settlements; back pay for wage-cuts; minimum wage scale
—	10 days	15 per cent reduction in wages; no payment for legal holidays	Won. No reduction and continuation of agreement
10,000	1 month	Registration of contractors	Won
40,000	2 weeks	Registration of contractors and enforcement of union standards	Won
5,000	3 weeks	Registration of contractors; unionization	Won. Wage increase of 10 per cent
10,000	8 days	Abolition of social shop; closed shop; enforcement of pay for legal holidays; equal division of work	Won. Contractors strictly regulated; responsibility of Assn. for its members fixed; no work by foremen and employers
4,000	8 days	Registration of contractors, to help eliminate "corporation" shop evil	Increases secured. Unionization
6,000	6 weeks	Improved conditions against corporation shops	Won
50,000	—	Regulation of the "corporation shop" and its elimination	Scrutiny by union committee of books of employers; shops to have fixed number of machines kept going; operators for them to be employed
8,000	2 weeks	Registration of contractors; uniform wage scale; unionization	Won
852	2 weeks	To enforce union conditions and obtain new agreement	Won. Assn. signed agmt. guaranteeing minimum wage, 3 to 10 per cent increases; provisions as to temporary help, etc.
400	3 days	Recognition	Won. 15 per cent incr.; time and a half for overtime; 44-hour week; preferential union shop

<i>Date of Beginning</i>	<i>Class of Workers</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Unions Involved</i>
Sept. 20, 1922 .	Men's clothing..	Baltimore	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
Nov. 22, 1922 .	Children's cl'g	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
January, 1923.	Children's cl'g	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
Feb. 1, 1923 ..	Cloakmakers ..	Philadelphia ...	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Feb., 1923	Cloakmakers & dressmakers	Boston	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Feb. 6, 1923 .	Children and house dress	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Feb. 7, 1923 .	Dressmakers ..	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Mar. 1, 1923 .	Knit goods	New York.....	Amalgtd. Knit Goods Wkrs.
Mar. 7, 1923 .	Dress and waistmakers	Philadelphia ...	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
March, 1923 .	Cloakmakers ..	San Francisco..	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
Mar. 7, 1923 .	Men's clothing .	Baltimore	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
Mar. 20, 1923 .	White goods ...	New York.....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
May 7, 1923 .	Men's clothing .	Los Angeles ..	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
May 14, 1923 .	Men's clothing .	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
May 24, 1923 .	Dressmakers ...	Worcester	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
June, 1923....	Cloakmakers ...	Baltimore	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
June 5, 1923 .	Men's clothing..	Buffalo	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
June 12, 1923 .	Men's clothing..	Philadelphia ...	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
June 19, 1923 .	Men's clothing..	Newark, N. J..	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
July 3, 1923 .	Button	New York....	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.
July 10, 1923 .	Children's cl'g	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
July, 1923....	Cap makers....	New York.....	United Cl. Hat & Cap Mkrs.
August, 1923..	Cap makers....	Philadelphia ...	United Cl. Hat & Cap Mkrs.
July-Sept., '23.	Men's clothing..	New York.....	Amalgtd. Clothing Wkrs....
October, 1923.	Cloakmakers ..	Los Angeles ...	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs.

CLOTHING AND TEXTILE TRADE DISPUTES 103

<i>Number involved</i>	<i>Duration of Dispute</i>	<i>Causes</i>	<i>Results</i>
1,000	1 day	Increase in wages	Won. 10 per cent increase
1,500	3 weeks	For 1920 wage scale	Won. Individual adjustments
6,000	9 days	Lockout; reduction of wgs.	Won. Workers returned with no reductions
—	10 days	Stoppage vs. "corporation" and "social" shops	Won
—	Few weeks	"Social" shops	Agreement signed; 10 per cent wage incr. and 6 legal holidays paid
—	—	Union conditions a n d standards	Won
15,000	1 week	Unionization	Won. Trade agmt. signed; 40-hour week; 10 per cent incr.; double time for overtime
5,000	2 months	Recognition; 44-hour week; increase of wages, etc.	Partial victory. Independent employers signed up all demands; not association
—	—	Unionization	Successful with independent houses; agreement signed
—	3 months	"Open shop" attack with Industrial Assn. of San Francisco behind it	Won. Union recognition secured, direct from Cloakmakers' Association
3,500	2 days	44-hour week, union scale; improved sanitary conditions	Won. 10 per cent wage increases, 44-hour week, and sanitary shop conditions
—	—	Unionization	Many shops organized, and wage increases obtained
200	3 days	Recognition; wage increases	Increases of 10 per cent; time and a half for overtime
50,000	2 weeks	Wages increases and minimum wage	Increases obtained and min. wage scale set up
—	—	Union demands	15 per cent wage increase; 44-hour week and closed shop
—	—	Unionization	Minimum wages, week work; partly successful
2,000	2 months	25 per cent increase; recognition; union conditions	Compromised; no blacklist; no discrimination; 44-hour week; discharge subject to review; collective bargaining
2,000	1 month	Wage increase and renewal of agreement	Won. \$3 general increase and agreement renewed
3,000	2 weeks	Lockout	Won. Returned to same conditions
—	—	Unionization	Won. Week work. Recognition. 44-hour week; and wage increase
400	1 week	Lockout; wage reduction	Won. No reduction.
2,500	3 weeks	Independent firms; Minimum wage scale	Won
—	—	No members of firm to work at trade	
600	2 weeks	Security to be deposited	
—	—	Same as in New York	Won
3,000	Short stoppages	Regulation of contractors and wage increase	Won
—	10 weeks		

New England Textile Strike.—The New England textile strike began in the Pawtuxet Valley, R. I., on January 23, 1922, and spread to the Blackstone Valley, R. I., and then to New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The Consolidated Textile Corporation, formerly the B. B. & R. Knight Company, the Jenckes Spinning Company, the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, the Pacific Mills, Goodard Brothers, and other powerful cotton manufacturing corporations were pitted against 60,000 to 80,000 strikers, about 60 per cent of whom were women and children. The causes of the strike were an announcement of a 20 per cent wage cut by the cotton mill owners, after they had sliced off 22½ per cent in January, 1921, a year before, and in New Hampshire, in addition, an increase of hours from 48 to 54 a week. In February, 1919, the New Hampshire mills had adopted the 48-hour week. State law permits a 54-hour week.

The Amalgamated Textile Workers took undisputed charge of the strike in Pawtuxet Valley. The United Textile Workers had control of the rest of the strike zones:

<i>Rhode Island</i>	<i>Massachusetts</i>	<i>New Hampshire</i>
Blackstone Valley	Lowell	Manchester
Pawtucket	Lawrence	Suncook
Providence	Ware	Nashway
	Methuen	Dover
		Summersworth
		Newmarket
		Exeter

The U. T. W. were slightly opposed by the One Big Union in Lawrence, Mass., where several thousand strikers followed the leadership of the latter organization. Neither of the two large organizations, the United Textile Workers nor the Amalgamated Textile Workers, had the means to finance the strike of those who had previously not been members. Both had lost heavily since the war-peak days. Textile workers are accustomed to pay low dues. There had been a severe depression, with unemployment lasting months, in the New England centers. Yet the strike was conducted for 10 months in New Hampshire, and until the middle of September, or about eight months, in Rhode Island. The Amalgamated Textile Workers established 13 restaurants in its area, repaired the shoes of the strikers, and gave financial aid in needy cases. The United Textile Workers established commissaries, restaurants, issued merchandise checks, gave money and kept up the resistance of the strikers until the last. The American Federation of Labor issued a national appeal for funds. President Gompers, and a number of organizers, state federa-

tion and city central body officials, entered the strike zones. The United Textile Workers spent about \$1,000,000 during the strike, and took care of hundreds of victimized workers afterwards. The Amalgamated Textile Workers spent a considerable sum also.

Dozens of injunctions were issued during the strike. Police were equipped with riot guns and their force was increased. In Rhode Island the state militia was called out. The Jenckes Spinning Company of Pawtucket, which had a regular police force of its own, had it augmented during the strike, it is claimed. During a riot, one striker was killed, and 14 girls fell wounded, shot by gunmen employed by the Jenckes Spinning Company, the strikers' officials declared. Some of the wounded were crippled for life. At Lonsdale strikers were evicted from their dwelling places owned by the mill corporations and they set up a tent colony.

Profits vs. Wages.—During the strike the United Textile Workers and the Amalgamated Textile Workers hired the Labor Bureau, Inc., to reveal the earnings of the cotton manufacturing corporations, which refused to lay their case before the public or any arbitration machinery whatever. Edwin Newdick, for the Labor Bureau, pointed out that one corporation had in the five years between July 1, 1915, and July 1, 1921, averaged 77 per cent a year on the full face value of the common stock, in addition to the fixed rate of 7 per cent which was paid on the preferred stock. Another paid in dividends in 1921 about 75 per cent on the capitalization of the company as it stood before 1907, not one dollar having been put into the business except from profits after that date. Another company paid in 1921, a year of depression, \$3,400,000 to its stockholders and continued the same rate during the first quarter of 1922, 12 per cent a year. The companies defended the wage cut by declaring that they had to meet southern competition. It was shown that the average weekly full-time earnings of all operatives in the North, in June, 1921, were \$18.71 and that this was not a living wage; that the mill-owners in the North owned cotton mills in the South, and that southern cotton manufacturers supplied housing facilities which were worth \$4.36 a week, leaving the wages of the southern textile operatives but 36 cents less a week, if the proposed reduction in wages went into effect in New England. Cotton mill wages in general in the North were and are still lower than wages in almost any other industry. The companies put up but little defense for increasing the hours

of women and children. They had been on a 48-hour week for nearly three years, they had not lost money, and were apparently meeting southern competition quite successfully. As a result of publicity, for almost the first time since the period of war hysteria the press and general opinion were virtually unanimous in support of the strikers.

Settlements.—The first break in the strike came at Lawrence, Mass., where wages were restored to the level previous to the reduction of March 27, 1922. Lowell followed, and practically all the mills in New Hampshire and Rhode Island restored wages on or about September 11, 1922. The mill owners of New Hampshire, however, refused to concede the old hours, and there the fight continued until November 26, when it was announced that the strikers were ready to accept the longer week of 54 hours. In Exeter and Newmarket, N. H., 48 and 50 hours prevailed. The United Textile Workers, who had made a heroic fight, declared "that the real and permanent victory for the 48-hour week is not to be won in the offices of the textile corporation, but in the legislative halls of the statehouse." This statement came on the heels of the defeat of the Republican governors in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, and the election of a majority in the lower houses of both states, committed to the 48-hour week law. In New Hampshire eight senators, whose total popular vote exceeded by 3,000 or more the total vote of all the other senators, 16 in number, were unable to prevent the latter from defeating the 48-hour bill. The Senate in Rhode Island buried a similar measure.

Immediately after the strike was over, with the recovery of business activity, the textile workers were granted wage increases amounting to 12½ per cent. The organization of the workers in the New England centers has continued. The fight is still on in New England and in the South for the 48-hour week. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was instructed by the Portland convention to call together all unions who have members in the South and send representatives for an indefinite period into the textile areas to help organize and elevate the conditions of living of the southern textile operatives.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Disputes.—In the spring of 1921 the cloakmakers' unions and the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association of New York City set up a commission to study the problem of increasing the productivity of the workers, as demanded by the manufacturers. This commis-

sion was to report its recommendations on November 1, 1921. On October 25, notwithstanding, the Association announced that beginning November 14, 1921, it would put into effect the piece work system, an increase of hours and a reduction in wages. This was met by a general strike of the cloakmakers, who demanded that the old agreement, which did not expire until May, 1922, be strictly lived up to. The newspapers of the city were on the side of the strikers, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers secured an injunction, which was made permanent on January 11, 1922, restraining the members of the Association from entering into a conspiracy to break their contract. Thereupon the shops were declared open by the manufacturers on the conditions of the existing agreement. The strike cost the cloakmakers over \$1,000,000 which they raised themselves, besides sending money to the striking waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia and the striking cloakmakers of Montreal. During the strike Secretaries Hoover and Davis of the Departments of Commerce and Labor sought to have an impartial commission make a "thorough investigation of conditions in the cloak industry of New York City," but gave up the plan after considerable correspondence with the manufacturers and the union.

In July, 1922, the cloakmakers stopped the industry to clean up the "corporation" or "social" shop evil, which had been causing considerable trouble. The small contract shop, which is difficult to control and which batters down union conditions, has been a persistent cause of stoppages in the ladies' garment trades. Conferences have been held between the unions, jobbers, and contractors, a special jobbers' department has been created in the International, and it is still a disturbing question in the needle trades generally. President Morris Sigman in a series of articles in *Justice*, the official organ of the union, stated that to meet the jobber problem, (1) full responsibility must be placed upon the jobber, who is the manufacturer; (2) the shop market must be regulated, to prevent scattering of shops; (3) the jobber and manufacturer must be held accountable for work done in the contract shops; (4) the number of contract shops must be regulated, and these shops must be thoroughly union shops; (5) the jobber must divide his work equally between the limited number of contract shops; and (6) the union must prevent the growth of non-union shops through any aid of the jobber, by controlling the work done for him and every other factor

which bears on the growth of contract shops not under the control of the union.

Men's Clothing Workers' Disputes.—In June, 1922, the men's and children's clothing workers of New York City, organized in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, enforced a stoppage in the industry to obtain the registration of contractors and the enforcement of union standards. A year later, in May, 1923, there was another general stoppage to secure wage increases and minimum wage scales.

The shirtmakers in July, 1922, by a general strike in New York City, succeeded in forcing the manufacturers to assume responsibility for union conditions in their contract shops. The children's clothing workers of the metropolis, in January, 1923, prevented a wage reduction. In June, 1923, after extensive preparation through organization work, a strike of men's clothing workers was called in Buffalo, N. Y. This center was very poorly organized. After a bitterly fought two-months' strike the clothing workers won a trade agreement, the 44-hour week, and the abolition of the blacklist against union men and women. During the strike the central body of the A. F. of L. fully supported the strikers. In a number of places during 1922-1923 the Amalgamated was able to obtain increases of wages and improved working conditions through strikes of short duration. New agreements for a term of three years went into effect on May 1, 1922, in the large markets of Chicago and Rochester, as well as for the largest concerns of Baltimore. On the same date the most important manufacturers of Indianapolis and Milwaukee signed up. Some 75,000 workers were affected by these agreements. Wage increases were granted, and in Chicago the unemployment fund arrangement was made a part of the trade agreement.

Cap Makers' Disputes.—A general strike of capmakers in New York, their main market, was called in July, 1922, to help eliminate the "social" shop and to secure strict enforcement of union conditions. The strike ended in a victory for the union. Steps were outlined for regulating the contract shops, responsibility of the association for its members was fixed, and a number of minor points were cleared up.

In July, 1923, the capmakers of New York obtained minimum wage scales, first from the independent houses and then from the association.

Fur Workers' Agreement.—In February, 1922, through the mediation of Judah L. Magnes, the Joint Board Furriers'

Union of Greater New York, Locals 1, 5, 10 and 15, and the Associated Fur Manufacturers agreed to continue the existing agreement with the same conditions, wages, and hours, for another two years.

BUILDING TRADES

The Building Boom.—In 1922 there were 113 labor disputes in the building trades reported to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. There has been an extraordinary building boom since the autumn of 1922 and building trades workers have secured wage increases in most instances without striking. Frank Duffy, general secretary of the Carpenters, reported that "between July 1, 1922, and June 30, 1923, a total of 286 trade movements were considered by the General Executive Board. . . . Practically 90 per cent . . . were successful. In the greater number of cases there was no necessity of cessation of work to enforce the demands made upon the employers." Three conditions, however, have continued in the industry, which are still the source of friction: the effects of the Landis award in Chicago, the California open shop fight, and the jurisdictional dispute between the carpenters and sheet metal workers.¹

Landis Award.—Following a tie-up in 1921 in Chicago, the Building Trades Employers' Association and a number of the unions agreed upon Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis as arbitrator of the wage question. The judge handed down his decision, the Landis award, which fixed wages for all building tradesmen, whether they had accepted him as arbitrator or not, and altered working rules which the unions contend were not submitted to arbitration. When a number of the organizations, including the Carpenters, 18,000 strong, and the Painters, refused to accept the award, a Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award was established, which the anti-Landis award unions characterized as an open-shop alliance of big business to beat down the powerful building trades. The corruption and criminal leadership charged in parts of the Chicago building trades were played up by the Citizens' Committee to influence public opinion. The newspapers and the state's attorney office were strongly for the Landis award. A state legislative investigating committee was at work, the effect of which tended the same way. The Carpenters went into court to restrain the Citizens' Committee from interfering with contractors who were willing to permit the carpen-

¹See p. 65.

ters to work, regardless of the Landis decision. No injunction was issued. Building after building was held up, and hundreds of men were imported to take the places of those who refused to accept the award. A separate Building Trades Council was organized, parades and mass meetings were held, and the Chicago Federation of Labor as well as *The New Majority*, its official organ, stoutly defended the anti-Landis award unions. Though the Landis award expired in June, 1923, conditions did not clear up. In the summer of 1923, three large general building contractors, who operate on a national scale, were threatened by the Carpenters that work outside of Chicago would be tied up unless they entered into agreement with the carpenters of Chicago to employ none but union men and pay them the current wages of the districts. This they agreed to do, and it helped to partially break up the Citizens' Committee strength.

California.—The Industrial Association of San Francisco determined to put organized labor in the building trades in its place in 1921. This was after the union refused to accept an arbitration award calling for a reduction, when an increase of wages was the issue submitted to and heard by the arbitrators. To quote *The Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer*, official journal of the Bricklayers, "the San Francisco enemy has been the most strongly entrenched of any we have had to face." The Industrial Association and the Builders' Exchange included practically every building contractor and nearly every dealer in building materials in the city. The banks were in sympathy. The "American Plan" was announced. The program was for contracts with individuals, who were to be hired from a central agency, with a bonus for stimulated production. Not more than 50 per cent union men were to be on any job. To enforce its will, the Builders' Exchange regulated and controlled the purchase of building materials. A permit, issued by the secretary of the Exchange, was necessary before any contractor could get the materials he needed. The unions against whom this concerted drive was made struck the jobs and kept on organizing. By direction of the Attorney General of the United States, suit was instituted and decided against the permit system. The court under date of November 9, 1923, enjoined the Association and the Exchange from interfering with interstate commerce in any manner. As this decision, however, does not cover the materials produced inside the state of California, it is only a partial victory for the unions. The latter

have been forced to secure materials for contractors who were willing to fight the Association. The permit system existed in Oakland, San Mateo, San Jose, Santa Clara, and other points. The Building Trades Council of Santa Clara established a building material company, financed by the rank and file. At the 1923 convention of the Building Trades Department the delegates reaffirmed their intention, expressed at the Denver convention of 1921, of organizing a National Building Material Supply Company, although the Executive Council admitted it was not in a position to give the matter the attention it deserved.

Telephone Operators.—On June 25, 1923, the Telephone Operators' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers declared a general strike of telephone operators of the New England Telephone Company. Hardest hit were the cities of Boston, Lawrence, Worcester, Springfield, Mass., and Providence, R. I. The strikers' demands were for a seven-hour day and an increase of wages. Some 5,000 to 6,000 girls responded to the strike call. The taxi-drivers of Boston struck in sympathy, refusing to transport strike-breaking women to the Boston exchanges. The central bodies and state federation of Massachusetts aided the strikers. After a month of resistance, the girls voted to return to work on July 26, with an assurance from the State Board of Conciliation of Massachusetts that its good offices would be used to secure an adjustment.

TRANSPORTATION

Railroad Shopmen's Strike.—There were a number of street car strikes in 1922-1923, which unsettled local transit. The overshadowing dispute that affected freight and passenger transportation of the nation was the strike of the railroad shop employees which began on July 1, 1922, and was not entirely settled at the end of 1923.

Organizations and Number Involved.—There were 455,415 shop employees, including foremen, in July, 1923, on the railroads of the country. They were divided as follows:

Gang and other foremen....	12,968	Electrical workers	9,749
Machinists	68,845	Carmen	142,526
Boilermakers	22,508	Molders	1,337
Blacksmiths	10,448		
Sheet metal workers.....	12,833	Total	281,214

In addition there were 138,766 helpers in all crafts, and about 35,000 apprentices and car cleaners. With the exceptions of the molders and car cleaners, the shop employees

named struck to the number of about 400,000 on July 1, 1922. Some railway clerks left their posts, as well as maintenance of way men, but in no great numbers, and their organizations did not declare a strike as did the six shop employees' unions.

Wages.—On December 28, 1917, the United States government took over 93 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country and began operating it through a Director General of Railroads. On May 25, 1918, the pay of all railway employees receiving less than \$250 a month was increased 43 per cent to the lower paid to nothing for those receiving \$249. With the signing of the Armistice, the Cummins-Esch bill was introduced into Congress, and despite the vigorous opposition of the railway unions and the A. F. of L. it became a law on February 28, 1920. This law, called the transportation act, provided for machinery to adjust the grievances and disputes between the railway workers and management, in the form of the United States Railroad Labor Board, composed of nine members, appointed by the President, to be confirmed by the Senate, with salaries of \$10,000. Three were to represent the public, three the employers, and three the employees. On April 16, 1920, right after the confirmation of the newly appointed Board, a long standing wage controversy was presented to it. Since the wage increase of May, 1918, the railway men had received no further increases, despite the tremendous jump in the cost of living. Decision No. 2 of the Board, handed down July 20, 1920, gave the men an increase of 13 cents an hour, excepting car cleaners, and made it retroactive only to May 1, 1920. Both parts of the decision were a distinct disappointment to the rank and file, who nevertheless accepted it. The business depression and the open-shop campaign of the employers followed. Effective July 1, 1921, the Board ordered wages reduced 8 cents an hour for shop craftsmen. A strike vote of the Federated Shop Crafts was immediately taken, and a constitutional majority were in favor of striking. The transportation Brotherhoods, who also received a wage cut, ordered a general strike to begin on October 30, 1921, but called it off at the last moment. As W. S. Carter of the Firemen wrote later, no strike was ever intended. The shopmen did not strike. Early in November, 1921, the railway managers put in requests with the Railroad Labor Board for additional reductions in wages. The shop crafts countered by demanding a wage increase of 5 cents an hour above the rates before the reduction of July, 1921. The Board handed down

its decision, cutting the pay of the shopmen another 7 cents an hour, effective July 1, 1922.

The Board refused to accept the principle contended for by the employees, a basic or living wage for unskilled workers and wages above that rate according to skill, training, risk, and other factors. Track and section laborers were getting in July, 1922, but \$2.58 a day, which was hardly enough for an American standard of living. The shopmen contended that the United States Railroad Labor Board had gone over to the point of view of the management. In all of the wage negotiations, the Railway Employees' Department presented exhibits on the industry, management, cost of living, interlocking directorates in control of the railroads of the country, an elaborately prepared defense of thousands of pages and numerous charts. But it was of no avail. The second wage cut, however, was only the final straw. It was not the only cause for the strike.

Farming Out Work.—When the Railway Employees' Department met in convention in April, 1922, the delegates unanimously voted to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations a strike resolution, within 60 days after adjournment. This was several months before the wage cut of July, 1922. The largest grievance of the men was the farming out of work by the railroads.

Immediately after Decision No. 2 was issued, on July 20, 1920, conferring the much-delayed increase of pay, large numbers of railroad employees in the shops and maintenance of way departments were released from service. On top of this unemployment the railroads began contracting or farming out to other companies, not affected by the award, large amounts of their locomotive and car repair work. The rights of the workers to seniority, rules, time-wages, and union representation were ignored by contractors, who, it was claimed, were merely dummies for the railroads, which sought to get from under the provisions of the transportation act, and hand themselves exaggerated prices for doing work which they had been accustomed to do much cheaper in their own shops. The Railroad Labor Board handed down a decision, No. 982, confined to the Indiana Harbor Belt at the time, but general in its terms, declaring that the contracts for farming out work were contrary to the transportation act and did not remove the employees engaged thereon from the application of the act. Not a single railroad carried out this decision. The practice continued, and the workers feared

that it would become the general rule. Not until after the strike was called did the Railroad Labor Board bestir itself sufficiently on this question. As far as the government and the public were concerned, they hardly knew the grievance existed. The *Railway Age*, organ of the management, declared that the farming out of work was one of the worst blunders of a series by some of the railroads. On this issue, the men voted in favor of a strike, in greater proportion than on any other single issue.

General Grievances.—The farming out of work and the wage reductions were outstanding grievances. There were, however, a whole series of causes of discontent. The Railroad Labor Board had abolished overtime pay for Sundays and holidays, which the men claimed had been enjoyed for 30 years even on unorganized roads. The Board permitted the companies to give their men a physical examination, thus opening the door to discrimination. The Board eliminated the provision of four years' experience for employment as a carman. The unions declared this let down barriers and might eventually flood all trades.

Under the transportation act there must first be negotiations and conferences between the management and the workers before disputes come to the Railroad Labor Board. But some of the railroad companies refused to meet with the men, and set up company unions to destroy the existing trade unions. The Pennsylvania, in particular, refused to recognize the system federation on its lines, though a majority of its employees voted to be represented by it. The men charged that a fair election was not permitted by the railroad company. It was held by the federal courts that the Railroad Labor Board had only advisory powers, that the railroad companies could not be forced to obey its decisions.¹ This was a particularly exasperating state of affairs, when the men declared they had not violated a single decision of the Board, and felt themselves more or less helpless against the organized "money power" behind the railroads.

During federal control there was a national agreement covering the rules under which the men worked, and national boards of adjustment were set up to smooth out the daily grievances arising in connection with their interpretation and administration. The unions, immediately after the formation of the Railroad Labor Board, sought to have the

¹See p. 195.

Board decide in favor of the national boards and a national agreement. The Association of Railway Executives had already refused to concede either. The men looked upon this action as the opening gun in a national and militant plan to break down their organizations. The transportation Brotherhoods gave up the fight rather early, and helped establish regional boards for themselves. The Railroad Labor Board handed down a decision, declaring it had no authority under the transportation act to decide this issue.

Government Action.—When the men walked out on July 1, 1922, the chairman of the United States Railroad Labor Board, who never expressed such drastic opinion in connection with railroad companies violating its decisions, said that the strikers were no longer employees of the railways. Later a resolution was passed by the majority of the Board which declared in favor of the organization of those who had stayed on the job. The resolution also stated that the strikebreakers were entitled to all the rules on the railroads, as well as the protection of every department and branch of the government. This virtually outlawed the strikers. President Harding, on July 11, issued a proclamation instructing the authorities to aid in maintaining interstate commerce and the carrying of the United States mails. He declared that the men at work had the same rights as those out on strike, and directed the latter to refrain from interfering with them. The shopmen replied to this proclamation by stating their grievances, and by declaring that interruption to the carrying of the mails and interstate commerce was a direct result of the attempt of the railroads to operate with inadequate and incompetent workmen, and their refusal to enter into reasonable agreements with the men out on strike.

On the same day, July 11, the Railroad Labor Board tried to secure a settlement of the strike. Chairman Hooper of the Board held informal conferences with individual executives, with no result. Then the President of the United States intervened, and endeavored to settle the controversy. After many fruitless efforts, a compromise was submitted to both sides on August 7 which would take the seniority question, which had been injected into the strike, for rehearing before the Railroad Labor Board. The majority of the Association of Railway Executives replied that they were willing to accept this compromise, providing, however, the seniority rights of the "loyal" employees who had remained or taken work since the strike, would be placed ahead of those of the strikers who

returned, if the compromise ended the affair. A minority of the Association also declared for the right of court review.

The striking shopmen refused to accept the compromise with these provisos. They declared:

Seniority was not and is not now, by right, an issue or a dispute in this strike. The authors of the transportation act have, on many occasions, stated that there is no penalty in the transportation act against employees who strike when an injustice is done through a decision of the Railroad Labor Board. Admittedly they have the right to strike, and therefore they do not forfeit their standing as railroad employees because they strike.

The transportation Brotherhood unions thereupon mediated in the strike, but their proposals were rejected by a majority of the Association of Railway Executives. On August 18, in the meantime, President Harding appeared before Congress, calling for teeth to be put into the transportation act, and declaring that he was resolved to use all the power of the government to maintain transportation and the right of men to work. Then, on September 1, came the Daugherty injunction.

This unheard-of national injunction, with its sweeping provisions, sought to prevent the unions from in any way encouraging men to leave the employ of the railroad companies, and from in any manner hindering transportation.¹ Not until September 25 was a temporary order issued permitting the use of union funds for strike benefits, and meetings of members of the union. Picketing had already been considerably curtailed by injunctions issued all over the country.

The militia of a number of states were called out soon after the strike took place. The railroad companies hired guards to protect their shops and properties. It was asserted that by August 3 about 4,000 national guardsmen were on rail or coal strike duty in the several states. The presence of troops enraged the transportation Brotherhood men. At Needles, Calif., trainmen on the Sante Fe system quit in protest. Trainmen struck at Birmingham, Ala., because of armed guards.

In Kansas, despite the existence of the industrial court law, the men walked out with the rest of the shopmen of the country. William Allen White, author and editor, took pains to display a placard at Emporia, indicating his sympathy with the striking shopmen. A warrant was issued for his arrest by his personal friend, Governor Allen. Martial law was declared at Denison, Texas. In this state and in Tennessee edi-

¹See p. 196.

tors of newspapers were cited for contempt for criticising the action of the judiciary in the strike. In Arkansas, C. E. Gregor, an active striker was hung to a railroad trestle by a business men's mob. The equipment and locomotives of the railroad companies showed the effects of no or inadequate attention and interstate commerce inspectors were forced to stop numbers of trains which proved unsafe.

Settlements.—S. Davies Warfield, president of the Seaboard Air Line Railway and chairman of the National Association of Owners of Railway Securities, and Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, helped start negotiations with President Jewell of the A. F. of L. Railway Employees' Department ending on September 13, 1922, which affected about 50 railroads. The men agreed to return to work at the existing wage rates. The railroads agreed to withdraw any suits, and take back the workers to their positions held on June 30. The seniority rights of the returned shopmen were to be determined by a joint commission of men and management. Since the first agreements went into effect, the shopmen claim about 200,000 strikers have returned under signed agreements. The strike is still officially on, however, and is very active on a number of railway systems.

Street Car Strikes.—There were a number of street car strikes in New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts, and in Chicago.

The surface line and elevated employees of Chicago struck for about a week early in August, 1922, to protest against a wage reduction of 20 per cent and the withdrawal of punitive overtime after eight hours were worked. The men went back to work with but a 10 per cent cut and retained extra pay for overtime. In May, 1923, a strike broke out for a similar short period in Lawrence, Methuen, Andover, and North Andover, Mass. Their demand for a wage increase was to be considered after the men returned to work, which they did.

In Albany, and Schenectady, N. Y., strikes of the street car men seriously interfered with local transportation. The men had lost their fight for recognition in 1921 in Albany, and were locked out in June, 1923, when the Union Traction Company of Albany discovered a union continued to exist. The Schenectady Railway Company on May 15, 1923, informed its employees that it would operate on an open-shop basis. Thereupon the organized trolley men, who had been working for a year without any agreement, called a strike.

State Industrial Commissioner Bernard L. Shientag declared that absentee directorship and a sharp conflict among the directors of the railway were responsible for the uncompromising stand of the company against union recognition. No cars were run for a time and an order was given the police by the mayor to arrest any one trying to take cars out of the barns. Some violence occurred during the protracted strike, and considerable feeling developed against the public utility corporation.

Over 6,000 men were directly involved in a strike on the trolley lines of 146 New Jersey municipalities, which began on August 1, 1923, and did not end until September 19. The jitney or bus system developed very extensively during the strike, and pressure was brought to bear upon the Public Service Railway Company to resume service. The strikers returned to work with a 20 per cent increase of wages and one day rest in every eight.

COAL MINING

Coal Strikes.—About 600,000 bituminous and anthracite coal miners laid down their tools on March 31, 1922. They did not resume until an agreement was reached in the bituminous field on August 15, and in the anthracite region on September 2, 1922. As estimated by the United States Department of Labor, production of anthracite coal was entirely suspended and the following numbers were on strike in the different states:

Table 59—Coal Miners Involved in Strike, 1922

<i>State</i>	<i>Employed Before Strike</i>	<i>On Strike</i>
Alabama	30,000	0
Arkansas	5,000	4,000
Colorado	15,000	4,000
Illinois	90,000	90,000
Indiana	30,000	30,000
Iowa	15,000	15,000
Kansas	13,000	12,000
Kentucky	40,000	5,000
Maryland	7,000	5,000
Michigan	3,000	3,000
Missouri	12,000	11,000
Montana	5,000	5,000
New Mexico	4,500	1,000
Ohio	50,000	50,000
Oklahoma	10,000	9,000
Pennsylvania, bituminous	175,000	155,000
Pennsylvania, anthracite	155,000	155,000
Tennessee	12,000	4,000
Texas	4,500	2,000

<i>State</i>	<i>Employed Before Strike</i>	<i>On Strike</i>
Utah	4,000	1,000
Virginia	12,000	0
Washington	5,000	2,000
West Virginia	90,000	40,000
Wyoming	8,000	7,000
Total	795,000	610,000

Causes.—The biennial convention in February, 1922, of the United Mine Workers adopted the following demands to be presented to the operators of bituminous coal in national conference: (1) maintenance of existing basic wage schedules; (2) adjustment of inequitable differentials within and between districts; (3) six-hour day and five-day week; (4) time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays; (5) weekly pay day; (6) elimination of the automatic penalty clause; and (7) a two-year contract. The operators of the central competitive field (Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and western Pennsylvania), were invited by union officials to meet in conference on March 2, 1922, after they had, prior to the convention, split on accepting a similar invitation. The western Pennsylvania and southern and eastern Ohio operators declined to attend because, they claimed, they were unable to compete with non-union mines. In addition, they alleged that the agreement of 1920 no longer existed, and they were subject to suit under the Sherman anti-trust law if an interstate conference was held. The agreement of 1920 contained a provision providing definitely for an interstate joint conference to be held prior to April 1, 1922. The agreement expired on March 31, 1922, and the mine workers, refusing to meet on a district basis, quit work. In the anthracite region the miners presented 19 demands, calling for an increase in wages of 20 per cent, a uniform wage scale, a two-year contract, the check-off, seniority, an actual 8-hour day for all persons working in and around the anthracite collieries, and other changes. The anthracite operators answered with a plea for reductions in wages, a five-year contract, and an arbitration commission of five persons. A formal strike was not declared until July 1, 1922, although the men suspended work April 1, 1922.

Course of Strike.—For three months the government did not interfere. On July 10, 1922, President Harding proposed a plan of settlement which was rejected by the mine workers on the ground that but 50 per cent of the tonnage in strike fields had been represented at the conference called by the President. Thereupon the President assured the operators

of government protection and requested them to resume, without the check-off system. The governor of Indiana declared martial law and tried to work the mines with volunteers. In Pennsylvania and Ohio the state militia was called out, while in Michigan steps were taken toward state control of the mines. Though the sixteen railway unions had entered into an agreement with the mine workers about two months prior to the strike, the latter made no request for aid. But the shopmen's strike of July 1 helped the miners by crippling transportation. The only outbreak during the strike occurred at Herrin, Ill., where one of the southern Illinois coal companies, in a 100 per cent union community, imported strike breakers under armed guards. After two miners were killed, an armed mob attacked the strike-breakers and guards, killing 19 and wounding a number of others. On January 19, 1923, the first trial of 5 miners charged with the attack ended in their acquittal. On April 7, a second trial ended the same way.

Settlements.—In the middle of August came the first break in the strike, when an agreement was reached in the bituminous field to hold a joint conference on October 2, 1922. By August 30 all the bituminous miners were back at work, under conditions that existed prior to the strike. Wage increases for the non-union miners in the Connellsville, southern West Virginia, and Alabama coal fields followed immediately thereafter. On September 8 the United States Senate adopted the Borah bill for a Coal Inquiry Commission. The operators, the miners, and those familiar with the industry, all agreed that the industry itself must be thoroughly examined and certain fundamental changes introduced. The Coal Inquiry Commission was organized, did its work, and spent \$1,200,000. In the opinion of President Lewis of the Mine Workers, it was a "lamentable failure," and its report, a "maze of well-worn generalities which could have been written by any well-informed mine superintendent" in 60 days. He added: "The commission's recommendations fail to encompass the one great object for which it was created, namely, the stabilization of the coal industry as affecting both the opportunity for employment on the part of the miner, reasonable profits for the operator, and a fair price of coal to the consumer." In the anthracite field, agreement was reached on September 2, 1922, which continued the same conditions of the previous agreement of March 31, 1922, to August 31, 1923, and which asked the President of the United States to create a separate

anthracite coal commission to report on every phase of the industry.

On September 1, 1923, the 155,000 anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania laid down their tools to obtain wage increases, the check-off system, and the eight-hour day. President Coolidge turned over the problem of securing a settlement to Governor Amos Pinchot of Pennsylvania, who submitted terms which the miners and operators accepted. The contract as agreed to runs until August 31, 1925. It gives a uniform wage increase of 10 per cent and the basic eight-hour day to all miners. The union gets full recognition, without the check-off, but with the right to have a union representative present when the men are paid. The men resumed work on September 19, 1923.

OTHER DISPUTES

Packing House Strike.—September 15, 1921, saw the end of federal control through a referee of the labor situation in the meat packing houses. Armour and Swift, the largest packers, were already announcing and organizing their company unions as an offset to real organization. The packing house workers had suffered a number of wage cuts and 65 per cent of them were asked to accept another cut to \$17.60 a week when the federal administration quit. On December 5, 1921, a general strike was called, affecting over 50,000 employees in Chicago, Omaha, New York, and other cities. There were a number of riots. Picketing was practically abolished through the use of hundreds of police and sweeping injunctions. In Kansas the workers quit in defiance of the industrial court law. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen on January 31, 1922, sent notices to its affiliated unions to call off the strike.

Ward Baking Company.—On May 1, 1923, the Ward Baking Company refused to negotiate with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union for the renewal of the agreement which covered the company's plants in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, New York, Brooklyn, Providence, and Boston since 1917, and Chicago and Newark, N. J., since an earlier date. The company declared for the non-union shop. Every city covered by the national agreement was involved. The contest was centered in Pittsburgh, where competitive concerns were under agreement with the international union, but followed the lead of Ward and refused to continue relations with the union. The Bakery Workers' union everywhere conducted

a vigorous boycott against Ward products.¹ The strike was still being waged at the end of 1923.

Stone Trades Disputes.—In the latter part of 1921 and the beginning of 1922 the employers' association generally broke with the Quarry Workers' and Granite Cutters' unions, and announced the American plan as the basis of operations. The secretary of the Quarry Workers wrote that at one time during 1922 they did not have a single agreement in the granite industry. The Paving Cutters and the Granite Cutters, however, helped their sister union, and as a result by Labor Day, 1923, agreements had been renewed for practically all the members of the Quarry Workers' organization. The Granite Cutters withstood the open-shop fight and secured union agreements, after some protracted strikes.

Printing Trades.—On January 3, 1922, a national lockout was declared against the Photo-Engravers involving 3,850 members in commercial shops in a number of cities, including New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cleveland, Milwaukee and other large centers. New York City was the heart of the situation. After eight days the employers in the metropolis capitulated on January 11, and the Photo-Engravers throughout the country soon after went back to work without any wage reduction or increase of hours. The international union disbursed \$201,370.11 in benefits and expenses during the lockout.

The National Association of Employing Lithographers in the latter part of 1921 demanded a 12½ per cent wage reduction. The Amalgamated Lithographers of America voted down the proposition on a referendum. On January 1, 1922, the lithographers were out of the shops. The dispute continued for the better part of the year, ending in failure of the union to resist the wage cut and policies of the National Association of Employing Lithographers. The Women's Auxiliary, though few in numbers, were very helpful in assisting the strikers.

New York Pressmen.—One of the most spectacular and complete strikes was waged for 11 days by the web pressmen against the leading newspapers of New York City, September 17-28, 1923. Some 2,500 men left the newspaper plants and compelled the dailies to issue only one combined morning and evening paper of very reduced size and in limited quantities. Representatives of Web Pressmen's Local Union No. 25, affiliated with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, had for some time prior to the strike con-

ducted negotiations with the newspaper publishers. No agreement was reached, and the men walked out. The main cause of the strike was the drastic and unworkable arbitration award of Judge Martin T. Manton, handed down on February 21, 1922. The award permitted the employers to reduce the number of men working on the presses, and to shift crews with no restrictions. Hours were increased and overtime rules changed which reduced earnings. Foremen were taken from the control of the union. Practices were ordered by strictly living up to which the pressmen caused endless trouble to the newspaper owners.

Before the strike began the Board of Directors of the international union were called in to assist in the negotiations. According to George L. Berry, international president, the strike was called "without notice or authority and in violation of every principle of trades unionism and justice." The international office immediately declared the strike illegal, took away the local charter, telegraphed to other cities for web pressmen to take the places of the strikers, and forced the former members of the striking union to apply as individuals to the international union before they could get jobs. The strikers voted as a body to return, but the president of the striking union was not, at the end of the year, given his union card nor permitted to take work in the press rooms of the New York newspapers. The new contract negotiated by the international officials during the strike increased wages \$3 a week, reduced the hours of night work from 48 to 41, day work from 48 to 45, gave a \$3 differential to night men, and provided for arbitration of a demand for an additional increase.

Shoe Workers.—The Brockton, Mass., shoe workers who belonged to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union had a trade agreement with their employers providing for reference of disputes to the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation. In 1922 these shoe workers took a 10 per cent wage cut. In the early part of 1923 they asked that their wages be restored, but the state Board ruled against them. Thereupon the men demanded a 20 per cent wage increase, and the abolition of the agreement which compelled adjustments by a state body. On May 1, 1923, 1,200 struck to enforce their demands. The strike spread to other towns, and soon about 20,000 shoe workers were involved. A secession movement started, and the independent Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union was organized. The employers refused to do business with the new union. Certain of the A. F. of L.

unions assisted the strikers, and condemned the policy of compulsory arbitration. Sentiment in the communities was created against the strikers, and pickets were arrested in large numbers. After 11 weeks the workers voted to call off the strike.

IV. LABOR POLITICS

SOCIALIST PARTY

Vote.—The officially credited vote for the Socialist Party candidates for President and Vice-President has been as follows:

1900	94,768	1912	897,011
1904	402,400	1916	585,113
1908	420,820	1920	919,799

With the exception of 1916 when Benson was the candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs, at present the chairman of the party, was the standard bearer at each election. The Socialist Party had at the end of 1923 one Congressman in the House of Representatives, Victor L. Berger, from Wisconsin, a number in state legislatures, the mayor of Milwaukee, a city of 500,000, and many aldermen in other places. Meyer London, who had been a member of Congress from New York City for several terms, was again elected in November, 1920, but was defeated for re-election in 1922.

Membership and Organization.—The yearly average membership of the Socialist Party since 1910 has been as follows:

1910....	58,011	1914....	93,579	1918....	82,344	1922....	11,019
1911....	84,716	1915....	79,374	1919....	104,822	1923....	12,000
1912....	118,045	1916....	83,284	1920....	26,766		
1913....	95,957	1917....	80,379	1921....	13,484		

The party is made up of individuals paying monthly dues, belonging to local branches, which in turn constitute the state organizations or language federations, and are parts of the national body. There are members in all except eight states, the largest number being in New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, and California, in the order named. During the first three months of 1922 the Finnish language federation had an average membership of 2,491, the Italian 490, Jewish 478, Yugoslav 657, German 428, and the Lithuanian 39.

At the end of 1923 the Socialist Party had five organization districts:

Central States	Northwestern States	Southern States
New England States	Rocky Mountain States	

It had nineteen organized state branches, in:

Arkansas	Kansas	Oklahoma
California	Kentucky	Ohio
Connecticut	Maryland	Pennsylvania
District of Columbia	Michigan	Texas
Illinois	Missouri	West Virginia
Indiana	New Jersey	Wisconsin
	New York	

To it were affiliated the Young People's Socialist League, and the six foreign language federations already mentioned.

National conventions are held biennially, in even numbered years, except as changed by referendum or by a two-thirds vote of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee consists of seven members, and is elected by the Convention. National Conventions of the party have been held in 1901, 1904, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1923.

Principles and Platform.—The 1920 convention, which met in New York, adopted a declaration of principles and a platform for the presidential election. The principles of the party were stated as follows:

Socialist Party Declaration of Principles

The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

America is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few.

These are the ruling classes of America. They are small in numbers but they dominate the lives and shape the destinies of their fellow men.

They own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of farm products; they own their homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds.

Around and about the capitalist class cluster the numerous and varied groups of the population, generally designated as the "middle classes." They consist of farm owners, small merchants and manufacturers, professional and better paid employees. Their economic status is often precarious. They live in hopes of being lifted into the charmed spheres of the ruling classes. Their social psychology is that of retainers of the wealthy. As a rule they sell their gifts, knowledge and efforts to the capitalists' interests. They are staunch upholders of the existing order of social inequalities.

The bulk of the American people is composed of workers; workers on the farm and in the factory, in mines and mills, on ships and railroads, in offices and counting houses, in schools and in personal service, workers of hand and brain, all men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ramified ways of modern civilization. They have made America what it is. They sustain America from day to day. They bear most of the burdens of life and enjoy but few of its pleasures. They create the enormous wealth of the country but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, and yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries but have no say in their management. They constitute the majority of the people but have no control in the government. Despite the forms of political equality the workers of the United States are virtually a subject class.

The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It espouses their

cause because in the workers lies the hope of the political, economic and social redemption of the country. The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. Individual members of these classes often join in the struggle against the capitalist order from motives of personal idealism, but whole classes have never been known to abdicate their rule and surrender their privileges for the mere sake of social justice. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing the present profit system.

The Socialist Party desires the workers of America to take the economic and political power from the capitalist class, not that they may establish themselves as a new ruling class, but in order that all class divisions may be abolished forever.

To perform this supreme social task the workers must be organized as a political party of their own. They must realize that both the Republican and Democratic parties are the political instruments of the master classes, and equally pledged to uphold and perpetuate capitalism. They must be trained to use the ballot box to vote out the tools of the capitalist and middle classes and to vote in representatives of the workers. A true political party of labor must be founded upon the uncompromising demand for the complete socialization of the industries. That means doing away with the private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth production and distribution, abolishing workless incomes in the form of profits, interest or rents, transforming the whole able-bodied population of the country into useful workers and securing to all workers the full social value of their work.

The Socialist Party is such a political party. It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the legislatures and other public offices, to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and when in power to transfer to the ownership by the people of industries, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation and communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership, as rapidly as their physical conditions will permit.

It also proposes to socialize the system of public education and health and all activities and institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare including dwelling houses.

The Socialist program advocates the socialization of all large farming estates and land used for industrial and public purposes as well as all instrumentalities for storing, preserving and marketing farm products. It does not contemplate interference with the private possession of land actually used and cultivated by occupants.

The Socialist Party, when in political control, proposes to reorganize the government in form and substance so as to change it from a tool of repression into an instrument of social and industrial service. It affirms a fundamental truth of the American Declaration of Independence, that when a government fails to serve us, or becomes destructive of human happiness, "It is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

The Socialist transformation cannot be successfully accomplished by political victories alone. The reorganization of the industries upon the basis of social operation and cooperative effort will require an intelligent and disciplined working class, skilled not only in the processes of physical work, but also in the technical problems of management. This indispensable training the workers can best gain as a result of their constant efforts to secure a greater share in the management of industries through their labor unions and cooperatives. These economic organizations of labor have also an immediate practice and vital function. Their daily struggles for betterment in the sphere of their respective industries supplement and reinforce the political efforts of the Socialist Party in the same general direction, and their great economic power may prove a formidable weapon for safeguarding the political rights of labor.

The Socialist Party does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of labor unions, but will always support them in their economic struggle.

In order, however, that such struggle might attain the maximum of efficiency and success, the Socialists favor the organization of workers along lines of industrial unionism, in closest organic cooperation, as an organized working-class body.

The Socialist Party does not seek to interfere with the institution of the family as such, but promises to make family life fuller, nobler and happier by removing the sordid factor of economic dependence of woman on man, and by assuring to all members of the family greater material security and more leisure to cultivate the joys of the home.

The Socialist Party adheres strictly to the principle of complete separation of state and church. It recognizes the right of voluntary communities of citizens to maintain religious institutions and to worship according to the dictates of their conscience.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly and constitutional methods, so long as the ballot box, the right of representation and civil liberties are maintained. Violence is not the weapon of the Socialist Party but of the short-sighted representatives of the ruling classes, who stupidly believe that social movements and ideals can be destroyed by brutal physical repression. The Socialists depend upon education and organization of the masses.

The domination of the privileged classes has been so strong that they have succeeded in persuading their credulous fellow citizens that they, the despoilers of America, are the only true Americans; that their selfish class interests are the sacred interests of the nation; that only those that submit supinely to their oppressive rule are loyal and patriotic citizens and that all who oppose their exactions and pretensions are traitors to their country.

The Socialists emphatically reject this fraudulent notion of patriotism.

The Socialist Party gives its service and allegiance to the mass of the American people, the working classes, but this interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous and happy while its neighbors are poor and miserable. No nation can be truly free if other nations are enslaved. The ties of international interdependence and solidarity are particularly vital among the working classes. In all the advanced countries of the world the working classes are engaged in the identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is immediately reflected upon the progress and fortunes of all.

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism and to wars among nations. Modern wars are generally caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of the capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of human civilization. The Socialist Party of the United States cooperates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the class-conscious workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government in their respective countries, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, cooperating with each other for the benefit of the human race and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

In the 1920 national elections the platform of the Socialist Party of the United States summoned "all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups in harmony with our industrial development, and with citizenship based on service, that we may end forever the exploita-

tion of class by class." To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledged itself to the following program of immediate demands:

1. Social

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation..

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the government and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government, and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with reference to the Negroes, and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

2. Industrial

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strikebreaking agencies and to establish a shorter work-day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

3. Political

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage Law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the Espionage Law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles; nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the Writ of Injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the Cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.

7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.

8. Because of the strict residential qualification of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election; adequate provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory voters.

9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform, and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

4. Foreign Relations

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be cancelled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be cancelled. The largest possible credit in food, raw material and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the "League of Nations" and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the Treaty of Peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims of American capitalists.

5. Fiscal

1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal Government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payments to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burdens should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed, all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.

Attitude toward Workers' Party.—At the May 19-22, 1923, Convention of the Socialist Party, in New York City, a communication was read from the Workers' Party proposing the organization of a coalition in order to promote (1) amalgamation of the trade unions; (2) protection of foreign born workers; (3) repudiation of the Amsterdam, Vienna, and London Internationals; (4) support of recognition for Soviet Russia; (5) removal of governmental obstacles hindering the struggles of the workers; and (6) formation of a nation-wide Labor Party. The Convention unanimously rejected the invitation. In its answer to the Workers' Party the body declared that

If the Communists had urged organizations of the working class to form a united front at the end of the World War, "regardless of political differences," as the Workers' Party now urges, this front would have been established five years ago. Instead of this policy, the Communist International pursued a deliberate policy of division. It ordered splits in every country. It sowed hatreds and dissensions among the working class. It destroyed all possibility of solidarity of the workers in each nation. It brought civil war into the organizations of the workers.

The reply also expressed the belief that the invitation was merely a tactical maneuver to help the Communists; it ac-

cused the speakers and publications of the Workers' Party of maligning the Socialist Party; and it imputed secret aims and dishonest motives to this demand of the Workers' Party for the "united front." At the December, 1922, Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, in Cleveland, the delegates of the Socialist Party voted to exclude the representatives of the Workers' Party, on the ground that they were a destructive and disorganizing force.

Attitude toward a Labor Party.—The 1922 Convention of the Socialist Party, April 29-May 2, in Cleveland, authorized the National Executive Committee to select delegates to attend the next meeting called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. It was expressly stated that the delegates were "to have no power to commit the Socialist Party to any policy, but only to report with recommendations to the next succeeding national convention." At this Convention also, by a vote of 12 to 10, with one delegate not voting, the constitution of the Socialist Party was amended, permitting state organizations of the party to cooperate

with organizations of Labor and working farmers within their state in independent political action, but such cooperation must in all cases be on the following conditions: (1) the term "independent political action" shall be understood to mean the nomination and election of candidates by a party of workers, farmers, and Socialists organized in express opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties, and excluding participation in the primaries of such parties as well as voting for their candidates in public elections; (2) that in any form of political cooperation the independence and integrity of organization and official political standing of the Socialist Party be fully preserved; (3) the political programs and platforms adopted for such joint political action shall not be inconsistent with the platform and declaration of principles of the Socialist Party; (4) that all cooperation of Socialist state organizations shall be subject to approval by the National Executive Committee.

The 1923 Convention recommended to the state organizations of the Socialist Party to "cooperate in the calling and organization of state conferences [of the Conference for Progressive Political Action] for the purpose of forming independent political labor parties in their respective states; such cooperation not to entail the loss of integrity or the political standing of the Socialist Party."

When the Conference for Progressive Political Action met in December, 1922, the Socialist delegates voted for the constitution which permitted each state branch of the Conference to determine for itself the kind of political action to be undertaken. The Socialists of New York state, with this knowledge, went to the Albany Convention of the New York State Conference for Progressive Political Action in July, 1923, to be a part of the group, and hoping that the Con-

ference would commit itself to independent political action in 1924. Instead, the conference broke up, the railroad unions met separately, and declared for the non-partisan political policy. Previously the 1923 convention of the Socialist Party had decided to continue its affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and the National Executive Committee decided to meet on February 11, 1924, in St. Louis, at the same place and time as the Conference. The attitude of the Socialist Party, as expressed in its reply to the invitation by the Farmer-Labor Party to attend the July 3, 1923, Convention was "that by working through state conferences called by that body [Conference for Progressive Political Action] where the views of local labor organizations in each state will be directly represented, it will at the present juncture best advance the cause of working class unity on the political field." In answer to the invitation of the Farmer-Labor Party to discuss "such steps as may be necessary to bring about complete unity of the political forces of the entire working class," and establish a nation-wide labor party, the Socialist Party said:

The Socialist Party fully agrees with the Farmer-Labor Party as to the desirability of uniting the workers on the political field. The only question is how soon and by what means this end can best be attained.

A necessary condition to the establishment of a really powerful political party of the working class is the active support of at least a majority of the great trade unions. Unless there is assurance that this support is now obtainable, any attempt at this time to effect the proposed "unity" of the political forces of the entire working class would result in disappointment.

Attitude toward Unions.—The 1923 Convention went on record to the effect that it is the "duty of the Socialist Party, its press, and its auxiliary institutions to give whole-hearted support to the labor organizations in all their struggles for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. . . . It is neither the right nor the interest of the Socialist Party to attempt to dictate to the unions concerning their internal affairs nor to interfere in the jurisdictional and other disputes which sometimes unfortunately divide the labor movement. . . . The Socialist Party specifically points out the error into which sincere, but too impatient Socialists or persons reputed to be Socialists, have sometimes fallen, of seeking to capture the unions, or to force their own ideas upon them by schismatic organization within their ranks and by factious attacks upon their leaders."

Position on Russia.—The 1922 and 1923 Conventions of the party demanded unreserved recognition of the Russian gov-

ernment. The latest Convention declared that if the revolution had done nothing more than overthrow the despotism of the Czar this alone "will always be glorious in the long struggle of the working class." Further, the resolution said, "differences in working class organizations never justify support of the common enemy."

International Relations.—The 1922 Convention voted to apply for immediate affiliation with the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (Vienna Union). The party was subsequently admitted. At the Unity Conference of the London International (the revived Second), and the Vienna Union, which opened in Hamburg on May 21, 1923, the Socialist Party was represented by Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, Jacob Panken, and Morris Berman. Hillquit and Berger were made members of the International Executive. The party later officially affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. Morris Hillquit was re-elected international secretary at both the 1922 and 1923 party Conventions.

1924 Convention.—The 1924 national Convention of the party will be held on July 6, 1924, at Cleveland. The following number of delegates, paid and unpaid, is the maximum allowed from each state:

Table 60—Maximum Representation at Socialist Party Convention, 1924

<i>State</i>	<i>Paid</i>	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Paid</i>	<i>Unpaid</i>
Arkansas	0	1	Oregon	0	1
California	1	6	Pennsylvania	2	19
Connecticut	1	3	Rhode Island	0	1
District of Columbia	1	1	Texas	0	1
Illinois	1	10	Vermont	0	1
Indiana	1	3	Washington	0	1
Iowa	0	2	West Virginia	1	1
Kansas	0	1	Wisconsin	2	24
Kentucky	0	1	New England	1	0
Maine	0	1	Northwestern	1	0
Massachusetts	2	21	Rocky Mountain	1	3
Maryland	1	2	Bohemian Fed.	0	1
Michigan	1	3	Finnish "	1	2
Minnesota	0	2	German "	0	1
Missouri	1	3	Italian "	1	2
Montana	0	1	Jewish "	1	2
New Hampshire	0	1	Yugoslav "	0	2
New Jersey	1	8	Lithuanian "	0	2
New York	2	26	Y.P.S.L.	1	3
Oklahoma	0	1			
Ohio	1	9	Total	27	173

General.—The 1923 convention called upon all white workers to treat the Negro workers as an equal and vital part of the wage-working class, to encourage their organization in labor unions, and to help break down all prejudices against them. It pledged the resources of the Socialist movement to

assist workers' education "not necessarily in the partisan spirit of Socialist propaganda, rather in the wider aim of helpfulness, to the end of enhancing the strength, confidence, clearheadedness, leadership, and morale of a truly progressive American labor movement." The Convention demanded the recognition of Mexico, immediate and unconditional amnesty for all industrial and political prisoners, and the end of political persecution and repression by the Soviet government of working class organizations. It urged the abolition of state criminal syndicalist laws, the restoration of constitutional guarantees in West Virginia, and the nationalization and democratic management of the railroads and mines. The 1922 Convention instructed the National Executive Committee to bring about a closer Pan-American Socialist movement. The constitution was amended to permit Socialist Parties in the insular possessions to affiliate with the party in the United States. At both Conventions the delegates sent greetings to Eugene Victor Debs, and endorsed the *Forward* and *Call* of New York and the *Milwaukee Leader*. The party collected up to October, 1922, for the Russian Relief Fund, a total of \$6,453.18. In 1923 Eugene V. Debs started an extensive speaking and organizing tour of the country, and addressed thousands at every point. The national office, which was conducting the tour, had to cancel the arrangement after a while on account of Debs' poor health. The 1923 Convention adopted a constitutional amendment urging all of its members under 26 to join the Young People's Socialist League, and voted to give to the League at least 10 per cent of the organization fund of \$40,000 to be raised. The Convention condemned the Fascisti and endorsed the work of the Anti-Fascisti Alliance of America.

National Executive Committee.—At the 1922 Convention Vladeck, Maurer, Roewer, Hillquit, Henry, Berger, Melms, and Wilson were elected to the National Executive Committee. The 1923 Convention elected the following members who constitute the present National Executive Committee:

Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind., Chairman.
Edmund T. Melms, Milwaukee, Wis.
Morris Hillquit, New York, N. Y.
Birch Wilson, Reading, Pa.
W. M. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo.
W. R. Snow, Chicago, Ill.
Leo M. Harkins, Camden, N. J.

Otto Branstetter, executive secretary of the party for many years, was presented with a testimonial of appreciation by

the 1923 Convention. Mrs. Bertha Hale White is the present executive secretary.

Socialists in Congress.—Meyer London was elected to Congress for a third term in 1920, to represent the 12th District, New York. He was made a member of the Committees on Labor, on Mines and Mining, and on Civil Service Reform. Largely as a result of his efforts a civil service reform bill was framed and adopted, reclassifying the service, and increasing many salaries. The outstanding accomplishment of his term was the enactment of a law amending the bankruptcy act, preventing the discharge of claims for wages, earnings of salesmen, or of moneys deposited as security for the performance of labor contracts. This is the first measure sponsored by a Socialist to become federal law. London estimates that in New York alone \$1,000,000 in wages have been saved the workers since the law was passed.

Congressman London introduced resolutions calling for amnesty for all political prisoners, for the recognition of Russia and Mexico, and for the tentative amelioration of unemployment. A resolution demanding that the tariff rate be made dependent on maintenance of the eight-hour day, collective bargaining, and one day's rest in seven in the protected industry, attracted much attention. So did a resolution to substitute for the League of Nations an International Parliament, democratically organized. London attacked the tax policy of the nation, and pointed out that the preservation and use of natural resources would yield revenues sufficient to maintain the government. He opposed the merchant marine subsidy, and the loan to Liberia. He supported the British debt settlement, and suggested that the principle there employed be applied to the settlement of all outstanding debts, including that of Russia. He supported the Dyer anti-lynching bill, and took a stand for a liberal immigration policy. When the Ruhr was invaded he moved for American mediation between France and Germany.

Victor Berger was elected to Congress from Wisconsin in 1922. His activity did not begin until December, 1923. Among the measures he has introduced are a bill to relieve the starving German children, and an old age pensions bill.

Wisconsin.—The Socialist Party has 10 representatives in the Assembly, and three in the Senate. In the lower house the Socialists form part of a bloc of farmers and labor men large enough to put through most of the farm-labor program. They are prevented from exerting their power by a Senate

evenly divided between farmer-labor members and reactionaries, and by a governor who, though elected on a La Follette ticket, leans definitely to the Right. The lower house passed measures abolishing the militia, prohibiting the building of more armories, limiting hours of labor for women to eight a day and 48 a week, prohibiting the use of private detective agencies in labor disputes, and increasing income tax rates on higher income. These measures were defeated in the Senate, after the governor in a special message spoke against them. Part of the farm-labor program was enacted. The measures passed included: a constitutional amendment providing the initiative and referendum, and home rule for cities; compulsory farmer-labor representation on the Board of Regents; limiting the hours of labor for women to nine a day and 50 a week; cutting the appropriation for the National Guard from \$1,200,000 to \$550,000; increasing benefits under the workmen's compensation act; restricting the use of injunctions in labor disputes; repealing all tax exemptions on land; legalizing peaceful picketing.

In addition the bloc was able to defeat much legislation inimical to labor. It defeated measures to create a state police, to prohibit municipal employees from joining unions; to force unions to incorporate; to make it possible to seize union treasuries during strikes.

Milwaukee Socialist Administration.—In 1922 Daniel W. Hoan was elected mayor of Milwaukee for his third term, on the Socialist ticket. The Socialists have no majority in the council. The Socialist administration has continued along the same lines as in the past. The city has no great degree of home rule, and the Socialists are much handicapped by hostile state officials. The city has floated a harbor project, water works, and a cooperative housing company. The latter company has erected 105 houses, which are already occupied. The water works are valued at \$13,000,000, and are free of debt. They are operated at cost. There is also a municipally owned street lighting system. Public recreation facilities have been increased. The city has inaugurated municipal dances in the public parks. Pensions for firemen and policemen have been put on a sound basis. The eight-hour ordinance and the minimum wage law for municipal employees and contractors have been upheld by the courts. The harbor, bridge, and railway problems are being studied, and a solution aimed at that will take the future growth of the town into account. The city operates

largely on a cash basis, and its public debt per capita is the lowest among the 36 largest cities in the United States.

In strikes the police are used to protect the strikers and their rights. Private detective agencies have been curbed.

New York City.—The Socialist Party in New York City during 1922 carried on an open-air campaign to raise funds for the striking miners. In the elections the party joined with the Farmer-Labor Party to form the American Labor Party. The city vote for Edward Cassidy, the nominee for governor, was 68,000. August Claessens, who had been elected to the Assembly from the 17th Assembly District, New York County, in 1921, was not seated until the 1922 session was nearly at an end. No Socialist or American Labor Party candidates were elected in 1922.

In 1922 the party held meetings to protest against the housing situation. When the Ruhr was invaded, meetings were held to voice the opposition of the party to French imperialism. In May a meeting was held in Madison Square Garden to welcome Eugene Debs back to activity.

A city convention was held in July to consider the merging of the city locals into one large local. The merger resolution was defeated at the convention, but a subsequent resolution referred to the membership was carried in every borough except the Bronx.

In the 1923 elections the party, still in conjunction with the American Labor Party, was unable to elect any of its candidates. Jacob Panken, running for justice of the Court of Appeals, polled 98,116 votes in the city, an increase over 1922.

The Call.—On August 13, 1923, the Labor Press Association, Inc., formed a week or two earlier by progressive labor unions, took over the *New York Call*. The *Call* had been in financial difficulties for some time before. The new association was composed of the Workmen's Cooperative Publishing Association, the former owner of the *Call*, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, the International Fur Workers' Union, and the Press Writers' Union. All of the stock was to be held by unions. The American Fund for Public Service, Inc., advanced \$40,000 for the purchase of stock. The Association was capitalized at \$500,000, of which \$110,000 was subscribed. In all \$92,000 in cash was paid in. The

new paper was to be a labor rather than a Socialist daily, and, in 1923, it was to support the candidates of the American Labor Party.

Norman Thomas became editor, Heber Blankenhorn managing editor, and Evans Clark business manager. On October 1 the *Call* became the *Leader*, an evening newspaper. Its form and content underwent radical changes. It gave labor news much prominence, but also featured sports, comic strips, and a woman's page, in an effort to reach a large public.

The cost of publishing an evening paper in New York City greatly exceeds the cost of a morning paper. On November 12 the *Leader* suspended publication. The money subscribed had been spent, and in spite of increased circulation and advertising the costs of publication were too great to be borne further.

The death of the *Leader* and of the *Call* has left only one Socialist daily in English in the United States, the *Milwaukee Leader*.

Forward.—The *Jewish Daily Forward*, founded April 22, 1897, had in 1922 an average daily national circulation of 200,000, a Saturday circulation of 211,000, and a Sunday circulation of 206,000. In 1923 the average daily circulation rose to 215,000, the Saturday circulation to 226,000, and the Sunday circulation to 221,000. The Chicago plant was responsible for the circulation of 40,000 copies daily.

In 1923 the *Forward* had, in addition to its New York and Chicago plants, offices in Boston, Newark, N. J., Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Paul, St. Louis, and Los Angeles.

The paper was improved in 1923 by the addition of a rotogravure section and of an English page in the Sunday edition.

The Forward Association distributed in 1922 donations amounting to \$53,778, most of it to the Socialist press, the national and local offices of the Socialist Party, and to educational institutions. The United Hebrew Trades received \$3,000, and a substantial contribution was made to the strike fund of the textile workers. In 1923, \$50,211 was distributed in the same manner. The Knitgoods Workers' Union received \$500 for its strike treasury.

The *Forward* is owned by the Forward Association, a non-profit making organization. It is not organically connected with any party group, but it actively supports the Socialist Party in its news columns and in its editorial policy. It

energetically takes the side of the workers in industrial disputes.

The Association maintains a sick and death benefit fund for all its employees. Every one drawing wages and salaries from the *Forward* is insured for a sum ranging from \$2,000 to \$5,000, paid for by the paper. In addition, each employee is entitled each year, in case of complete disability for any cause, to full pay for a period of one and a half weeks, for each year of service.

Abraham Cahan is editor of the paper, and B. Charney Vladeck business manager.

Other Localities.—In California in 1923 the party suffered along with the rest of the labor movement from the violent open shop drive. One result of the acute labor situation was the first example of cooperation of the Socialist Party, the local trade unions, and the Workers' Party. In the special congressional election in January, 1923, to fill the seat of Congressman John I. Nolan, a candidate supported by all three groups polled 4,200 votes, about 15 per cent of the total vote cast. In Los Angeles the Socialist Party and the trade unions cooperate through a Labor Party.

In Pennsylvania the Socialist candidate for governor in 1922, Lilith M. Wilson, polled 32,000 votes. The party issues a paper called *The Worker*, which was distributed by tens of thousands by miners during the coal strike. The party supported the strike to the limit of its capacity, collecting funds, organizing meetings, relieving miners' families in distress, and engaging in free speech fights. The party is strongest in Reading, where in the fall of 1922, J. H. Hollinger, candidate for mayor, ran second to the Republicans, beating the Democratic nominee. Maurer and Snyder, candidates for the legislature, equalled Hollinger's vote, being defeated by narrow margins.

In Chicago the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party have held conferences to cooperate. During 1923 the candidates of the party polled about 10 per cent of the total vote cast.

The Socialist Party took the initiative in organizing the American Labor Party of Missouri. The new party came into being after the convention of the State Federation of Labor. The president of the State Federation, R. T. Wood, was active in its formation. It has taken part in one election in 1923, and polled 8 per cent of the total vote.

The Socialist Party in Dayton has a voting strength out

of proportion to its membership. In 1923, Willard Barringer, Socialist candidate for city commissioner, polled 19,000 votes, losing by a few thousand. Local Dayton owns and controls the *Miami Valley Socialist*, a weekly newspaper. Piqua, Ohio, has a Socialist municipal judge, Edwin A. Hiatt, elected in 1922.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Reorganization.—During 1919 and 1920 the Young People's Socialist League was disorganized. Circles of the League continued to exist in New York, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and a few places in Massachusetts. By 1921 a Young People's Department was established in the office of the Socialist Party. That same year an Eastern States Convention was held in New York City, and in December, 1922, a national Convention at Fitchburg, Mass. On December 31, 1923, the League had a total membership of 923, with one district organization, the New England District comprising 8 circles in Massachusetts and one in New Hampshire, and one city organization, in New York, including 11 circles. In addition it had 12 circles in as many cities, making a total of 32 circles in 22 different towns. The bulk of the membership is in New York, Massachusetts and Milwaukee.

Constitution.—The Young People's Socialist League adopted a national constitution at its 1922 Convention which provided that the purpose of the League shall be to draw into a compact body all young people interested in the betterment of the working class, in order to enable them better to understand capitalist society, to train them in the principles of international Socialism, to assist in the work of Socialist propaganda and political activity, to provide means for intellectual and physical development, and to become a center for social interest.

Membership in the League is open to any person between the ages of 16 and 25, inclusive, regardless of sex, color, race, or creed. Provision is also made for the Junior Young People's Socialist League, a part of the Y. P. S. L. to which children between 14 and 16 are eligible. In Greater New York there are eight Junior Circles, with a membership of about 300. The directors of these Junior sections are members of the Y. P. S. L. or of the Socialist Party. There are also Socialist Sunday Schools in the main centers of the Y. P. S. L., New York having three. At one of the New

York schools, in Brownsville, there are eight classes which about 400 children regularly attend.

Relation to Socialist Party.—At its 1922 Convention the League gave up its attitude of autonomy with regard to the Socialist Party, so as to become closely interdependent with it. This interdependence is manifested in many ways:

1. By the special due stamp arrangement whereby members are encouraged to belong to both organizations;
2. Young People's Socialist League members over 21 must join the Socialist Party, while members of the Socialist Party under 26 are strongly urged to join the Y. P. S. L.;
3. By special voluntary assessment stamps put out by the Socialist Party each year to aid the Y. P. S. L.;
4. By the national secretary of the League being a Socialist Party officer;
5. By the system of reciprocal representation between the two groups;
6. By special columns of the *Socialist World*, the official weekly of the Socialist Party, being devoted to the Y. P. S. L. purposes; and
7. By constant every-day mutual aid.

The Young People's Socialist League at its Convention in Fitchburg affiliated itself with the International Working Union of Young Socialists, and on the reorganization of that body, with the Socialist Youth International.

Functions.—The activities of the Young People's Socialist League Circles include the spreading of Socialist propaganda literature among the youth, social activities, educational classes and lectures, organizing and managing meetings for the Socialist Party and its various activities, out-door work during political campaigns, developing speakers through debates and practice in parliamentary law, and general educational work among their members. The Young People's League of New York City was planning to issue early in 1924 a national magazine called *Free Youth*. The Y. P. S. L. in Akron, Ohio, as in other points, has built up Socialist and labor libraries. Of the full-time students for 1923-24 at the Rand School of Social Science in New York, five are members of Y. P. S. L. Circles. Special efforts have been made to secure registration of members in special courses in the Rand School. The New York Y. P. S. L. Circles conduct a monthly forum in the school. In the last national drive of the Socialist Party to raise \$40,000 the various Circles throughout the country were active. At elections members of the Y. P. S. L. secure signatures for petitions, and regularly distribute literature.

General.—The League went on record in favor of an amendment to the United States constitution to prevent child labor. It opposed the Ku Klux Klan, all war preparations and mili-

tary training, opposed the formation of foreign language Circles. The Convention of the Y. P. S. L. elects a National Executive Committee of five members, and also nominates an executive secretary, who is elected by referendum. The present executive secretary is Albert Weisbord.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Organization—The Labor Party, which held its first national Convention November 22-25, 1919, in Chicago, changed its name to the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States at the presidential nominating Convention of July, 1920. The Farmer-Labor Party held another Convention in May, 1922, at Chicago, and the third and latest one on July 5, 1923, also in Chicago, the headquarters of the party. From the very first, says Robert M. Buck, editor of *The New Majority*, official organ of the party, the constitution of the party "was so worded as to permit . . . of affiliation of other political groups with the Farmer-Labor Party on a basis of autonomy, somewhat after the fashion of the British Labor Party." The Labor Party and the Farmer-Labor Party have provided for and sought affiliation of trade unions and farmers' organizations besides individual members. The affiliated economic organizations pay per capita dues in proportion to their membership, and are represented on the National Committee. Local trade unions are affiliated to local Farmer-Labor party branches, and national organizations to the national headquarters. In 1920 the Farmer-Labor Party nominated Parley P. Christensen for President, and Max S. Hayes for Vice-President. They received the following officially credited vote in the states where the ticket was permitted on the ballot:

Colorado	3,016	New Mexico	1,097
Connecticut	1,947	New York	18,413
Delaware	93	Pennsylvania	15,642
Illinois	49,630	South Dakota	34,707
Indiana	16,499	Utah	4,475
Iowa	10,321	Virginia	240
Maryland	1,645	Washington	77,246
Michigan	10,372	Wyoming	2,130
Missouri	3,291		
Montana	12,204	Total	265,411
New Jersey	2,173		

In the May, 1922, Convention 72 delegates were present, representing the 17 states of Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Oklahoma, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Utah and Washington at that time had representatives on the National Committee and were branches of the party. At the July 3, 1923, Conference, the Washington Farmer-Labor Party broke with the national party on the question of affiliating to or working with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, organized through the efforts of the Workers' Party.

At this conference on July 3, called by the Farmer-Labor Party, to which all labor, farmer, and political groups were invited, delegates were present from four national labor organizations, four state farm organizations, three national political bodies (Farmer-Labor Party, Workers' Party, and Proletarian Party), 123 working-class fraternal bodies, 247 local farm and local trade union branches, and 14 Farmer-Labor Party branches.

Program.—In 1922 the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party adopted in the 1920 presidential Convention was amended. The original plank on public ownership, providing for more extensive and more democratic government ownership, was substituted for the compromise which the 1920 Convention, with the Committee of Forty-Eight present, finally adopted. Outside of this and a few other slight changes, the platform of 1920 is still the official declaration. It contains the following demands:

1. 100 Per Cent Americanism

Restoration of civil liberties and American doctrines and their preservation inviolate, including free speech, free press, free assemblage, right of asylum, equal opportunity, and trial by jury; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created, to the end that laws may be enforced without favor and without discrimination; amnesty for all persons imprisoned because of their patriotic insistence upon their constitutional guarantees, industrial activities or religious beliefs; repeal of so-called "espionage," "sedition," and "criminal syndicalist" laws; protection of the right of all workers to strike, and stripping from the courts of powers unlawfully usurped by them and used to defeat the people and foster big business, especially the power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

To Americanize the federal courts, we demand that federal judges be elected for terms not to exceed four years, subject to recall.

As Americanism means democracy, suffrage should be universal. We demand immediate ratification of the nineteenth amendment and full, unrestricted political rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, race, color, or creed, and for civil service employees.

Democracy demands also that the people be equipped with the instruments of the initiative, referendum, and recall, with the special provision that war may not be declared except in cases of actual military invasion, before referring the question to a direct vote of the people.

2. Abolish Imperialism at Home and Abroad

Withdrawal of the United States from further participation (under the treaty of Versailles) in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjection to the small groups of men who manipulate the bulk of the world's wealth; refusal to permit our government to aid in the exploitation of the weaker peoples of the earth by these men; re-

fusal to permit use of the agencies of our government (through dollar diplomacy or other means) by the financial interests of our country to exploit other peoples, including emphatic refusal to go to war with Mexico at the behest of Wall Street; recognition of the elected government of the republic of Ireland and of the government established by the Russian people; denial of assistance, financial, military or otherwise, for foreign armies invading these countries, and an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the Russian or Irish people; instant lifting of the blockade against Russia; recognition of every government set up by people who wrest their sovereignty from oppressors, in accordance with the right of self-determination for all peoples; abolition of secret treaties and prompt publication of all diplomatic documents received by the State Department; withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa and Guam); and prevention of the imposition upon the people of the United States of any form whatever of conscription, military or industrial, or of military training.

We stand committed to a league of free peoples, organized and pledged to destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world and to bring about a world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

3. Democratic Control of Industry

The right of labor to an *increasing share* in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation.

4. Public Ownership and Operation

Immediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law; public ownership and operation, with democratic operation of the railroads, mines, and natural resources, including stock-yards, large abattoirs, grain-elevators, water-power, and cold-storage and terminal warehouses; government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads, mines and of such natural resources as are in whole or in part bases of control by special interests of basic industries and monopolies such as lands containing coal, iron, copper, oil, large water-power and commercial timber tracts; pipe lines and oil tanks; telegraph and telephone lines; and establishment of a public policy that no land (including natural resources) and no patents shall be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; establishment of national and state owned banks where the money of the government must, and that of individuals may, be deposited; granting of credit to individuals or groups according to regulations laid down by Congress which will safeguard deposits.

We denounce the attempt to scuttle our great government-owned merchant marine and favor bringing ocean-going commerce to our inland ports.

5. Promotion of Agricultural Prosperity

Legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy; establishment of public markets; extension of the federal farm loan system, making personal credit readily available and cheap to farmers; maintenance of dependable transportation for farm products; organization of a state and national service that will furnish adequate advice and guidance to applicants for farms and to farmers already on the land; legislation to promote and protect farmers' and consumer's cooperative organizations conducted for mutual benefit; comprehensive studies of costs of production of farm and staple manufactured products and uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

6. Government Finance

We demand that economy in governmental expenditures shall replace the extravagance that has run riot under the present administration. The governmental expenditures of the present year of peace, as already disclosed, exceed \$6,000,000,000—or six times the annual expenditures of the pre-war period. We condemn and denounce the system that has created one war-millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in

the war in France, and we demand that this war-acquired wealth shall be taxed in such a manner as to prevent the shifting of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor in the shape of higher prices and of increased living costs.

We are opposed, therefore, to consumption taxes and to all indirect taxation for support of current operations of the government. For support of such current operations, we favor steeply graduated income taxes, exempting individual incomes amounting to less than \$3,000 a year, with a further exemption allowance of \$300 for every child under 18 and also for every child over 18 who may be pursuing an education to fit himself for life. In the case of state governments and of local governments we favor taxation of land value, but not of improvements or of equipment, and also sharply graduated taxes on inheritance.

7. Reduce the Cost of Living

Stabilization of currency so that it may not fluctuate as at present, carrying the standard of living of all the people down with it when it depreciates; federal control of the meat packing industry; extension and perfection of the parcel post system to bring producer and consumer closer together; enforcing existing laws against profiteers, especially the big and powerful ones.

8. Justice to the Soldiers

We favor paying the soldiers of the late war as a matter of right and not as charity, a sufficient sum to make their war-pay not less than civilian earnings. We denounce the delays in payment, and the inadequate compensation to disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and we pledge such changes as will promptly and adequately give sympathetic recognition of their services and sacrifices.

9. Labor's Bill of Rights

During the years that Labor has tried in vain to obtain recognition of the rights of the workers at the hands of the government through the agencies of the Republican and Democratic parties, the principal demands of Labor have been catalogued and presented by the representatives of Labor, who have gone to convention after convention of the old parties—to Congress after Congress of old-party office holders. These conventions and sessions of Congress have, from time to time, included in platforms and laws a few fragments of Labor's program, carefully re-written, however, to interpose no interference with the oppression of Labor by private wielders of the power of capital. It remains for the Farmer-Labor Party, the people's own party, financed by the people themselves, to pledge itself to the entire Bill of Rights of Labor, the conditions enumerated therein to be written into the laws of the land to be enjoyed by the workers, organized or unorganized, without the elimination of a single word in the program. Abraham Lincoln said: "Labor is the superior of Capital, and deserves the highest consideration."

We pledge the application of this fundamental principle in the enactment and administration of legislation.

a. The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employees, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

b. Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

c. A maximum standard eight-hour day and 44-hour week.

d. Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

e. Establishment and operation, through periods of depression, of governmental work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert and swamp lands and development of ports, waterways, and water-power plants.

f. Re-education of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

g. Abolition of employment of children under sixteen years of age.

h. Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

i. Abolition of private employment, detective, and strike-breaking agencies and extension of the federal free employment service.

j. Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

k. Vigorous enforcement of the seamen's act, and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public must not be minimized.

l. Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

m. A federal Department of Education to advance democracy and effectiveness in all public school systems throughout the country, to the end that the children of workers in industrial and rural communities may have maximum opportunity of training to become unafraid, well-informed citizens of a free country.

Attitude toward Labor Groups.—The Farmer-Labor Party sent an invitation to the Socialist Party to attend the conference of July 3, 1923. The latter declined to send delegates.¹ Jay G. Brown, national secretary, was quoted as saying that "it was a matter of profound regret that any group undertaking to speak for the workers should not at least send a representative to talk over the possibilities of pulling together." When the Farmer-Labor Party parted company with the Workers' Party after the establishment of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, Robert M. Buck, editor of *The New Majority*, after pointing out the essential differences between the two parties which were revealed at the Convention, and the impossibility of their working together at this time, ended with the statement: "The party (F. L. P.) has always stubbornly refused to fight with other working class parties or groups. It fights only one enemy—the common enemy of the workers. It has no time nor inclination for red-baiting. It has no abuse to heap on revolutionaries." The same attitude has characterized the Farmer-Labor Party in its attitudes and activities toward the American Federation of Labor. Says Buck: "The party scrupulously refrains from trying to dictate to the unions as to how they should run themselves. The Farmer-Labor Party has no theories for the conduct of the labor movement, nor any criticisms to make of the conduct of unions or union personnel. It is concerned only with the politics of labor."

1924 Nominating Convention.—The farmer-labor forces of the state of Minnesota invited the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, among others, to a conference on November 15-16, 1923, at St. Paul, Minn. The representatives of the party, John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor and a member of the National Committee, and Jay G. Brown, secretary, took the position that the Minnesota group alone should issue the call for the 1924 Con-

¹See p. 132.

vention, at which candidates for President and Vice-President would be nominated and a platform adopted on a farmer-labor ticket. They also demanded that no invitation be sent to Communist political groups. They were voted down by a majority of the representatives on both questions. Subsequently the party has endeavored to have the Convention postponed and the Communists, as such, eliminated.

Relations with Conference for Progressive Political Action.

—The representatives of the Farmer-Labor Party, like many others, were hopeful before and after the first meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action which was held in Chicago, February, 1922. At the second conference, however, in Cleveland, in December, 1922, the delegates from the Farmer-Labor Party took the position that the Conference for Progressive Political Action should go on record as approving the principle of independent political action. This the Conference refused to do, defeating a resolution to that effect introduced by the Farmer-Labor Party delegates. The Conference for Progressive Political Action at this meeting also adopted a constitution which in the opinion of the Farmer-Labor Party representatives "bound affiliated organizations to try old party methods in their local political situations before undertaking independent political efforts." The Farmer-Labor Party thereupon retired from the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

National Executive Committee.—Up to July, 1923, William H. Johnston of the Machinists was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party. At the present time, W. M. Piggott is national chairman, and he, together with John Fitzpatrick, W. J. Adames, M. Toscan Bennett, Charles Kutz, J. Edwin Spurr, E. L. Hitchens, and Alice Snell Moyer, besides Robert M. Buck and Jay G. Brown, comprise the National Executive Committee. William Kohn, president of the Upholsterers' International Union, and Abraham Lefkowitz, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, are national committeemen for New York.

CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

Origin.—The Conference for Progressive Political Action grew out of a call issued by a committee representing the heads of the sixteen railway unions. The committee consisted of William H. Johnston, president of the Machinists' Union; Martin F. Ryan, president of the Railway Carmen;

Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Locomotive Engineers; E. J. Manion, president of the Railroad Telegraphers; Timothy Healy, president of the Stationary Firemen; and L. E. Sheppard, president of the Railway Conductors. The Conference was set for February 20-21, 1922, at Chicago. At the Conference there were 124 delegates from labor, farmer, and political organizations, as well as a group of individual progressives. The following organizations and individuals were present:

International and Other Trade Union Groups

Blacksmiths
Boilermakers
Railway Carmen
Railway Clerks
Electrical Workers
Stationary Firemen
Machinists
Railroad Signalmen
Sheet Metal Workers
Switchmen
Railroad Telegraphers
American Federation of Teachers
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
Glove Workers
Fur Workers
United Mine Workers
Painters
Commercial Telegraphers
Locomotive Engineers
Railway Conductors
Locomotive Firemen
Railway Employees' Department
Maintenance of Way Employees
Train Dispatchers
Auto Vehicle Workers
Women's Trade Union League
State Federations of Labor of Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Missouri and Illinois

International and Other Trade Union Groups

Chicago Federation of Labor
Bindery Women

Political, Farmer and Public Groups

Socialist Party
Farmer-Labor Party
National Non-Partisan League
Progressive Party of Idaho
Working People's Political League of Minnesota
American Society of Equity
Farmers' National Council
United Society of Agriculture
American Society of Agriculture
United Farmers of America
Church League for Industrial Democracy
People's Legislative Service
Labor (Railroad unions' weekly)
American Cooperative Committee
National Catholic Welfare Council
Methodist Federation for Social Service
Public Ownership League

Individuals;

W. Smith Brookhart, Iowa
Magnus Johnson, Minnesota
George F. Comings, Wisconsin
And other individuals, representing the public group

Political Program.—The Conference voted that: (1) All labor, farmer, cooperative and progressive political forces of the country, as represented in this Conference, unite for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of senators and representatives to Congress and to the various state legislatures, and of other state and local public officers in the coming primaries and elections of 1922, who are pledged to the interests of the producing classes and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government; (2) With this end in view, it urges all such forces to organize joint committees within each state, congressional district, county and municipality, who are representative of such organizations and similar organizations that will cooperate with

them to secure the election of such representatives. The Conference selected a general committee of fifteen members "as representative as possible of the various groups constituting this Conference," to call a national Conference on the second Monday of December, 1922, "for the purpose of considering and acting upon the proposition of further unifying and mobilizing the forces of the agricultural and industrial workers and other bodies and movements for political action." A declaration of principles was also adopted which declared that the Conference seeks to "restore the government of the United States to the noble ends and high purposes for which it was conceived," and that "the history of recent years is a history of repeated injuries and usurpation by the servants of this oligarchy in both the dominant parties; all having the direct object of the establishment of an absolute tyranny and plutocratic dictatorship within these states."

Cleveland Conference.—The second Conference was held on December 11-12, 1922, at Cleveland. The National Committee reported that it had "worked in close association with the People's Legislative Service, and with the weekly, *Labor*." In 32 out of the 48 states, state and local organizations had been formed. The executives of the railway labor organizations had sent out instructions to local officers and local unions, and these with the state federations of labor were largely responsible for the establishment of the state and local branches. The legislative records of United States Senators and Congressmen were tabulated and widely distributed. Special state editions of *Labor*, totaling over 1,000,000 copies, were distributed in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, the two Dakotas, and Iowa. In the 1922 Congressional elections, the National Committee declared, "twenty-one senators were elected who may be listed as far more responsive to the public interest than their predecessors. . . . In addition, 12 undesirable senators or candidates were defeated or retired voluntarily. . . . For the House of Representatives 137 new members were elected to the 68th Congress, 40 of whom were listed as Republicans, 94 as Democrats, and three as Independents. Ninety-three undesirable members of the 67th Congress were defeated. In addition, 13 withdrew or resigned their seats in the House." The financial report as of December 9, 1922, showed total receipts of \$5,733.98, disbursements of \$4,863.61, with bills payable, however, of \$10,875. Only 12 international unions, including the Amalgamated Clothing Workers which sent

\$750, had paid per capita. The major part of the disbursements, unpaid, was for special editions of *Labor*, printing, and the People's Legislative Service.

Organization.—Morris Hillquit of the Socialist Party submitted for the Committee on Organization and Finance a report signed by all members of the committee including Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated and Timothy Healy of the Stationary Firemen. The report was adopted with minor amendments. It left membership open to "bona fide labor organizations, progressive organizations of farmers, cooperative societies, liberal political parties and groups, and to other organizations and individuals who are in accord with the purposes of this Conference." Annual meetings, a National Committee of 21, and state conferences for the purpose of perfecting permanent organizations were provided for.

Platform.—Edward Keating, manager of *Labor* and chairman of the Committee on Program and Resolutions, read the majority report of the committee, which stated:

Platform of the Conference for Progressive Political Action

On behalf of producers and consumers, we demand:

1. The repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law, and operation of the railroads for the benefit of the people. The public control of coal mines, water power, and hydro-electric power in the interests of the people.
2. The direct election of the President and Vice-President by the people and extension of direct primary laws in all states.
3. That Congress end the practice of the courts to declare legislation unconstitutional.
4. Enactment of the Norris-Sinclair consumers' and producers' financing corporation bill designed to increase prices farmers receive, and reduce prices consumers pay for farm products, and the creation of an independent system of food producers' credits.
5. Increased tax rates on large income and inheritance, and payment of a soldiers' bonus by restoring the tax on excess profits.
6. Legislation providing minimum essential standards of employment for women; equality for women and men while improving existing political, social, and industrial standards, and state action to insure maximum benefits of federal maternity and infancy acts.

The report, with an amendment by Morris Hillquit providing for additional planks to be added by the National Committee on the subjects of coal, child labor, civil liberties, amnesty for war time prisoners, rights of organized labor, and financial imperialism, was adopted.

Independent Political Action.—Five delegates from the Farmer-Labor Party, Jay G. Brown, Edward N. Nockels, Max S. Hayes, Toscan Bennett, and Robert M. Buck introduced a resolution reading:

Resolved, That the Conference for Progressive Political Action hereby declares for independent political action by the agricultural and industrial workers through a party of their own.

This resolution was lost by a vote of 52 to 64, and the majority report against an independent party was adopted. The Conference also went on record against President Harding's proposal requiring all aliens to register. Following the Conference, the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States officially withdrew from the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Workers' Party Delegates.—After some delay the Credentials Committee reported that it was of the opinion that the policies of the Workers' Party of America and the Young Workers' League of America were not in harmony with the declarations and aims of the Conference, and recommended that the representatives of these organizations be not seated. The recommendation was concurred in. At a later session Otto Branstetter on behalf of the Socialist Party delegation read a statement dissenting from the charge that the Workers' Party was "un-American," but declaring that the delegation

does believe, however, that actual experience has shown that the disruptive tactics of the Workers' Party justify the exclusion of this party from representation. It further believes that by rejecting the principles of democracy in favor of dictatorship the Workers' Party is recorded against the declared principles of the Conference and hence is not entitled to representation.

National Committee.—All but one of the old National Committee, together with eight others, were elected for the new term, as follows:

Warren S. Stone, Chief, Locomotive Engineers.
William Green, Secretary, United Mine Workers.
William H. Johnston, President, Machinists.
Joseph A. Franklin, President, Boilermakers.
Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.
E. J. Manion, President, Railroad Telegraphers.
Edward Keating, Manager, *Labor*.
Morris Hillquit, Socialist Party.
Benjamin C. Marsh, Farmers' National Council.
Jay G. Brown, Secretary, Farmer-Labor Party, (resigned with party).
George H. Griffith, National Non-Partisan League.
Frederic C. Howe.
Alice Lorraine Daly, Non-Partisan League, South Dakota.
Basil M. Manly, Director, People's Legislative Service.
J. B. Laughlin, Farmer-Labor Union, Oklahoma.
H. F. Samuels, Progressive Political Party, Idaho.
John M. Baer, Non-Partisan League, North Dakota.
D. C. Dorman, Non-Partisan League, Montana.
Benjamin Schlesinger, President, Ladies' Garment Workers.
James Maurer, President, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.
D. B. Robertson, President, Locomotive Firemen.

William H. Johnston was elected chairman of the Conference, Arthur Holder secretary, and Warren S. Stone treasurer.

State Conferences.—At the end of 1923 the secretary of the Conference reported state organizations in at least 30 states. Colorado, California, Illinois, Idaho, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming retained the name of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Other states varied the name, such as the Indiana Political Action League, the Iowa Cooperative Legislative Council, the Michigan Progressive Voters' League, the Working People's Non-Partisan Political League, or the North Carolina Farmer-Labor Political Conference. In New York state the railroad unions called a conference in Albany, July 29-30, 1923, to which, besides the lodges of the railroad organizations, some of the branches of the constituent elements of the National Conference were invited. Among the latter were the Socialist Party, the American Labor Party of New York City, its affiliated local unions, a number of other trade unions and organizations. These delegates were all seated. Hillquit, for the Committee on Organization and Finance, brought in a unanimous report, calling for a permanent organization, with annual conferences, and representation as provided for by the 1922 Conference at Cleveland. The committee made no specific recommendation for political action in 1923, but left the decision as to a permanent political policy to the May, 1924, Conference. The railroad men insisted on an amendment committing the Conference to a non-partisan policy for 1923. The delegates in favor of independent political action decided that they would refrain from voting on this amendment, not to cause a rupture, but would continue their affiliation with the Conference. Upon the adoption of a motion that the Conference adjourn and reconvene with only the railroad men present, the delegates from all other organizations left. The railroad men convened by themselves and provided that as soon as their organization was completed, membership applications might be made by unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and, it was said, organizations committed to the non-partisan policy.

People's Legislative Service.—As was reported at the Cleveland Conference in December, 1922, the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action had worked in close association with the People's Legislative Service, of which Basil M. Manly is director. On December 2, 1923, a conference was held at Washington by the People's Legislative Service with upwards of 300 persons present. At

this conference progressive senators and members of the House formed a permanent organization. They appointed committees to work upon important political and economic questions and laid the foundations for a "permanent People's Bloc."

The representatives of the railroad unions were present, and their organizations contributed generously to these purposes of the People's Legislative Service. Basil M. Manly accompanied Robert M. La Follette on his trip to Europe in 1923, and is a member of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

1924 Conference.—The Conference for Progressive Political Action in the presidential year was set for February 11, in St. Louis.

NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

Decline of Movement.—The National Non-Partisan League, the western farmers' organization which from 1915 to 1920 dominated the political life of North Dakota and gained considerable headway in neighboring states, continued to make electoral progress in 1922. During 1923 the League became less powerful. A. C. Townley, who organized the League and dominated it from its inception, resigned in 1922. In February, 1923, he helped to organize the National Producers' Alliance, a non-political cooperative endeavor to make farming pay, by determining the cost of producing, demanding the cost of production plus a reasonable profit, and holding products off the market when the price is below cost of production. The National Non-Partisan League before the period of deflation charged its members \$18 for two years' dues, and accepted post-dated checks. After 1920 it cut its dues to \$6.50 for two years. In the seven years of the League's history, it has accumulated nearly \$2,000,000 of unpaid post-dated checks. *The National Leader*, the official organ, suspended publication with the July, 1923, number because "the national office of the League no longer receives any share of the membership fee collected by the state organizations and therefore has no income whatsoever from any source." Earlier in the year the *Courier-News*, the League daily of Fargo, N. D., was sold to private owners.

Attitude toward Third Party.—The 1922 gathering of the Conference for Progressive Political Action chose as League representatives on its national committee H. F. Samuels, Idaho; Alice L. Daly of South Dakota; D. C. Dorman of Mon-

tana; George H. Griffith of Minnesota; and John M. Baer, of Washington, D. C. In four states the League has been compelled by the abolition of primary laws, by inability to capture one or the other of the two old parties, or by the election laws, to support an independent party.

North Dakota Withdraws.—Early in October, 1923, the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota met in Convention at Bismarck, and adopted a resolution severing all connection with the National Executive Committee, and recognizing the state executive committee of the Non-Partisan League as the sole governing authority. The *Farmer-Labor State Record*, official newspaper of Burleigh County (Bismarck) and the state federation of labor of North Dakota, commenting editorially on the action of the Convention, wrote that "there is no Townleyism in this state any more. . . . The farmers' Non-Partisan League has been reorganized from the ground up . . . it is now absolutely democratically organized and democratically managed; all the former leaders that stood for autocracy in management have been dismissed; all the schemers of the type of men that organized and wrecked the Consumers' Stores company, the newspaper ventures, and the banks have long been kicked out." The Convention turned down an invitation to join the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. It decided to convene again on February 6, 1924.

INDEPENDENT STATE FARMER-LABOR PARTIES

Minnesota.—The 1922 Convention of the Minnesota Working People's Non-Partisan Political League decided unanimously for independent political action as a Farmer-Labor Party. It won over to this idea the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, which had previously insisted on non-partisan campaigns.

Under the laws of Minnesota, candidates appoint the state committee of a political party. The chairman of the state committee of the legal Farmer-Labor Party has not been sympathetic toward the idea of a compact federated political organization of the Farmers' and Workers' League. In addition to his opposition, there is that of the *Minnesota Daily Star*, which it is claimed was "captured" and its progressive policies reversed by Thomas Van Lear, former Socialist, and A. C. Townley, opposed to independent political action since he organized the National Non-Partisan League. Nevertheless, the Working People's Political League decided in July, 1923, to call a conference of all elements, to unify

the party, and make it effective. The call was issued by officials of the two Leagues, and the Conference was held in Minneapolis, September 8, 1923, with over 350 delegates representing trade unions, farmers' organizations, cooperatives, and progressives. A plan of organization was tentatively adopted, which was to be referred to the various groups for ratification. The name Farmer-Labor Federation was chosen. Its purpose was stated as that of uniting the members of farmers' and labor organizations into a political federation, together with those organized or unorganized elements which support independent political action by the workers and farmers. It provided for affiliation of the Leagues, economic organizations of the farmers and workers, and ward and township clubs with dues-paying individual membership. Labor and farmer organizations, excepting cooperatives and central bodies, pay 2 cents per member per month. Since the Convention, the trade unions have almost unanimously ratified this plan of organization. Several congressional districts have also done so, but the leaders of the Farmers' League have not shown much enthusiasm toward it. A state Convention was planned for March 12, 1924.

The following table indicates the growing success of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:

Table 61—Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party Vote, 1918-1923

Year	—Candidate for Governor—		—Candidate for United States Senator—		
	Farmer-Labor	Republican	Farmer-Labor	Repub.	Democratic
1918	...111,948	166,515			
1920	...281,402	415,805			
	(Johnson)	(Preus)	(Shipstead)	(Kellogg)	
1922	...295,479	309,756	325,372	241,833	123,624
			(Johnson)	(Preus)	
1923		(July 16)	290,165	195,319	19,311

In the 1922 elections for Congress two Farmer-Labor Party men were elected: Kvale (Independent-Farmer-Labor) receiving 42,832 against Volstead (Republican) 28,918; and Wefald (Farmer-Labor Party) obtaining 35,551 against Steenerson (Republican) 27,590.

National Third Party.—On November 15-16, 1923, at the invitation of the Minnesota Workers' and Farmers' Leagues, a conference was held at St. Paul to unite the various farmer-labor political groups in the country, in preparation for the 1924 national elections. The Minnesota State Federation of Labor had tried ineffectively to commit the American Federation of Labor Convention at Portland in October in favor of independent political action. At the November Conference

representatives were present from the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington state, the Farmer-Labor Party of Montana, the Progressive Party of Idaho, the Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota, the Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin, and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. The conference decided to call a national Convention for May 30, 1924, in the Twin Cities, to nominate candidates and adopt a platform. The temporary platform advocates public ownership, government banking, public control of natural resources, and abolition of the injunction in labor disputes. A committee of five—William Mahoney, H. C. Teigan (secretary to Senator Magnus Johnson), William A. Schaper, R. D. Cramer of the Trades and Labor Assembly, all of Minnesota, and J. A. H. Hopkins of the Committee of Forty-Eight, were authorized to issue the call and make necessary arrangements.

South Dakota.—The Non-Partisan Party, which first appeared on the South Dakota ballot as an independent party in 1920, in 1922 changed its name to Farmer-Labor Party. Its candidate for governor received 46,775 votes, the Democrat 50,252, and the Republican 78,813. In 1920 the party received 48,426 votes for governor, against 31,870 for the Democrat, but was defeated by the Republican who got 102,592.

Idaho.—In 1922 the Progressive Party, made up in the main of farmer-labor elements, nominated a state ticket. Its candidate for governor received 40,516 votes against 36,810 for the Democrat, and 50,538 for the Republican.

Washington.—In 1922, James Duncan of the Farmer-Labor Party received 35,326 votes for governor, Senator Dill, Democrat, 130,347, and Poindexter, defeated for re-election, 126,410. In 1920 the party received 121,371 votes for governor, with 66,079 for the Democrat and 210,662 for the Republican.

West Virginia.—The West Virginia State Federation of Labor at its Convention in July, 1923, decided to organize an independent Farmer-Labor Party. It has not yet participated in any state-wide or national elections.

New York.—The American Labor Party of New York City was organized at a Convention held on July 15-16, 1922, in New York City, with 332 delegates, representing the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Workmen's Circle, Poale-Zion and 82 labor organizations with an aggregate membership of 200,000. In the state elections of November, 1922,

the Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party ran the same set of candidates throughout.

FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Organization.—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party was organized on July 3, 1923, at a national Convention called in Chicago by the Farmer-Labor Party for the purpose of forming an inclusive national party of workers and farmers. The invitation of the Farmer-Labor Party was sent to all working class political parties, unions, and farmer groups. The Socialist and Socialist Labor Parties declined to attend. The Workers' Party, which was invited, sent delegates, as did the Farmer-Labor Party, its state branches, and a number of farmers' organizations. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers was the only national union to participate, but there were a number of local unions and a few central labor bodies. The Convention, it is claimed, represented about 600,000 trade unionists and working farmers.

The majority of the delegates, including the spokesmen of the Workers' Party, were in favor of the immediate formation of a federated party. The National Farmer-Labor Party decided, during the Convention, not to be a part of any federated party as long as the Workers' Party was in it. The Convention formed the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and elected a National Committee, which subsequently elected Joseph Manley of the Workers' Party as national secretary. At the end of 1923 organizations with 155,000 members were claimed to be affiliated or cooperating with the Federated party.

The constitution of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party provides for affiliation of trade union and farmer organizations, as well as political branches of the party in states and localities. There is a National Executive Committee, and an Executive Council of seven. The constitution called for a second national Convention to be held in December, 1923, or January, 1924. On November 15, 1923, representatives of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party attended a conference called by the Minnesota Farmer-Laborites and signed the joint call for a national presidential Convention to be held May 30, 1924, to which unions, farmers' organizations, and working class political parties would be invited. The secretary of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party claimed that their campaign for a united front of all existing political labor groups was

endorsed by the state Farmer-Labor organizations in Washington, Montana, South Dakota, and North Dakota. Two branches of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party were organized, one in New York City and another in Washington County, Pa.

The program adopted by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party at the convention of July 3, 1923, was as follows:

Statement of Principles of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

1. We stand for the nationalization of all public utilities and all social means of communication and transportation.
2. Industries must be run on the basis of the workers and farmers, steadily increasing their control of the management and operation through their own economic organizations.
3. Industries must be operated in such a manner as to afford the working and farming masses the maximum security against destitution, unemployment, sickness and high prices.

Program for Social Legislation

1. That the federal government enact a maximum eight-hour work-day in industry, making any violation of the same by any employer a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment.
2. That the federal government enact a law that will make the Federal Reserve Bank system serve the farmers and workers.
3. That the federal government enact a child labor law prohibiting the employment of children under 18 years and making the violation of this law a crime punishable by imprisonment.
4. That the federal government enact a law providing for a minimum living wage for all workers—the wages to be fixed in cooperation with the representatives of the trade unions.
5. That the federal government enact a law providing for the compulsory education of all under eighteen. Special attention must be paid to the erection of new and adequate schools in the rural regions.
6. That the federal government enact a law providing for adequate compensation to the ex-soldiers—a soldier bonus—funds for same to be obtained through the levying of inheritance, excess profits, surtaxes and taxes on unearned income.
7. That the federal government enact a social insurance law providing for adequate sick, accident, and death insurance for all city and rural workers. Funds for the same to be secured through the taxation of incomes, excess profits, surtaxes, and inheritance taxes and taxes from unearned incomes.
8. That the federal government enact a national maternity insurance law providing for full trade union wage compensation to all prospective mothers for a period covering one month prior and one month after child birth.

Farmers' Program

1. Land was created for all the people, and we demand a system of taxation that will eliminate landlordism and tenancy and will secure the land to the users of the land.
2. Public ownership of all means of transportation, communication, natural resources and public utilities, to be operated by and for the people.
3. The issue and control of all money and credit printed by the government, for service instead of profit.
4. All war debts to be paid by a tax on excess profits.
5. A moratorium for all working farmers on their farm mortgage debts for a period of five years.

WORKERS' PARTY

Formation.—The Workers' Party of America was formed at a convention in December, 1921, held in New York City by Communists who had withdrawn or been expelled from the Socialist Party, and other Left wing elements. The Communist Party continued to exist, however, underground. It held a convention in August, 1922, in the woods near Bridgman, Mich., which was raided by state and federal authorities. On April 7, 1923, the Communist Party voted to dissolve, but authorized the Workers' Party, when desirable, to adopt the name of the Communist Party of America. The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow, November 7-December 3, 1922, decided that the Communists in America should remain an open party. The Workers' Party met again in national Convention in December, 1922, in New York, united all elements, and adopted a program. This program was approved without change by the third and latest Convention, held in Chicago, the national headquarters of the party, December 30, 1923-January 2, 1924.

Membership.—The membership of the Workers' Party in the periods July-October, 1922 and 1923, was 12,394 and 15,233 respectively. Of this number 1,276 and 1,192, in the two years named, paid their dues through English branches. About 50 per cent of the membership is reported as English speaking.

The Workers' Party has undertaken an industrial registration of its membership. At the end of 1923 reports were in for 6,862, or about one-third of the total membership. Of these 2,409 were members of unions, and 4,453 were non-union, with the following industrial classifications:

Table 62—Industrial Registration of Workers' Party Members, 1923

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>Non-Union</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent in Union</i>
Agrarian workers .....	...	114	114	...
Building workers	583	276	859	62
Clothing workers	452	160	612	74
Food workers	75	127	202	37
Metal & mach. workers ..	334	635	969	34
Lumber workers	10	12	22	45
Miners	622	96	718	87
Printers	32	16	48	75
Public Service	69	107	176	34
Railroad	14	39	53	27
Textile	41	159	200	21
Miscellaneous (incl. laborers and housewives)	156	2,650	2,806	5
Total	2,409	4,453	6,862	.....

During the year ending November 30, 1923, 6,550 new members were admitted, while about 3,500 dropped out.

The party strength by districts in 1922 and 1923 was:

Table 63—Membership of Workers' Party by Cities

<i>District No. and Headquarters</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
1 Boston	2,031	1,949
2 New York	3,175	3,055
3 Philadelphia	411	729
4 Upstate New York .....	....	435
5 Pittsburgh	707	734
6 Cleveland	1,160	1,460
7 Detroit	656	914
8 Chicago	1,242	1,803
9 Minneapolis	1,470	1,783
10 St. Louis	381	470
12 Washington	445	577
13 California	498	777
15 Connecticut .....	....	273
Agricultural .....	....	25
Unorganized	218	249
Totals	12,394	15,233

The grouping of the members according to language federations was:

Table 64—Membership of Workers' Party by Language Federations

<i>Language Federation</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>
Czechoslovak	318	438
English	1,276	1,192
Estonian .....	....	80
Finnish	6,509	6,803
German	196	413
Greek	181	128
Hungarian	46	359
Italian	179	319
Jewish	1,087	1,048
Lettish	326	414
Lithuanian	1,002	901
Polish	757	245
Rumanian .....	....	126
Russian	20	877
South Slavic	606	1,064

During 1923 expenses of the organization reached \$138,686, of which \$36,495 was raised by dues and initiation fees.

The Workers' Party directly controls daily newspapers in a number of foreign languages. At the close of 1923 it had raised \$71,497 for the launching of the first English Communist daily, *The Daily Worker*, in Chicago, early the following January.

Program.—The program of the Workers' Party differs from that of other working class parties in America principally in its attitude on the shortcomings of political democ-

racy, on industrial unionism, and on Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The program of the party, adopted in 1922 and readopted in 1923, contains the following statements on these points:

Election Campaigns and American Democracy

The Workers' Party will not foster the illusion, as is done by the yellow Socialists and Reformists, that the workers can achieve their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism through the election of a majority of the members of the legislative bodies of the capitalist government and the executive officials of that government, and by using the existing government to establish the new social order.

The constitution of the United States was so drafted as to protect the interests of the exploiters of the workers. The merchants, the bankers, and land-owners of 1787 wrote into the constitution provisions which they hoped would forever protect the interests of their class.

A majority of the people of the United States cannot change the constitution. The vote of two-thirds of the members of the legislators of three-fourths of the states is required to pass a constitutional amendment. One-fourth of the states, in which there may live only one-fortieth of the population, can prevent any change of the fundamental law of the land.

The constitution contains a series of checks and balances which are intended to make it impossible for a majority antagonistic to the ruling class to make its will effective. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, the President every four years, the members of the Senate every six years, so that a complete change of the government can be made only through elections spread over six years. The Senate has a veto over the decisions of the House, the President can veto the actions of both bodies, and over and above the House, the Senate and the President stands the Supreme Court, which can nullify laws which all three unite in passing.

The character of the constitution as a document intended to protect the bankers and industrial magnates of the country has been made clear in many decisions under its provisions. Child labor laws, laws regulating hours of labor, and protecting the life and health of the workers, and minimum wage laws have been declared void. A weapon to strike down organized labor has been found in its clauses as shown in the *Cornado* decision.

In addition to the protection which the constitution gives to the coal barons, railroad kings, and the industrial and financial lords, millions of workers are disfranchised in this country through naturalization laws. Hundreds of thousands of citizens cannot vote because of residential qualifications, which the necessity of earning a living makes it impossible for them to comply with.

The capitalists control thousands of newspapers through which they shape the ideas of the masses in their interests; they control the schools, the colleges, the pulpits, the moving-picture theatres, all of which are part of the machinery through which the capitalists shape the minds of the workers.

When it serves their purpose the capitalists do not hesitate to expel members of the legislative bodies elected by working class votes. This was done in the case of the Socialist members of the Cleveland City Council and a member of the School Board of that city. These representatives, elected by the workers, were expelled in violation of all law to stifle their protests against the imperialist war. The expulsion of the Socialist assemblymen of New York state is a case of similar character.

Under these conditions to talk of "democracy" is to throw sand into the eyes of the workers. The much-talked-of "American democracy" is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the constitution and the laws of the country is camouflaged to hide the real character of the dictatorship of the capitalists.

While recognizing the impossibility of the workers winning their emancipation through use of the machinery of the existing government, the Workers' Party realizes the importance of election campaigns in developing the political consciousness of the working class. The first step

toward revolutionary political action by the working class must be made through independent political action by the workers in election campaigns. The Workers' Party will therefore participate in election campaigns and use them for propaganda and agitation to develop the political consciousness of the workers.

It will endeavor to rally the workers to use their power to make real the rights which the fraudulent American democracy denies them. It will use them to carry on the struggle for the right of labor to create a revolutionary political party and for such an organization to function openly in the political life of the country.

The Workers' Party will also nominate its candidates and enter into election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and to carry on the propaganda for the soviets. It will use the election campaigns to rally the workers for mass political demands upon the capitalist state. Its candidates, when elected to office, will use the forums of the legislative bodies for the same purpose.

Labor Unions

The division of the organized workers into craft unions is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the workers in this country against capitalism.

During the past two years organized labor has been dealt many heavy blows by the employers, who are bent on destroying or at least weakening so as to make ineffective the organization of the workers. In spite of this desperate struggle, each craft has fought alone. There has been no united resistance, no solid united front against the industrial kings, who are striving to reduce the wages and make worse the working conditions of the workers. The example of the seven railroad shop unions, striking while nine other railroad unions continued to serve the railroad kings and help them to whip their fellow workers is but one striking example of a situation which exists everywhere in the ranks of organized labor in this country.

In addition to the weakness of the craft form of organization the labor unions suffer from a fundamental error of policy. In place of waging a class struggle to free themselves from the grip of the capitalists they have pursued the policy of attempting to come to an agreement with the capitalists on the basis of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

No such compromise with capitalism can be permanent. The hunger of the capitalists for greater profits drives them to seek to lower the standard of living of the workers when they have the upper hand. On the other hand when the workers are in strong position their need and their desire for more of the good things they produce results in greater demands upon the capitalists.

The gains of the workers during the war-time scarcity of labor and their present losses indicate the futility of the hope that the class struggle can be settled through a compromise.

The labor unions must be revolutionized; they must be won for the class struggle against capitalism; they must be inspired with a new solidarity and united to fight a common battle. The existing craft unions must be amalgamated and powerful industrial unions created in each industry. The reactionary official bureaucracy of the unions must be supplanted by the shop delegates system.

The Workers' Party declares one of its chief immediate tasks to be to inspire in the labor unions a revolutionary purpose and to unite them in a mass movement of uncompromising struggle against capitalism. It will use all the resources at its command to educate the organized workers to an understanding of the necessity of amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions.

This end cannot be achieved if the revolutionary workers leave the existing unions to form feeble dual organizations. The work of transforming the labor unions must be carried on inside of the existing unions. The members of the Workers' Party will carry on their work within the existing unions to awaken the spirit of the class struggle and to bring about a reconstruction of the organization form so as to make of the unions powerful organized centers of the workers' struggle against capitalism.

The Workers' Party declares its support of the Red Labor International and adopts as its program for the struggle within the unions the theses of the Red International on the American Labor Unions.

Soviets, or Workers' Councils

The experience of the workers in the struggle against capitalism has proven that the workers cannot take over the ready-made machinery of the capitalist government and use this machinery to build up a Communist society. The form of organization of the existing government, its constitutional basis, its laws, the bureaucracy which has been built up over a century cannot be used by the workers. They are all of a character to aid the capitalists in the struggle against the workers and cannot be transformed into instruments of struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

The workers' revolution in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, the revolutionary struggle in Germany, all show that the Soviets or Workers' Councils are the organizations of the workers' power which in time of crisis arise naturally out of the previous struggles and experiences of the workers.

The Soviets are first constituted through delegates elected by the workers in the factories and labor unions. They are comparable to a general strike council, which might arise in the case of a strike embracing all the workers of a city. The local councils are federated in state or district councils and these in a national council, or Soviet, which is the supreme organ of the working-class government. The Soviets carry on both the legislative and administrative work of the working class government.

The Workers' Party will carry on propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government with a Soviet government.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The existing capitalist government is a dictatorship of the capitalists. Today in the United States a comparatively small group of capitalist-financial and industrial kings, with headquarters in Wall Street, control the government of the United States, of the states and municipalities. Through the capitalist government this group of financial and industrial kings enforce their will upon the thirty million workers and their families.

While part of the workers are granted the hollow mockery of voting, they find that whether they vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate, in time of struggle the government is always on the side of the financial and industrial kings.

The Soviet government of the workers will, because of the same necessity—the necessity of suppressing the capitalists—be a dictatorship of the workers. The government expressing the will of the thirty million workers will openly use its power in the interest of the workers and against the capitalists.

The Goal of the Proletarian Dictatorship

It will be the task of the government of the thirty million workers of this country to take from the capitalists the control and ownership of the raw materials and machinery of production upon which the workers are dependent for their life, liberty and happiness and to establish collective ownership.

Together with this collective ownership the Workers' Government will as quickly as possible develop the management of the industries by the workers.

Through the establishment of this Communist system of industry the exploitation and oppression of the workers will be ended. As the power of the capitalists in industry wanes and Communism is established the struggle between the classes will disappear and the dictatorship of the proletariat will become unnecessary and will cease to function. The government will become an instrument for administration of industry and the full, free Communist society will come into being.

Relations with Federated Farmer-Labor Party.—The Workers' Party was mainly instrumental in setting up the Federated Farmer-Labor Party at the national Convention

called by the Farmer-Labor Party in July, 1923, in Chicago.¹ The Workers' Party later assisted in the formation of two local branches of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, in New York City, and in Washington County, Pa. The 1923 Convention of the party endorsed affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the efforts of the Central Executive Committee to make it not only an organizing and propaganda instrument but a real political party. The Convention rejected a recommendation of the Central Executive Committee censuring the Chicago district for not having maintained sufficient Communist independence in the united front in that city. It referred to the Third International the thesis of the Central Executive Committee which recommended voting for third party candidates where they might be successful and the Farmer-Labor Party could not.

Industrial Work.—The 1923 Convention declared that the party should throw its whole available force into work on the industrial field. This work was to include formation of shop nuclei, taking aggressive part in trade union struggles, and activity in the Trade Union Educational League.

On the question of shop nuclei, a special resolution instructed the Central Executive Committee to organize such nuclei "wherever two or more party members are employed in the same factory or shop, . . . as organizations for propaganda and the political and economic work of the party in the shops alongside of the existing organization."

Position toward Farmers.—The Convention went on record to make every effort to win the support of the working and exploited farmers, with the slogan of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, and a Farmer-Labor party as the means. "We must demand in the interest of the farmers a moratorium of at least five years on all debts and mortgages. We must demand the elimination of absentee landlordism, of tenancy, and the establishment of the great principle that the land shall belong to its users. . . . The working class of the United States cannot seize and maintain power without the help of the millions of exploited farmers."

General.—As a result of the meeting in August, 1922, of the Communist Party, held in the woods near Bridgman, Mich., which was raided by Michigan state and federal officials, 32 indictments are now pending against members of the Workers' Party for violating the criminal syndicalist law of that state. Two have already been tried. In the case of

¹See p. 157.

William Z. Foster the jury disagreed. Charles E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the party, was found guilty. At the close of 1923 he was out on bail, pending appeal to the Michigan Supreme Court. In addition to the Michigan cases, nine are under indictment as a result of a raid in May, 1923, at Pittsburgh, Pa. In earlier New York cases, Winitsky has been pardoned; Gitlow's and Ruthenberg's cases were at the end of 1923 still in the courts. In 1923 three or four members of the Workers' Party were deported as a result of cases dating back to 1919-20.

The Convention reaffirmed the position of the party towards the Communist International. The party "reaffirms its declaration of sympathy with the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International." The Convention repeated its demand that Congress recognize the Russian Soviet Republic.

The Convention authorized the Central Executive Committee to take all necessary steps to protect foreign born workers, and attacked the imperialism of the United States and called for an energetic campaign against all its manifestations. It opposed American participation in the League of Nations, the World Court, and the Reparations Commission. A special resolution on the Negro question declared in favor of complete legal, economic, political, and governmental equality, and the abolition of discrimination against Negroes in housing. The Convention called for the liberation of all class-war prisoners. It elected the following members of the Central Executive Committee, the representative of the Young Workers' League completing the committee of 13:

Alexander Bittelman
Earl Browder
Fable Burman
James P. Cannon
William F. Dunne
J. Louis Engdahl

William Z. Foster, Chairman
Benjamin Gitlow
Ludwig Lore
Jay Lovestone
John Pepper
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary

The Workers' Party has not participated in any political contests under its own name, except in several Assembly districts in New York City. It has devoted much energy to securing the formation of an all-inclusive class farmer-labor party of which it will be a part, with the hope of ultimately directing that party along Communist lines.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

Affiliations.—Although independent in an organizational sense, the Young Workers' League of America accepts the political direction of the Workers' Party and maintains very close relations with it. Many of its members are also members of the Workers' Party. It has a voice and vote in the decisions of the party through mutual representation. Sympathetically and fraternally, the Young Workers' League is also affiliated to the Young Communist International, which bears the same relation to the Communist International that the Young Workers' League bears to the Workers' Party.

At the end of 1923 the Young Workers' League claimed a membership of about 4,000 organized in 150 branches, in 100 cities of the United States. In addition to the League, which is open to young workers and students between the ages of 14 and 30, there is a subordinate organization called the Junior Section, open to children from six to 14. The Junior Section claims 2,000 members in about 30 cities. The League meets in annual Convention, the last two gatherings having been held in May, 1922, in Brooklyn, and May 20-22, 1923, at Chicago. The National Executive Committee, elected at the Convention, directs the secretary, treasurer, and managing editor. The League publishes *The Young Worker*, a semi-monthly, and for the Junior Section *The Young Comrade*, a monthly, claiming a circulation of 5,000 to 6,000 for each.

Industrial Organization.—Secretary Martin Abern states that hundreds of the League's members are young miners and steel workers. The Young Workers' League is also reported to have organized a number of Leagues among the rural youth. It has been especially successful in organizing the young workers in the coal and iron mining regions of Minnesota, Michigan, southern Illinois, and the textile workers in Massachusetts. In an effort to induce the American Federation of Labor to undertake a union organization campaign among young workers, a committee of the Young Workers' League conferred with President Gompers.

At the second national Convention in May, 1923, the Young Workers' League adopted a thesis on the organization of shop nuclei, providing for the work of members and sympathizers inside the industries for the purpose of revolutionizing the trade unions and spreading Communist ideas among the young workers. The Convention formulated 12 economic de-

mands, calling for the abolition of child labor, equal wages for equal work among young and adult workers, minimum wages ranging from the subsistence minimum upwards, establishment of a six-hour day and five-day week for all youth labor with full pay, abolition of all overtime and night work for youth labor up to 20 years of age, fully paid four weeks' annual vacation, abolition of the piece work and speed-up system, prohibition of young workers up to 20 years being employed in mines, chemical plants, steel, and glass works, as industries injurious to life and health, unemployed young workers to be paid regular union rates during unemployment, a two years' apprenticeship with strict control by trade unions, and finally shop vocational training for all young workers up to the age of 18.

Anti-Militarism.—The Young Workers' League is reported to carry on a campaign against such bodies as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Sentinels, and the Minute Men of America. It opposes the increasing militarization of the schools, colleges and training camps, but recognizes that real opposition can only be given through the workers being organized, industrially and politically, to take over the government. A special resolution of the second Convention advocated as immediate steps the spread of propaganda amongst the youth likely to be recruited for military training camps and student corps, together with work among the children and their working class parents, propaganda among ex-service men and disabled soldiers, and the printing of literature depicting the unsatisfactory conditions of life of soldiers and sailors. The anti-military work of the League is to be conducted in closest cooperation with the Workers' Party.

General.—The Young Workers' League has sent delegates to student conferences to win them over to labor and Communist programs. It has a sport section, and recognizes the Red Sport International as the only true working class expression in this field. The League arranges lectures and mass meetings, issues pamphlets, and conducts social activities. At its second Convention it passed a special resolution on the task of the League in connection with the foreign language speaking youth of the United States. In the same Convention another resolution covered detailed instructions on the organization of workers' children's sections.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Program.—The older of the two Socialist Parties in America, the Socialist Labor Party, in the words of its national secretary, Arnold Petersen,

conceives the chief function of a political party of Socialism to be so to conduct its agitation as to consummate the organization on the economic field of the forces of the working class into revolutionary, class-conscious industrial unions. From this conception flows the policy that political action, as a means to an end and not an end in itself, serves as an opportunity for economic revolutionary propaganda at the same time as the party by political agitation and action at the ballot box is attacking the political citadel of capitalism.

The Socialist Labor Party supports in a general way the Workers' International Industrial Union.¹ At its latest national convention, May 5-10, 1920, the party adopted the following platform, without immediate demands:

Platform of the Socialist Labor Party

The world stands upon the threshold of a new social order. The capitalist system of production and distribution is doomed; capitalist appropriation of labor's product forces the bulk of mankind into wage slavery, throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle, and momentarily threatens to engulf humanity in chaos and disaster. At this crucial period in history the Socialist Labor Party of America, in 15th National Convention assembled, reaffirming its former platform declarations, calls upon the workers to rally around the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, the only party in this country that blazes the trail to the Workers' Industrial Republic.

Since the advent of civilization human society has been divided into classes. Each new form of society has come into being with a definite purpose to fulfill in the progress of the human race. Each has been born, has grown, developed, prospered, become old, outworn, and has finally been overthrown. Each society has developed within itself the germs of its own destruction as well as the germs which went to make up the society of the future.

The capitalist system rose during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries by the overthrow of feudalism. Its great and all-important mission in the development of man was to improve, develop, and concentrate the means of production and distribution, thus creating a system of cooperative production. This work was completed in advanced capitalist countries about the beginning of the 20th century. That moment capitalism had fulfilled its historic mission, and from that moment the capitalist class became a class of parasites.

In the course of human progress mankind has passed, through class rule, private property, and individualism in production and exchange, from the enforced and inevitable want, misery, poverty, and ignorance of savagery and barbarism to the affluence and high productive capacity of civilization. For all practical purposes, cooperative production has now superseded individual production.

Capitalism no longer promotes the greatest good of the greatest number. It no longer spells progress, but reaction. Private production carries with it private ownership of the products. Production is carried on, not to supply the needs of humanity, but for the profit of the individual owner, the company, or the trust. The worker, not receiving the full product of his labor, cannot buy back all he produces. The capitalist wastes part in riotous living; the rest must find a foreign market. By the opening of the 20th century the capitalist world—England, America, Germany, France, Japan, China, etc.—was producing at a mad rate for the world market. A capitalist deadlock of markets brought on in 1914 the capitalist collapse popularly known as the World War. The capitalist world can not extricate itself out of the debris. America today is choking under the weight of her own gold and products.

This situation has brought on the present stage of human misery—

¹See p. 96.

starvation, want, cold, disease, pestilence, and war. This state is brought about in the midst of plenty, when the earth can be made to yield hundred-fold, when the machinery of production is made to multiply human energy and ingenuity by the hundred. The present state of misery exists solely because the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange. Private property in the means of life has become a social crime. The land was made by no man; the modern machines are the result of the combined ingenuity of the human race from time immemorial; the land can be made to yield and the machines can be set in motion only by the collective effort of the workers. Progress demands the collective ownership of the land on and the tools with which to produce the necessities of life. The owner of the means of life today partakes of the nature of a highwayman; he stands with his gun before society's temple; it depends upon him whether the million mass may work, earn, eat, and live. The capitalist system of production and exchange must be supplanted if progress is to continue.

In place of the capitalist system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers, who assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a Socialist industrial union, as now exemplified by the Workers' International Industrial Union, in keeping with their political aims.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interest, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting Industrial Self-Government for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a government in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Attitude toward Other Working Class Groups.—The attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward the Socialist Party, Workers' Party, and other working class political groups is one of hostility. It regards these parties as reform organizations whose effect, whether so designed or not, "is to act as lightning rods for the revolutionary sentiment of the working class. These parties will play their part and disappear." It considers the Third International's attitude on America to be Utopian, and the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat as reactionary for the United States. It believes that industrial organization of the working class insures the success of the proletarian revolution and by its very nature eliminates any possibility of compromise with the capitalist class. Toward the American Federation of Labor it has always been hostile, because of the craft form of this organization and what it considers its anti-revolutionary purposes. Invited by the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States to attend the national conference of all political groups, unions, and farmers' organizations on July 3-4, 1923, it replied in considerable detail why, as a Marxian revolutionary working class party, it could not assist in any such conference.

Organization.—The Socialist Labor Party claimed in 1921-

22 a membership of about 4,500. It publishes the *Weekly People*, and weeklies in Swedish, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Greek, Slovenian, South Slavonian, and Bulgarian. During the presidential election of 1920 the party placed electoral tickets in the field in 14 states: Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington. The official count gave its candidates for President and Vice-President a total vote in the states mentioned of 44,271. In presidential and other important campaigns the party has polled votes as follows:

Table 65—Socialist Labor Party Vote

1888	2,068	1902	53,000
1890	13,000	1904	33,724
1892	21,164	1906	20,000
1894	30,000	1908	13,825
1896	35,454	1912	30,000
1898	82,000	1916	14,398
1900	32,751	1920	44,271

The party owns its official organs, and elects its editors. Arnold Peterson is the national secretary, and Olive M. Johnson editor of the *Weekly People*. The National Executive Committee consists of M. J. Michel, Harry Ogens, Jacob Johns, Peter O'Rourke, William E. McCue, John C. Butterworth, Patrick E. De Lee, John D. Goerke, William Kruczynna, George B. Sargent, Theodore Gramaticoff, Alexander Kudlik, J. Samuelson, and J. T. Evanich.

PROLETARIAN PARTY

Organization.—The Proletarian Party was organized at Detroit in June, 1920, and held its second and third Conventions in November, 1921, and September, 1923, at Detroit and Chicago respectively. At the second Convention reports were received from Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Rochester. Since that time the party has established branches in a number of other cities. It is organized in English-speaking locals, with no foreign-language federations, although it has many foreign-born in its membership. It claims a membership of 50 per cent American born. It has an official organ, *The Proletarian*, issued monthly.

Attitude toward Workers' Party.—When the Workers' Party was organized in New York, December 23, 1921, the Proletarian Party refused to give up its existence. In response to the invitation to attend, the party officially declared that

it did not see why a new party was needed, inasmuch as it felt the legal and above-board Proletarian Party already stood for the principles desired by the Communists. The representative of the Proletarian Party was not seated by the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921. The party was requested on March 29, 1923, by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to liquidate and join the Workers' Party. In its reply the Proletarian Party declared that it could not see "why it should renounce sound, constructive and honorable revolutionary action, and allow itself to be absorbed into a fetid swamp of sentimentalism—the Workers' Party, which is fast discrediting itself with the American workers." It refused to support the Trade Union Educational League, because it declared "many worthwhile elements of the Left of the trade unions are seriously dissatisfied with the tactics of the Trade Union Educational League which makes cooperation practically impossible." The party attended the July 3, 1923, Conference of the Farmer-Labor Party, and severely criticised the Workers' Party for organizing the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Program.—The Proletarian Party supports the Red International of Labor Unions in its revolutionary aims and works inside the trade unions "to bring about a unification of labor's ranks into a higher form for the conflict with capitalism." It accepts the Communist International as capitalism's most vigorous opponent, but seeks to make its policies with reference to America dependent upon a "full knowledge of conditions here." It urges Communist unity in terms of its own program. Its manifesto and program include statements against war and armaments, on the proletarian revolution, the nature of the state, the parliamentary form and the Soviet form, leading to a Communist society. John Keracher is national secretary.

V. LABOR LEGISLATION

SUMMARY

Sessions of 1922 and 1923.—Eleven states held regular legislative sessions, and eight held special sessions in 1922. Forty-four states, two territories, and one island dependency held regular sessions, and eight states and two island dependencies held special sessions in 1923. The Sixty-seventh Congress held its second session in 1922 and its third and fourth sessions in 1923.

The most important labor laws enacted by these bodies include the first three American old age pension laws for private employees, in Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania, extension of minimum wage legislation to North Dakota, reduction of legal working hours for women and children in more than twelve states, and acceptance of federal aid for maternity care by 37 states. Laws restricting picketing were passed in Hawaii and Utah. National events of note were appointment of the United States Coal Commission, President Harding's Conference on Unemployment, extension for one year of the law limiting immigration, and the restoration of rights under state workmen's compensation acts to injured longshoremen. The Missouri workmen's compensation act was stricken out by referendum. Six states accepted federal aid for occupational retraining of workers crippled in industry, and six established employers' liability for airplane operators. A number of states urged the passage of a constitutional amendment to permit national legislation against child labor.

TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE DISPUTES

Federal Coal Commission.—Congress established a United States Coal Commission of seven members, with pay, to be appointed by the President. The commission was to investigate ownership of the coal industry, organization, prices, profits, production costs, distribution, waste, wages, working conditions, and regularity of employment. It was to make recommendations on standardization of the industry, improvement of labor conditions, and government ownership,

regulation, or control of mines. It was to report on the soft coal industry by January 15, 1923, and on the hard coal industry by July 1, 1923. (Public 347, 67th Congress, 2nd Session). The commission as finally appointed contained no mine workers or trade unionists. Its members were John Hays Hammond, mining engineer; Thomas R. Marshall, former Vice-President; Judge Samuel Alschuler; Clark Howell, editor, of Atlanta; George Otis Smith, director of the United States Geological Survey; Edward T. Devine, sociologist; and Charles P. Neill, former commissioner of labor.¹

Trade Unions.—New Mexico declared the labor of a human being "not a commodity or article of commerce." Labor organizations, their objects, and activity toward securing them, are held to be presumptively reasonable restraint of trade, and monopoly laws are not to be construed to forbid them (L. 1923, C. 37). Connecticut protected insignia of unregistered unions from improper use if the unions are 25 years old, but Virginia removed the penalty from its law protecting trade union labels. Trade union benefit funds in Massachusetts were exempted from the insurance laws. Pennsylvania provided that unincorporated associations of farm or industrial workers may make membership or interest in their funds non-transferable.

Trade Disputes.—Fifteen states, two island dependencies, and the United States took action on trade disputes. In spite of certain developments in the contrary direction, the general effect of the two years' legislation is toward more liberal treatment of strikes and strike activities. Thus Colorado amended its law requiring 30 days' notice before a strike, by exempting industries not "affected with a public interest." Kansas cut the annual appropriations for its

¹For estimate of the work of the Commission, see p. 120. In response to the request of the Commission for information concerning conditions in unorganized coal districts, the American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Industrial Democracy took the initiative in the summer of 1923 in forming an independent Committee on Coal and Civil Liberties, consisting of Professor Zachariah Chafee, Jr., of the Law School of Harvard University, chairman, Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council; Herbert A. Miller, professor of sociology, Oberlin College; Kate Holladay Clayhorn of the New York School of Social Work; and Rev. Arthur E. Holt, social service secretary of the Congregational Church. Winthrop D. Lane and Professor Jerome Davis investigated conditions in the West Virginia and Alabama fields, and made a number of recommendations to the federal Commission. (See *Denial of Civil Liberties in Unorganized Coal Districts*, New York, Doran, 1924.) The previous year W. D. Lane conducted a similar investigation for a commission of inquiry formed by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise at the initiative of Miss Elizabeth Gilman of Baltimore.

famed Court of Industrial Relations¹ from \$118,700 to \$77,900. Wisconsin amended its anti-picketing law to allow peaceful persuasion outside the work-place (L. 1923, C. 55). The same state strengthened its law against labor injunctions by making it apply to any dispute concerning employment, by allowing only circuit courts or those of concurrent equity jurisdiction to issue injunctions, and by requiring 48 hours' notice to defendants (L. 1923, C. 208). It also asked Congress to repeal the Esch-Cummins law hampering strikes on railroads. Arizona and California urged the President to take further steps to compel the railroad companies to accept the strike compromise proposed by him and accepted by the unions. The Kentucky criminal syndicalism law was made less drastic. Minnesota, Nevada and Texas required public or private employment offices to notify applicants for work if a strike is on.

On the other hand, Hawaii forbade certain forms of picketing to induce persons to leave employment, as well as picketing to enforce a boycott on any place of business. The maximum penalty is \$1,000, a year in prison, or both. Force, threats, intimidation, or violence as means of picketing were forbidden in Utah, under maximum penalty of \$300, six months in prison, or both. In Nevada strike notices must carry the signatures of three persons who have been residents and citizens of the state for six months; a copy of the notice must be sent to the commissioner of labor. Penalty, \$100 to \$300, imprisonment 30 days to six months, or both. South Carolina now allows either side in a street car dispute to force arbitration, the award being binding unless appealed from to the courts in 10 days. The offices of United States commissioner and assistant commissioner of conciliation were abolished.

MINIMUM WAGE

Private Industry.—Despite the United States Supreme Court decision declaring a minimum wage law unconstitutional,² the states have pushed ahead with this type of legislation. South Dakota enacted a statute of this class, making a total of 15 now in effect, North Dakota empowered its Board of Administration to fix minimum wages for

¹See p. 202.

²See p. 203.

minors, and Ohio established a commission of three members, with \$5,000 appropriation, to investigate the question. California urged Congress to enact a constitutional amendment authorizing minimum wage legislation. Minimum wage laws for women and children now in force, and their dates of enactment, are:

Table 66—Minimum Wage Laws in Force, 1924

Arizona, 1917	Massachusetts, 1912	South Dakota, 1923
Arkansas, 1915	Minnesota, 1913	Texas, 1919
California, 1913	North Dakota, 1919	Utah, 1913
Colorado, 1913	Oregon, 1913	Washington, 1913
Kansas, 1915	Porto Rico, 1919	Wisconsin, 1913

The South Dakota law (L. 1923, C. 309) prohibits the payment at less than at the rate of \$12 a week to women or girls over 14 employed in factories, workshops, mechanical or mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants, or packing houses. Upon approval of the Industrial Commission learners may be employed for less. Persons who are physically or mentally deficient may obtain permits to work for less wages, fixed by the commission. Normal workers paid less than the legal minimum may recover the difference and costs by civil action. Penalty, \$10 to \$100, imprisonment up to 30 days, or both. Arizona raised the legal minimum wage for women in factories, shops, stores, offices, restaurants, hotels, rooming houses, or laundries, from \$10 a week to \$16. Minnesota required minimum wage orders to be published in a paper in each first class city once 20 days before becoming effective. Failure to receive a copy of the order by mail will not excuse any employer from complying.

Public Employment.—Laws raising wages or extending bonuses for road laborers, mechanics, or other workers in public employments were enacted in Arkansas, New Jersey, New York, and Porto Rico where government employees in general had wages restored to the level existing before a cut. The United States for two years established bonuses to supplement the salaries of nearly all government employees receiving less than \$2,740 a year. Those receiving \$2,500 or less get \$240 bonus, but not more than 60 per cent of their stated incomes. Those receiving more than \$2,500 get enough to raise their pay to \$2,740.

HOURS

Working Hours.—More than a dozen states reduced legal working hours, usually for women or children, in private industry.

Only two states—Mississippi (1921) and Oregon (1913)—have so far adopted laws limiting the working hours of men in general industry, the limit in both cases being 10. Legislation on the number of daily working hours for women at present stands:

Table 67—Daily Hour Laws for Women, 1923

<i>Eight-Hour Laws</i>		
Arizona	Nevada	Oregon (8 1/3 mercantile,
California	North Dakota (8 1/2)	8 1/2 office, 9 any other
Colorado	Porto Rico	industry, by rulings of
District of Columbia	Utah	Industrial Welfare
Kansas	Washington	Commission).
Montana		Wyoming (8 1/2)
<i>Nine-Hour Laws</i>		
Arkansas	Minnesota (9 1/2)	Ohio
Idaho	Missouri	Oklahoma
Maine	Nebraska	Texas
Massachusetts	New York	Wisconsin
<i>Ten-Hour Laws</i>		
Connecticut	Kentucky	New Jersey
Delaware	Louisiana	South Carolina (10, 12)
Georgia	Maryland	South Dakota
Illinois	Mississippi	Virginia
<i>Over Ten Hours</i>		
New Hampshire (10 1/4)	Vermont (10 1/2)	Tennessee (10 1/2)
<i>No Daily Limits</i>		
Alabama	Iowa	New Mexico
Florida	Indiana	West Virginia

Delaware shortened children's hours from 10 to eight a day and from 54 to 48 a week. Maine reduced children's hours from nine to eight in factories, workshops, mechanical establishments, and laundries. The 54-hour weekly limit no longer applies to boys 16 or over. An initiated measure in Maine which would have reduced hours for children under 16 and for women from nine to eight a day was defeated on a referendum. Michigan extended its hour and night work law to cover quarries. Minnesota fixed women's hours at nine and a half a day or 54 a week (instead of 10 a day and 58 a week in some occupations and nine a day and 54 a week in others). The new law covers all work except domestic service, care of the sick or injured, telephone or telegraph work in cities under 1,500, emergencies, or night work of less than 12 hours, of which at least four may be spent in sleep. Penalty, \$25 to \$100, each day after noti-

fication being a separate offense. Missouri weakened its children's eight-hour law by excluding farming, and by allowing two hours' work after 7 p. m. for school children between the ages of 10 and 16. Nevada increased the penalty for first violation of women's hour law from \$25-\$50 to \$50-\$100. North Dakota amended its women's hour law to allow in emergencies 10 hours a day and seven days a week, but not more than 48 hours a week. Oregon amended its law to reduce hours in logging and sawmill operations to eight a day and 48 a week whenever California, Idaho, and Washington do likewise, and asked the legislatures of Washington and Idaho to confer on uniform hour laws for those industries.

In Rhode Island during the textile strike of 1922 the Assembly passed a 48-hour bill. It was suggested to the strikers that in view of the pending legislation they should return to work. When the strike ended, the 48-hour bill was still held up in the state Senate. South Carolina reduced hours of textile workers from 11 to 10 a day and from 60 to 55 a week. South Dakota reduced hours for children under 16 from 60 a week to 55, and applied the law to women also, except telegraph and telephone operators. Virginia extended its eight-hour day to children under 16 in all occupations and limited their working week to 48 hours; except in farming, the work must come between 7 a. m and 6. p. m. Women and girls may not be employed in hotels in Wisconsin for more than 10 hours a day or 55 hours a week for day work, or more than nine hours a day or 54 hours a week for night work. Ordinary women's hours in that state were reduced from 10 to nine a day and 55 to 54 a week, but permitted night work was increased from 48 to 50 hours a week. The 48-hour limit for night work was later restored. In Wyoming women's hours were reduced from 10 to eight and one-half a day, and from 60 to 56 a week. Overtime, at time and a half, is permitted in emergencies. Seats are required for all female employees.

Rest Periods.—Minnesota passed a weekly rest-day law covering stores, factories, foundries, and power plants. Most of the important seven-day industries, however, such as canneries, potteries, creameries, flour mills, lime works, salt works, public amusements, newspapers, and telegraph and telephone offices, as well as the familiar works of "emergency or necessity," are exempted (L. 1923, C. 298). New Jersey forbade women's night work between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. in

factories, bakeries, or laundries, but sanctioned it in canneries. Operation of the law was postponed till December 31, 1924. In Connecticut night work of children in bowling alleys was prohibited.

The United States provided for Post Office employees 15 days' yearly vacation with pay, and 10 days' sick leave each year, cumulative for three years. Minor provisions for vacations of public employees were made in nine or ten states.

CHILD LABOR

Constitutional Amendment.—Since the second declaration by the Supreme Court that federal laws restricting child labor are unconstitutional,¹ California, Nevada, Washington, and Wisconsin have memorialized Congress to amend the federal constitution so as to allow such legislation. The Wisconsin resolution also urged Congress to pass a child labor law as soon as the way was thus opened.

State Action.—Pending the adoption of such an amendment, the states have gone on tediously raising local standards, with a few backward steps. Delaware forbade boys under 12 and girls under 14 to sell newspapers on the streets, and raised the age for dangerous occupations from 15 to 16. Hawaii reduced the school-leaving age from 15 to 14 years. In Michigan the 14-year minimum age was extended to quarries, but the minimum age for girls in hazardous occupations was reduced from 21 to 18. New Jersey also forbade employment of children under 14 in mines and quarries. New York now requires employment certificates of children up to 18. The age requirement for employment in mines in North Dakota was raised from 14 to 16; except in domestic service and farm labor, children's work is limited to six days a week. Oregon prohibited employment of children under 18 in dance halls.

Rhode Island raised the minimum age in factories and businesses from 14 to 15, declared a number of occupations specially hazardous under 16, and authorized the Board of Health to add to the list. In Texas children over 12 going to work to support needy parents must now have completed seven instead of four school grades. Virginia extended its 14-year minimum age to all occupations except farming, and increased the list of occupations forbidden under 16. Messenger work was prohibited in the day time for girls under 18, and at

¹See p. 202.

night for girls under 21, and boys under 18; street trades were prohibited for girls under 18 and boys under 14. Wyoming considerably improved its child labor code. Work permits are to be issued only to children 14 years or older. Their hours are reduced from nine to eight daily and from 56 to 48 weekly. Night work and seven-day work are prohibited. The list of dangerous trades for which children under 16 must have special permits is extended, and the commissioner of labor and statistics, the commissioner of education, and the secretary of the board of health may together add to the list.

Child Welfare.—Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and South Dakota established commissions to study existing laws relating to children and make recommendations to the following legislatures.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS

Safety and Health.—Fewer than a dozen states added to their provisions for safety and health in factories and workshops. Michigan did away with its old loophole by which safety devices were required only when "ordered by the inspector," and now requires all dangerous machines to be guarded. New Jersey forbade smoking in factories, and North Carolina now requires outside fire escapes on factories three or more stories high where 10 or more (formerly 30 or more) are employed above the first floor. Ohio required rags for wiping to be sterilized before use. Texas weakened its fire escape provisions for factories, requiring now only one for each 6,000 square feet of building area. Virginia gave the commissioner of labor the right to enter work places to inspect. Seats for women are now required in factories and laundries as well as in stores; canneries are exempted, and if the work requires standing, rest rooms may be furnished instead of seats. Wisconsin forbade the employment of persons with venereal or other communicable disease in eating places, meat markets, bakeries, or dairies.

MINES

Codes Modified.—In nine or ten mining states the existing detailed mining codes were modified. Alaska forbade the employment, as foreman or fire-bosses in coal mines, of men whose certificates are older than 10 years. The Idaho clause forbidding hoisting or lowering men faster than 600 feet a minute was stricken out. In Illinois electrical stations un-

derground must be shown on mine maps, and sand and chemical extinguishers must be kept at each, but the law no longer applies to mines employing 10 men or less. Indiana enacted a new code covering all mines with 10 or more employees. The Maryland mine code was improved, and the inspector was given two assistants. Utah limited certificates for fire-bosses to United States citizens or those who have declared intention to become citizens. On written request of 60 per cent of the miners employed, Wyoming requires special shot-firers in mines where gas is generated in dangerous quantities, and bath houses if more than 20 men will use them.

TRANSPORTATION

Railroads.—About a dozen states dealt with safety on railroads. Arizona requested the federal government to appoint additional locomotive and car safety appliance inspectors to protect railroad workers and travelers from faulty equipment furnished by the railroads during the shopmen's strike. Michigan called for approved automatic fire box doors on heavy locomotives, and for standard caboose cars. Maryland and New Jersey repealed their full crew laws and left it with the public service commissions to require sufficient men. Minnesota required headlights on locomotive tenders as well as on locomotives. In Missouri the standards for caboose cars were raised, and first aid kits were required. New Hampshire no longer exempts improperly equipped cabooses if they were in use before April, 1913. New York, on the other hand, twice postponed for another year the operation of its law on the construction and equipment of cabooses, but extended locomotive inspections from the boiler to the whole locomotive. Ohio required footboards on locomotives, and Vermont requires new caboose cars to come up to standards of safety and comfort. Wisconsin issued requirements for mechanical fire doors on hand-fired locomotives, independent air brakes on locomotives, each day constituting a separate offense, penalty \$25-\$1,000, cab curtains on locomotives in winter, and power reverse gears on heavy locomotives.

MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES

Dry Cleaning and Labor Camps.—A few new laws take up the fire and explosion risk in dry-cleaning establishments, and sanitary conditions in labor camps. Delaware required places for the making of soft drinks and syrups to be ventilated,

lighted, and plumbed, and operated with regard to the health of employees. Elevators and hoistways were regulated in Iowa, and a board was authorized to draw up a code. Kentucky required dry-cleaning to be done in detached buildings with protection against fire and explosion hazards. The board of health in Minnesota was authorized to regulate sanitary conditions in lumber camps. Nevada regulated eating, sleeping, and toilet facilities in road construction camps employing five or more. In New York the law against hoisting material outside a building now applies only to lumber. Cleaning and dyeing establishments were regulated in Wisconsin.

EMPLOYMENT

Private Employment Agencies.—Laws regulating private employment agencies were enacted or changed in nine states. Alabama required a yearly license fee of \$5,000, as well as a bond of \$5,000 to cover damages due to misrepresentation of conditions. Arkansas raised fees from \$5 to \$200, forbade fee splitting between agencies and employers, and required notice of strikes to be given to applicants for work. California required schedules of fees to be posted. Texas increased the license fee from \$25 to \$150, and forbade agents to send children to illegal work, to neglect to give notice of strikes, or to advertise falsely.

Public Employment Offices.—Provision for additional public employment offices was made in Arkansas, Louisiana, Nevada, Porto Rico, and West Virginia. Minnesota authorized a state bureau to secure training and work for blind persons, and North Carolina took similar steps for the deaf.

Public Work.—Alabama forbade use of convicts in the same squad with free road laborers in certain counties, while South Carolina permitted it. The Wisconsin Board of Control is to distribute funds for public work among the various state departments so as to furnish public employment at times when private industry is slack. Preference is to be given to state citizens, next to United States citizens, and finally to aliens.

Miscellaneous.—Massachusetts created an unpaid commission of nine to report in 1924 on unemployment, regularization of industry, public employment offices, advance planning of public work, and unemployment insurance. Minnesota strengthened its law requiring notice of strikes to be given in advertisements for labor and allowing workers to sue for damages through misrepresentation.

President's Unemployment Conference.—A National Conference on Unemployment, called by President Harding, met at Washington on September 26, 1921. The purpose of the Conference was (1) to inquire into the volume and distribution of unemployment; (2) to advise upon emergency measures that can properly be taken by employers, local authorities, and civic bodies; (3) to consider such measures as would tend to give impulse to the recovery of business and commerce to normalcy. Ninety-eight members, in addition to the Secretaries of Labor and of Commerce, attended. They included such employers as Charles M. Schwab, Julius H. Barnes, and T. E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers; prominent trade unionists like Samuel Gompers, Matthew Woll, and John L. Lewis; economists such as Samuel McCune Lindsay and Leo Wolman; and a number of industrial experts including Mary Van Kleeck and John B. Andrews of the Association for Labor Legislation. The Conference adopted an emergency program. Individuals and government bodies were urged to have necessary construction and repair work done at once. Steps were recommended to overcome "undue cost and malignant combinations." Manufacturers were urged to aid by part-time work, manufacturing for stock, use of unoccupied employees for plant construction or repairs or cleaning up, and by reduction of the working day and working week. On October 11 the Conference met again and recommended a number of general measures, including readjustment of railway rates, completion of tax and tariff legislation, limitation of armament, regularization of industry, readjustment of the inequalities of deflation, and the putting aside by government bodies and public utilities in good years of money to use for carrying out extensions in times of depression.

Unemployment Insurance.—In 1923 an unemployment insurance bill, similar to the one defeated in 1921, was introduced again in Wisconsin but did not come up for a vote. It provided for a state fund, maintained entirely by contributions from employers. Only employers with six or more employees were affected. From the fund, benefits of \$1 a day for adults and 50 cents for minors of permit age were to be paid after the fourth day of unemployment. Benefits were limited to 13 weeks a year, and to one week for every four weeks of employment in the state. Only those who had worked in the state for six months were eligible to benefit.

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Federal Restriction.—The movement for narrower restriction of immigration and for discrimination against workers from other countries continues. The United States extended the immigration act of 1921 through June 30, 1924. To be admitted without regard to quota restrictions, immigrants must have resided in countries bordering on the United States five years instead of one. Those who knowingly bring in aliens not admissible at the time may be fined \$200 and must refund all transportation charges (Public Res. 55, 67th Congress, 2nd Session). Aliens who are in excess of the quota, but who were temporarily admitted under bond before May 7, 1922, may be permitted by the Secretary of Labor to remain if otherwise admissible. In that case their bonds are to be cancelled. The yearly and monthly quotas from the various countries as now fixed by the law are:

Table 68—Yearly and Monthly Immigration Quotas

<i>Country or Region of Birth</i>	<i>Annu- ally</i>	<i>Month- ly</i>	<i>Country or Region of Birth</i>	<i>Annu- ally</i>	<i>Month- ly</i>
Albania	238	58	Switzerland	3,752	750
Armenia (Russian) ..	230	46	Yugoslavia	6,426	1,285
Austria	7,451	1,190	Other Europe (includ- ing Andorra, Gibralt- ar, Liechtenstein, Malta, Monaco, and San Marino)	86	17
Belgium	1,563	313	Palestine	57	12
Bulgaria	302	61	Syria	928	186
Czechoslovakia	14,357	2,871	Turkey (European & Asiatic, including Smyrna region and Turkish Armenian region)	2,388	478
Danzig, free city of..	301	60	Other Asia (including Cyprus, Hedjaz, Iraq (Mesopotamia), Persia, Rhodes, and any other Asiatic territory not in- cluded in the barred zone. Persons born in Asiatic Russia are included in the Russian quota)	81	16
Denmark	5,619	1,124	Africa	122	25
Finland	3,921	784	Atlantic Islands (other than Azores, Canary Islands, Madeira and islands adjacent to the American conti- nents)	121	24
Fiume, free state of.	71	14	Australia	279	56
France	5,729	1,146	New Zealand and Pa- cific islands	80	16
Germany	67,607	13,524			
Great Britain and Ire- land	77,342	15,468			
Greece	3,294	659			
Hungary	5,638	1,128			
Iceland	75	15			
Italy	42,057	8,411			
Luxemburg	92	19			
Memel region	150	30			
Netherlands	3,607	721			
Norway	12,202	2,440			
Poland	21,076	4,215			
Eastern Galicia ...	5,786	1,157			
Pinsk region	4,284	857			
Portugal (incl. Azores & Madeira Islands)..	2,465	493			
Rumania	7,419	1,484			
Bessarabian region	2,792	558			
Russia (Europeans & Asiatic)	21,613	4,323			
Esthonian region ..	1,348	270			
Latvian region	1,540	308			
Lithuanian region ..	2,310	462			
Spain (including Ca- nary Islands)	912	182			
Sweden	20,042	4,008			
			Total	357,803	71,561

State Action.—California asked Congress absolutely to prohibit the entrance of persons who are not eligible to citizenship, and urged a constitutional amendment denying citizenship to all whose parents are ineligible to citizenship. Arizona required United States citizens to be employed, and state citizens to be given preference, on state work. Oregon required all state employees except certain professors and teachers to be American citizens.

WAGE PAYMENTS AND LIENS

Wage Payment.—Ten states and Alaska enacted laws bearing on wage payments. Alaska required payment in United States money or checks which can be cashed immediately without discount at the nearest bank. Employees in canneries and salteries must be paid monthly to within 15 days of actual work; in case of dismissal, full wages are to be paid at once. Pay days must be regular. Arkansas empowered its commissioner of labor to hear wage disputes over amounts not exceeding \$200; right to sue remains if either party is dissatisfied. Coal mining concerns in Colorado which do not meet their semi-monthly pay roll may be required to give bonds of not less than \$1,000 for every 10 miners, up to \$5,000. Massachusetts amended the weekly pay-day law to include theater, moving picture, and dance hall employees, and janitors, porters, and watchmen. South Carolina required employees on premises of cotton mills to be paid during work hours, or on demand if absent on pay day, and set \$50 fine or 30 days' imprisonment for cheating a minor of his wages in the manufacture of raw materials. In Virginia wages due and not exceeding \$300 are payable to the next of kin in case of death of an employee. Employers in Wyoming must have regular pay days, and post them conspicuously.

Wage Liens.—Statutes protecting wages by lien, bond, or the like were passed or amended in about 30 states. These included Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY

Airplane Operators' Rights.—The development of airplane traffic is reflected in a number of statutes protecting the rights of injured employees in damage suits. Workers injured in airplane accidents in Delaware have the same rights in suing their employers as if the accident had occurred on land, and the operator is liable only for the results of his own negligence. Similar statutes were adopted in Hawaii, Michigan, Nevada, North Dakota and Tennessee. Employers in Massachusetts are forbidden to make contracts with workers exempting the employer from liability for injury due to the employer's negligence or that of another person employed by him.

Nebraska provided that employee's recovery of damages from a railroad company does not interfere with the worker's right to any other benefits for which he has contracted, and that railroads are liable for injuries arising from inadequate or defective tools or equipment.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

New Laws.—Only one new law establishing accident compensation for injured workers was enacted. The United States judicial code was amended to give longshoremen their rights under state accident compensation acts, and to make benefits so received the only benefits.

Every state at the close of 1923 had compensation laws for industrial accidents, with the seven exceptions of Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Missouri had a compensation law, passed in 1921, but it was defeated in a state referendum in November, 1922.

Amendments.—Nearly every state made some changes in its workmen's compensation act. In general, medical and cash benefits were increased, waiting periods before compensation begins were shortened, and the laws were extended to new groups of workers. The method of penalizing illegal employment of child labor by allowing double compensation to children injured while unlawfully engaged, was adopted in a few new states. In a minority of cases these liberal tendencies were reversed, and benefits to injured workers or their dependents were reduced.

The better laws on this subject now cover most workers in occupations where accidents are frequent. Domestic service, farming, and small shops are usually left out. Medical, surgical, and hospital care must be given to injured em-

ployees, and usually amount to two or three times the value of cash benefits. There is a waiting period of from three to seven days after the accident, for which no money compensation is given. Thereafter the worker is given from 50 to 66 2-3 per cent of wages while totally disabled. In case the employee can resume work, but has lost a member of the body, or the use of a member, a money allowance proportionate to the degree of disablement is made. Funeral benefits up to \$150 are allowed, and compensation to the widow and dependent children. In nearly every state employers are required to insure their compensation risks, so as to protect the workers' claims. In about half of the states a state-operated insurance fund is provided, and in some the state fund is the exclusive agency for carrying this insurance.

Investigations.—Florida established a commission of three to investigate workmen's compensation and draft a law for the next Senate. In New Jersey a commission of nine was appointed to study compensation for occupational diseases and report to the next legislature. Rhode Island set up a committee of five to report to the next legislature on revision of the compensation act.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Acceptance of Federal Act.—Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oregon, and Virginia accepted the federal vocational rehabilitation act. By this act the national government contributes money to the states in proportion to population, provided they appropriate an equal amount, the money to be used for the retraining of industrial cripples. Tennessee repealed its acceptance of the act. Massachusetts authorized the State Board of Vocational Guidance to aid persons who it considers would profit by the training, up to \$10,000 a year. Wyoming provided that aid to a person undergoing training may in certain cases be increased from \$10 to \$15 a week and may continue for 72 instead of 40 weeks.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

First American Acts.—The first three American general old age pension laws for workers in private industry were written on the statute books in 1923, in the states of Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. The Montana law covers

persons 70 years old or more, who have been citizens of the United States for 15 years, and residents of the state for 15 years immediately before making claim, or for 25 years, five of which immediately precede the claim. They must also have no relatives legally responsible or able to support them, and be guiltless of certain offenses. Maximum pension is \$25 a month, and there is a funeral benefit up to \$100 if needed. There are penalties for fraud. Pensions are payable from the county poor funds, and the act is to be administered by the boards of county commissioners.

The Nevada act applies to residents of the state 60 years old or more, who are citizens of the United States for 15 years, and residents of the state for 10 years immediately before the claim, or for 40 years; five of which immediately precede the claim. Lack of property exceeding \$3,000, and innocence of certain offenses, are also required. The pension, in addition to other income, is not to yield more than \$1 a day, and a maximum burial allowance of \$100 is provided if necessary. Awards must be renewed yearly. Penalty for fraud is loss of pension and fine up to \$500, a year's imprisonment, or both. The act is administered by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and attorney-general, and unpaid county boards of three appointed by the governor.

In Pennsylvania the pension age is 70, and there must be 15 years' residence in the state immediately before the claim. The pension, with other income, is not to total more than \$1 a day, with a maximum burial allowance if necessary of \$100. A paid Old Age Assistance Commission appointed by the governor is to administer the law.

Indiana established a committee of five to study the old age pension question and report to the next legislature. Massachusetts appointed a commission of five to study pensions for private and public employees, and report to the legislature in 1925.

The Alaska law allowing pensions instead of care in the Alaska Pioneers' Home was amended to reduce the pension age for women to 60, but keeping it at 65 for men. The maximum monthly pension is now \$25 for men and \$45 for women, instead of \$12.50 for either. To be eligible, pioneers must have been in the territory 15 years, instead of 10.

Public Employees.—Notable among the many laws dealing with pensions for public employees is the Indiana statute requiring benefit funds to be created for employees of public utilities operated by large second-class cities. Workers

are to contribute from 1 to 1½ per cent of wages, the city is also to contribute. Benefits run up to \$50 a month for temporary disability, and up to \$40 a month for total permanent disability resulting from an industrial accident. After 20 years' service employees over 60 may retire on \$40 a month. In case of death from accident there is a funeral benefit of \$150, and the widow receives \$30 a month and \$6 additional for each child. Massachusetts set up a pension fund for employees of the city of Boston, membership being compulsory for new employees. The employee contributes 4 per cent of his salary. When he retires, the city contributes an amount equal to his whole contribution, with 4 per cent interest, from which total he receives an annuity. Employees may retire at 60, and must retire at 70. Employees who are totally incapacitated, if they have been in the service 15 years, receive 90 per cent of what the city would have contributed if they had retired at 60. In case of death in the course of duty, the dependents receive the accumulated payments and a pension equal to one-half of his salary. New Jersey authorized the Board of Shell Fisheries to pay a pension up to \$100 a month, during widowhood, to widows with minor children of employees killed in the course of duty. New York allowed New York City employees to remain in service between the ages of 70 and 80 if they wished, instead of retiring. The state retirement system may be extended to town and village employees by approval of the local authorities, but laborers are excluded. A permanent unpaid commission of five is to investigate pensions for public employees.

Porto Rico now has a retirement system for civil service workers except teachers and city employees. The employee's contribution is 2 per cent of wages. Men may retire at 55 and women at 50, the pension varying from 30 to 55 per cent of salary, depending on length of service. After five years' of service, workers may retire for total disability, with a pension equalling 50 per cent of salary. Regardless of age or disability, workers may retire after 15 years with pension of 25 per cent of salary, after 20 years with a pension of 37½ per cent, and after 25 years with a pension of 50 per cent. Pensions are limited to \$1,500 a year. Rhode Island enacted an optional pension plan for employees of the city of Providence not otherwise covered. If approved by referendum in 1924, the plan will go into effect in January, 1925. The employee's contribution is the sum necessary to

yield an annuity of $\frac{5}{8}$ of 1 per cent of salary, times the number of years of service. The regular retirement allowance is twice that provided for by the worker's contribution alone, increased by a yearly allowance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of salary times one-half the number of years of service. The difference between the yield from the workers' contribution and the regular retirement allowance is to be contributed by the city. Firemen and policemen may retire at 58, others at 60. After 10 years' service employees may retire for disability, with reduced allowances. If the disability is due to an accident in the course of duty, the pension earned by the worker's contribution alone is increased by 66 2-3 per cent of salary; if death results, the dependents are to receive the pension earned by the worker's contribution alone, plus 50 per cent of salary.

Congress included in the federal employees' retirement system cleaning women, laborers, and others receiving less than \$600 a year. Employees over the age of 55 who have served 15 years and have been involuntarily separated from the system through no fault of their own, may receive either an immediate reduced pension, or full pension at the regular date.

MATERNITY INSURANCE

Federal Act Accepted.—The federal Sheppard-Towner act providing for contributions to the states to match sums appropriated by them for aid to mothers was accepted in 1922 by Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, Oregon and Virginia, and in 1923 by Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming, making 37 states in all. This is perhaps the most striking instance of cooperation between federal and state governments for a social welfare purpose ever witnessed under the divided American system of administration. The federal appropriation for this purpose amounted to \$490,000 in 1922, and \$1,240,000 in 1923. State appropriations run from about \$3,000 in Idaho to \$76,000 in New York. Hawaii created a commission of three to go to Washington and urge that the islands be admitted to participation in the federal maternity, vocational rehabilitation, and other acts offering federal aid.

MISCELLANEOUS LABOR LAWS

Civil Service.—Time studies with the stop watch, and bonuses, were again prohibited in the United States War and Navy Department appropriation bills. The War Department bill also prohibited paying civilian employees more than customary rates in the locality for similar work. Civilian employees of the federal government and of the District of Columbia were classified and graded. A promotion schedule for them was drawn up. Craftsmen and semi-skilled laborers are as a rule not affected. A Personnel Classification Board was established to supervise adjustments under the schedule. Promotion, demotion, and discharge are to be on efficiency ratings. Equal pay for men and women for equal work was established.

New York provided that civil service employees who had been reduced in grade because their positions were abolished might be restored if their original positions were re-established. South Carolina set up a fine of \$100, 30 days' imprisonment, or both, for depriving a man of employment for belonging to the militia.

Political Rights.—Arizona forbade corporations or their officers to interfere with political activity by their employees, to aid in the election of employees to public office, or to make gifts to employees while in office; penalty \$500-\$5,000, imprisonment six months to two years, or both. Hawaii enabled sailors leaving port to vote two days before election.

Stock Sales to Employees.—In Illinois corporations may, with the consent of holders of two-thirds of the stock outstanding, issue stock to their employees without first offering it to the existing stockholders. Washington public service corporations are given somewhat similar privileges.

Bribery of Employees.—Michigan revised its law against bribing employees, and included giving or receiving false invoices as an offense. New Jersey amended a similar law to make the agent through whom the bribing is done personally guilty. Pennsylvania enacted an anti-bribery statute, specifically excluding "tips."

Other Protective Measures.—Porto Rico appropriated \$15,000 to pay laborers who are compelled to vacate their homes because of the dredging of San Juan harbor. Railroads in Kansas may transport free the remains, the wives and minor children of persons killed in their employ. Virginia made it a misdemeanor to attempt to prevent employees who leave from finding other work.

Sabotage.—Idaho established a penalty of five to 20 years' imprisonment for setting fire in mines so as to injure workings or timberings.

Special Police.—North Carolina and Georgia authorized appointment of employees of manufacturing companies as special police.

ENFORCEMENT

Reorganization and Expansion.—State departments for administering labor laws were reorganized in Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee. New York restored the bureau of women in industry in the Department of Labor, with at least six women investigators, one of whom must be a physician.

Alabama authorized certain counties to employ superintendents of child welfare, who among other duties are to assist in enforcing the child labor laws. Arkansas expanded its boiler inspection into a bureau. Connecticut authorized 10 instead of nine deputy inspectors, of which two must, and three may, be women. West Virginia increased the number of factory inspectors from four to six. Kansas reduced the inspectors employed by the Court of Industrial Relations from three to two, and also the number of mine inspectors.

Five states increased salaries of inspectors or labor department officials, while one made a temporary cut. The ordinary salaries of subordinate inspectors range from \$1,500 to \$3,000, and for chiefs of bureaus from \$4,000 to \$6,000. In New York factory and mercantile inspectors were divided into six grades, with salaries of \$1,680, \$1,800, \$1,920, \$2,100, \$2,200, and \$2,400, promotion from grade to grade to take place automatically on one year's service. Supervising inspectors receive \$3,500.

Appropriations were increased in nearly a score of states, and decreased in nearly as many. The largest state appropriations for administering labor laws in 1923 were those of New York, \$2,009,528; Illinois, \$1,070,730 (four departments); Massachusetts, \$374,480; California, \$288,000; and New Jersey, \$250,700. The regular appropriation for the United States Department of Labor for the year ending June 30, 1923, was \$6,916,920, and for the following year \$6,961,556. The sum of \$15,000 was appropriated for the Bureau of Standards for a study of methods for measuring coal dug by miners in order to determine their wages. In 1922 the sum

of \$681,150, and the following year \$700,000, was allowed the Interstate Commerce Commission for enforcing safety laws on railroads. The Federal Coal Commission was given \$200,000 in 1922, \$600,000 in 1923, and an additional \$400,000 for 1924.

VI. COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING LABOR

LABOR GAINS AND LOSSES

Many Labor Decisions.—A large number of legal decisions affecting the trade unions and labor generally were handed down in 1922 and 1923. Labor had its greatest success in attacking compulsory arbitration—the attempt of the Kansas Industrial Court act to fix wages has been declared unconstitutional, and the Railroad Labor Board's power to enforce its decrees has been limited to the moral sanction obtained from giving them publicity. On the other hand, injunctions varying in severity have been granted in decisions which cannot all be interpreted as consistent. Unions have been declared suable in their own names. The right to picket and persuade, especially in cases involving interstate commerce, has been severely limited. Finally, laws designed to protect labor have been declared unconstitutional, as, for instance, the child labor and minimum wage laws and the provisions of the Clayton act providing for jury trials in cases of contempt of court.

CASES INVOLVING TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

Picketing Limited.—The Central Trades Council of Granite City, Madison, and Venice, Ill., called a strike against a wage cut in a foundry. Only two employees went out, but the council established a picket line near the shop. The United States Supreme Court, in *American Steel Foundries v. Tri-City Central Trades Council* (257 U. S. 184, 42 Sup. Ct. 72, 1922), attempted to draw the line between lawful persuasion and the illegality there was in this case:

We think that the strikers and their sympathizers engaged in the economic struggle should be limited to one representative for each point of ingress and egress in the plant or place of business, and that all others be enjoined from congregating or loitering at the plant or in the neighboring streets by which access is had to the plant; that such representatives should have the right of observation, communication and persuasion, but with special admonition that their communication, arguments and appeals shall not be abusive, libelous or threatening; and that they shall not approach individuals together, but singly, and shall not, in their single efforts at communication or persuasion, obstruct an unwilling lis-

tener by importunate following or dogging his steps. This is not laid down as a rigid rule, but only as one which should apply to this case under the circumstances disclosed by the evidence and which may be varied in other cases.

The Supreme Court held that Section 20 of the Clayton act protected the two foundry employees who were on strike in their right peacefully to persuade others to support them. Persuasion by the council was also held legitimate, partly because many old foundry employees were members and partly because of the council's interest in wages in the locality. Thus, despite contrary implications in the *Hitchman* and *Duplex* cases, the court recognized that labor men not directly concerned in a particular controversy have nevertheless such an interest in labor conditions in their community as

to justify their use of lawful and peaceable persuasion to induce those employees not to accept such reduced wages and to quit their employment.

Liability of Unions to Suit.—Nine coal mining companies in Arkansas decided in 1914 to operate on a non-union basis, with the result that the United Mine Workers of America, District 21, went on strike and attempted to prevent the mines from reopening with non-union men. In connection with the dispute there was considerable violence, and the mines were partly destroyed and filled with water.

Suit was brought under the Sherman anti-trust law to recover triple damages for alleged conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce in non-union coal. There was a judgment for the receiver of the companies, and this was sustained by the Circuit Court of Appeals (258 Fed. 829). The United States Supreme Court, in *United Mine Workers of America v. Coronado Coal Co.* (259 U. S. 344, 42 Sup. Ct. 570, 1922), reversed this judgment. The opinion was written by Chief Justice Taft and the whole court concurred in it.

The Supreme Court determined that the action was maintainable against the union as such. Under the old English common law suits were not permitted against unincorporated associations such as trade unions, but only the members actually guilty could be held liable. By the decision in the *Taff Vale* case (*Taff Vale Ry. Co. v. Amal. Society of Ry. Servants*, 1901, A. C. 426) the English House of Lords had held that an unincorporated union could be sued just as though it were a corporation and the union funds could be taken to pay damages for injury caused by the union. Upon

this authority the Supreme Court held that the suit could be maintained against the United Mine Workers of America and the district and local organizations. This is the first case of importance in this country permitting a suit against an unincorporated union.

The court held, however, that a verdict should have been directed in favor of the international union and its officers because they were not responsible for the disturbance. The strike was due to local conditions, was conducted by the district organization, and was, by the terms of the constitutions of both the international and district organizations, a local strike.

The judgment of the lower court was reversed because the injury done to the mines did not come within the terms of the Sherman law as it was not done in the course of a conspiracy to monopolize interstate commerce. The interference was with coal mining, and this "is not interstate commerce."

Strikes Involving Interstate Commerce.—Despite the Colorado ruling, the federal courts have subsequently differed irreconcilably on what did and what did not constitute interstate commerce.

In *Herkert and Meisel Trunk Co. v. United Leather Workers' International Union* (284 Fed. 446, 1922, affirming 268 Fed. 662) Judge Sanborn of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Missouri granted a permanent injunction forbidding the Leather Workers' Union not only from using threats and violence but even from picketing or "accosting" the trunk company's employees. The jurisdiction of the federal court depended upon the court's finding a violation of the Sherman law and an interference with and attempt to monopolize interstate commerce.

Justice Stone, in a very full dissenting opinion, contended that the court's decision was incorrect. Already (*Silverstein v. Local No. 280 of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America*, 284 Fed. 833, C. C. A. 8th Circuit, 1923) in the same Circuit Court of Appeals an injunction has been refused because there was no proof of intentional interference with interstate commerce where the tailors' union did not know the clothes were intended for interstate commerce when they began picketing.

Jurisdiction of Railroad Labor Board.—In the litigation between the Pennsylvania Railroad and the United States Railroad Labor Board (*Pa. R. R. Co. v. U. S. R. R. Labor*

Board, 282 Fed. 693, 282 Fed. 701, 1922, 43 Sup. Ct. 278, 1923) two things were finally determined by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court delivered by Chief Justice Taft:

(1) The rules of the Railroad Labor Board are advisory only, and do not violate any legal or equitable rights of the railroad company;

(2) The Railroad Labor Board has jurisdiction to determine who are the proper representatives of the employees to treat with the employers concerning rules and working conditions, and the Board's determination in this case that the union was the proper representative was within its jurisdiction.

In a controversy over working conditions, the officers of the Federal Shop Crafts of the Pennsylvania System, affiliated with the A. F. of L., claimed to represent the majority in the shop crafts. The Pennsylvania refused to confer with them and sent out a ballot to its employees. This ballot the Federation complained of because it did not conform to the rules laid down by the Labor Board, but required the voter not to vote for any organization, and only for employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Railroad Labor Board decided (Decision No. 218) that the representatives chosen were not proper representatives, and the rules agreed upon between the Pennsylvania Railroad and its employees were void. The Board ordered a new election and specified rules and a ballot for conducting it.

The Pennsylvania Railroad applied for an injunction to restrain the Labor Board from publishing that the Pennsylvania was violating a lawful order of the Board by refusing to hold an election in accordance with the Board's decision No. 218. The railroad won in the district court, but on appeal the United States Supreme Court refused to enjoin publication by the Board of the Pennsylvania's refusal to obey the Board's decree.

Railway Shop Crafts Strike.—In the summer of 1922 the Railroad Labor Board reduced the wages of workers in the railroad shops. The shopmen went on strike. On the ground of protecting the United States mails and interstate commerce Attorney General Daugherty applied in person at Chicago, on behalf of the United States, for an injunction. In *United States v. Railway Employees' Department*, A. F. of L. (preliminary injunction granted, 1922, 283 Fed. 479, motion to dissolve preliminary injunction and dismiss suit denied,

286 Fed. 228, 1923, permanent injunction granted, 290 Fed. 978, 1923), Judge Wilkerson, sitting in the United States District Court at Chicago, granted the injunction, effective September 1, 1922. The injunction was finally made permanent without any opposition on the part of the unions on July 12, 1923. It is premised upon a finding of a conspiracy to obstruct the mails and interstate commerce, engaged in by the 400,000 striking shopmen and their leaders.

The suit was characterized as brought "in the public interest by the government" and "not a case between an employer and employees." In making the injunction permanent Judge Wilkerson said:

It seems almost incredible that warfare of the kind disclosed by the voluminous record in this case should have been waged in this country. It is even more ominous that this unlawful assault upon the commerce of the nation should have found apologists and defenders, including some (happily a few, however) of those charged with the duty of protecting property and enforcing the law.

The alleged illegal conspiracy was made out by charging the 400,000 strikers with responsibility for all the lawless acts of unknown persons committed during the strike. Judge Wilkerson held that unlawful acts accompanying the strike made its "primary controlling purpose" that of obstructing the mails and interstate commerce regardless of disputes about wages and conditions of employment.

Despite the provisions of the Clayton act theoretically protecting peaceful persuasion in disputes between employers and employees, it was enjoined here by the terms of the injunction granted, which was so broad as practically to prohibit the strike itself, in so far as this could be done without actually ordering the men back to work. The injunction restrains the shopmen from in any manner interfering with, hindering, or obstructing the railway companies in the operation of their railroads or the performance of their public duties and obligations in the transportation of passengers and property in interstate commerce and the carriage of the mails, and from attempting to prevent any person from freely entering into or continuing in their employment. In addition to the usual provisions against violence, intimidation, and unlawful picketing, it restrains peaceful picketing and persuasion, argument, entreaties, newspaper interviews, and the use of union funds "in aid of or to promote or encourage the doing of any of the matters or things hereinbefore restrained and enjoined."

The opinion in *Gt. Northern Ry. Co. v. Local G. F. L. of*

I. A. of M. (283 Fed. 557, 1922) handed down by Judge Bourquin in the District Court of Montana in connection with the shopmen's strike almost at the same time as that of Judge Wilkerson in Illinois, is in striking contrast to it. Judge Bourquin granted injunctions only against such unions, not half of those sued, as were actually involved in acts of violence. Where there were no illegal acts, or these were not traceable to the organization members, he refused injunctions against the union. That the strike incidentally interfered with interstate commerce did not make it unlawful or warrant an injunction so long as this was "an unintended consequence of lawful exercise" of defendants' rights.

In refusing to enjoin some of the defendants Judge Bourquin wrote:

In strikes, employers too often with little cause are quick to seek injunctions and their intimidating advantages, and courts too often likewise grant them. The consequence is a disposition to view the courts as partisans of the employers, and the judicial writs of injunction as weapons against employees however lawfully they be proceeding.

In *Gt. Northern Ry. Co. v. Brosseau* (286 Fed. 414, 1923) a case which arose in the North Dakota District Court out of the shop crafts' strike, Judge Amidon characterized Judge Wilkerson's opinion as "in direct violation of the Clayton act" and as carrying "government by injunction into new fields."

He questioned the wisdom of the use of injunctions in labor disputes. He contrasted the English method of punishing violence and threats in connection with strikes as criminal offenses with the American use of injunctions, and noted that in the same locality the Northern Pacific Railroad, which was not protected by injunction, apparently suffered no greater injury than the Great Northern Railroad, which had obtained an injunction.

Judge Amidon criticized affidavits as a basis for granting injunction relief because he had found them to be "packed with falsehoods or with half-truths which in such a matter are more deceptive than deliberate falsehoods."

He characterized private detectives as "overzealous" and "drawn from a class in large cities which would cause little credence to be given to their statements in ordinary litigation."

In *Foss v. Portland Terminal Co.* (287 Fed. 33, 1923) the Circuit Court of Appeals, 1st Circuit, dissolved an injunction

against a Maine strike which was called in violation of the terms of the transportation act. The court held that the Clayton act protected the employees' right to strike even in breach of their agreement so long as irreparable injury to the railroad was not shown.

In *Michaelson v. U. S. ex rel. Chicago, St. Paul, M. & O. Ry. Co.* (291 Fed. 940, 1923) Michaelson and others were held to be in contempt of court for violating the injunction order obtained by the Chicago, St. Paul, M. & O. Ry. Co. during the shop crafts' strike. Upon appeal the defendants claimed that they had been denied their rights because they had not been accorded a jury trial upon the contempt charge as required by Section 22 of the Clayton act.

In affirming the conviction the Circuit Court of Appeals in Illinois held:

(1) That defendants by striking had ceased to be employees of the railroad, and were consequently not entitled to the protection accorded employees by the Clayton act;

(2) That the section of the Clayton act providing for jury trials was unconstitutional.

As a conclusion from the first proposition Judge Baker declared all strikes against interstate public service companies to be illegal.

Strikes against carriers were here declared illegal on the ground that the interstate commerce and transportation acts took from the carriers the freedom generally possessed by private parties to the industrial struggle. These statutes, the court held, must "be interpreted and applied to forbid an assault upon a helplessly fettered opponent and to forbid the calling of such an act a combat."

"Yellow Dog" Contracts.—In California in the spring of 1918 outside organizers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen organized over 1,200 train service men of the Pacific Electric Railway in spite of their "yellow dog" contracts, which bound them not to join a union while in the company's employ. A strike for union recognition was called which was immediately enjoined (258 Fed. 382). In *Montgomery v. Pacific Electric Railway Co.* (C. C. A., 1923) the injunction was made permanent and the section of the California penal code making "yellow dog" contracts a misdemeanor was declared to be a violation of the 14th Amendment of the federal constitution prohibiting a state from taking away

liberty or property without due process of the law. In *Coppage v. Kansas* (236 U. S. 1, 35 Sup. Ct. 240, 1915) the United States Supreme Court long ago held a statute forbidding "yellow dog" contracts unconstitutional, and similar statutes have failed in about twenty other jurisdictions for the same reason.

"Yellow dog" contracts were also upheld against the United Mine Workers in West Virginia (*Patton v. United States ex rel. South Side Co.*, 288 Fed. 812, 1923) and against the Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union (*Moore Drop Forging Co. v. McCarthy*, 243 Mass. 554, 137 N. E. 919, 1923). A striking decision protecting union labor from the effects of "yellow dog" contracts was handed down by the United States District Court in Illinois, where Chicago union members were not enjoined from peacefully persuading workers under such contracts to join the union (*Mitchell v. International Ladies' Garment Workers*, Aug., 1923). A somewhat similar decision, which pointed out that the workers were free to leave the employment and join the union if they wished was rendered by the Ohio Supreme Court (*La France Electrical Construction & Supply Co. v. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers*, 140 N. E. 899, 1923).

Injunctions against Employers.—In two cases employers had entered into agreements with the unions in their trades and then proceeded to violate those agreements. In New York this action on the part of the employers was enjoined. In Michigan it was not.

The New York case (*Schlesinger v. Quinto*, 117 Misc. 735, 192 N. Y. Supp. 564, affirmed 201 App. Div. 487, 194 N. Y. Supp. 401, 1922) arose out of agreements between the Cloak, Suit, and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The manufacturers tried to return to the piece-work system in violation of their agreements. Because damages at law would not have afforded the union adequate relief Judge Wagner of the New York Supreme Court granted an injunction forbidding the employers from conspiring to violate the agreements or from putting into force the resolution of the Protective Association to return to piece-work. Judge Wagner said:

It is elementary, and yet sometimes requires emphasis, that the door of a court of equity is open to employer and employee alike. It is keen to protect the legal rights of all. Heretofore the employer alone has prayed the protection of a court of equity against threatened irreparable

illegal acts of the employee. But mutuality of obligation compels a mutuality of remedy. The fact that the employees have entered equity's threshold by a hitherto untraveled path does not lessen their right to the law's decree.

In *Michigan (Schwartz et al v. Cigar Makers' International Union, 219 Mich. 589, 189 N. W. 55, 1922, Schwartz et al v. Driscoll, 217 Mich. 384, 186 N. W. 522, 1922)* Judge Moore of the Superior Court refused to enjoin the violation of a trade agreement by the employers by compelling them to discharge non-union cigar makers and reemploy only union members. An agreement existed between Bernard Schwartz and Local 22 of the cigar makers' union. A strike was called and picketing begun. When Schwartz sought an injunction, the union filed a cross bill for an injunction against Schwartz's hiring non-union men when he had agreed to hire union men in consideration of the men accepting lower wages. The Circuit Court granted the injunction. At a later hearing the judgment ordering the employer to live up to his agreement was reversed, and an injunction was granted against picketing and intimidation by the union.

Refusing to Sell Material to Union Employers.—In the two cases of *Carlson v. Carpenter Contractors' Ass'n of Chicago* and *Carlson v. Hines Lumber Co. (305 Ill. 331, 137 N. E. 222)* Chief Justice Thompson of the Illinois Supreme Court held defendants liable in damages for injuries caused by their refusal to sell building materials to persons who employed union labor.

Unions of City Firemen.—In *Hutchinson v. Magee (122 Atl. 234, 1923)* the Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that an order of the Pittsburgh director of the Department of Public Safety which forbade firemen to be members of the Firemen's Protective Association, a trade union of firemen, was legal, and that those who disobeyed the order might be discharged. The court said that because such a labor organization attempted to control the relations of firemen to the city, union membership was "inconsistent with the discipline which such employment imperatively requires."

In Contempt without Knowledge.—In *Forrest v. United States (277 Fed. 873, 1922)* Chief Justice Hunt of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in California held that Forrest, a member of the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association, was in contempt of court for disobeying an injunction order. Forrest denied that the injunction had ever been

called to his personal attention, but Justice Hunt held that it was sufficient if the union of which Forrest was a member had notice of the injunction.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF LABOR LAWS

Kansas Industrial Court Act Unconstitutional.—In *Chas. Wolff Packing Co. v. Court of Industrial Relations of the State of Kansas* (43 Sup. Ct. 630, 1923) the United States Supreme Court unanimously held wage fixing by the Kansas Industrial Court to be unconstitutional as violating the 14th Amendment of the federal constitution which forbids a state taking liberty or property without due process of law.

The case did not involve the Kansas industrial relations act as a whole, but a particular ruling which fixed wages in a small packing company, endeavoring to compete with the Big Five, at rates which necessitated operating at a loss.

The court held that this small packing house was not a business clothed with a public interest and that where no such justification existed, regulation of the character made "curtails the right of the employer on the one hand, and the employee on the other, to contract about his affairs." In the industries to which the act applied—food, clothing, fuel, and transportation—state regulation of wages can only follow where it is shown to be justified by such "danger of monopoly on the one hand, and such disaster from stoppage on the other" as brings the industry "within the public concern and power of regulation."

In criticising the act Chief Justice Taft said:

The employer is bound by this act to pay the wages fixed, and, while the worker is not required to work at the wages fixed, he is forbidden on penalty of fine or imprisonment to strike against them, and thus is compelled to give up that means of putting himself on an equality with his employer, which action in concert with his fellows gives him.

After the decision of the United States Supreme Court was received by the Kansas Supreme Court, the latter ordered the packing company to put into effect such parts of the order of the Court of Industrial Relations as were not affected by the decision of the United States Supreme Court (*Court of Industrial Relations v. The Chas. Wolff Packing Co.*, 219 Pac. 259, 1923). The packing company was ordered to establish a basic eight-hour day (although nine hours were allowed on two days a week) and to give one day of rest in seven in the departments operating continuously.

Child Labor Law Unconstitutional.—In 1916 in the case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (247 U. S. 251) the law prohibiting the transportation in interstate commerce of goods made at a factory in which children were employed was declared unconstitutional as an interference by the federal government in a matter reserved to the states. To overcome this situation a new federal law was enacted placing a tax of 10 per cent on the net profit of any mine or factory in which children of a specified age were employed.

In *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.* (259 U. S. 20, 42 Sup. Ct. 449, 1922), commonly known as the child labor tax case, the later law was declared to be unconstitutional on the basis that it was indistinguishable from the *Hammer* case.

The law was declared by Chief Justice Taft (only Justice Clarke dissented) not to be tax law at all but an effort to fix a penalty upon those who employ children. As child labor was a matter reserved to the states by the federal constitution, it was held unconstitutional for the federal government to attempt to regulate it under the guise of levying a tax.

Minimum Wage Law Unconstitutional.—The minimum wage law of the District of Columbia was held unconstitutional in the opinion rendered by Justice Sutherland in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* and *Adkins v. Lyons* (43 Sup. Ct. 394, 1923), two cases brought against the minimum wage board of the District of Columbia. The first case was brought by a hospital which employed numerous women at wages less than those fixed by the board, and the second by a woman employed in a hotel at a wage of \$35 a month and two meals for which compensation she alleged her willingness to work. The inference is that all state minimum wage laws are similarly unconstitutional.

The majority opinion (concurred in by Butler, McReynolds, McKenna, and Van Devanter) held that the law infringed the 5th Amendment of the federal constitution which prohibits depriving anyone of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. It was held that the eight-hour and similar statutes which had been sustained were premised either upon special sex disabilities or peculiar dangers to health from long hours in particular employments. Since the 19th Amendment women should not "be subject to restrictions upon their liberty of contract which could not lawfully

be imposed in the case of men under similar circumstances." To do so ignores the implications to be derived from her gradual emancipation from special restraints.

The standard fixed by the law of a wage sufficient to sustain and maintain women in good health and protect their morals was held to be too vague. Morals were found to be unrelated to wages.

Because the law took no account of the necessities of employers it was found to be "so clearly the product of a naked, arbitrary exercise of power" as to be unconstitutional.

Chief Justice Taft in his dissenting opinion (in which Justice Sanford concurred) could not see that a statute fixing wages impaired the freedom of contract any more than one which fixed hours. It was pointed out in this dissenting opinion that it was not the court's function to nullify the economic views of the legislators, and that this legislation assumed that employees were not on a full level of equality with their employers.

Legislatures, in limiting freedom of contract between employee and employer by a minimum wage, proceed on the assumption that employees in the class receiving least pay are not upon a full level of equality of choice with their employer, and in their necessitous circumstances are prone to accept pretty much anything that is offered.

Justice Holmes went further in his dissent. To him the constitutionality of the law seemed "absolutely free from doubt." He commented on the expansion of the "vague contours" of the 5th Amendment "into the dogma, liberty of contract." He went on to say that nearly all laws prohibit people from doing "some things that they want to do, and contract is no more exempt from law than other acts."

It will need more than the 19th Amendment to convince me that there are no differences between men and women, or that legislation cannot take these differences into account.

Other Labor Legislation.—Various state laws enacted to benefit labor have been held constitutional. Among these were: the Washington law requiring payment of wages at the time employment ceases (*Burdette v. Broadview Dairy Co.*, 123 Wash. 158, 212 Pac. 181, 1923); the Wisconsin law requiring companies when advertising for employees to mention the existence of a strike if this is the fact (*Biersach v. Niedermeyer Co.*, 177 Wis. 388, 188 N. W. 650, 1922), ordinances designed to carry out a provision in the charter of the city of Seattle, Wash., requiring all contractors doing work

for the city to pay their employees the current rate of wages (*Jahn v. City of Seattle*, 120 Wash. 403, 207 Pac. 667, 1922).

By the two decisions in *Prudential Insurance Co. of America vs. Cheek* (259 U. S. 530, 42 Sup. Ct. 516, 1922) and *Chicago, R. I., and Pac. Ry. v. Perry* (259 U. S. 548, 42 Sup. Ct. 524, 1922), the service letter laws of Missouri and of Oklahoma were upheld as constitutional. These laws required corporations doing business in these two states to furnish upon request, to any employee when discharged or leaving its service, a letter setting forth the nature and duration of the service and the true cause of his leaving.

In certain other instances legislation favorable to labor was declared unconstitutional.

In *Livingston v. Susquehanna Oil Co.* (216 Pac. 296, 1923) the Kansas statute requiring corporations to pay discharged employees within 10 days and penalizing them by having wages run on at the old rate if such wages were not paid was held unconstitutional.

In *Greenfield v. Central Labor Council* (104 Ore. 236, 207 Pac. 168, 1922) the Oregon law prohibiting the issuing of injunctions in labor disputes was held unconstitutional on the authority of *Truax v. Corrigan* (257 U. S. 312) in which the United States Supreme Court declared a similar statute in Arizona unconstitutional.

CIVIL LIBERTIES CASES

Second Class Mailing Privilege Revoked.—In *Milwaukee Publishing Co. v. Burleson* (255 U. S. 407, 41 Sup. Ct., 352, 1921) Justice Clark of the United States Supreme Court upheld Postmaster General Burleson's order revoking the second class mailing privileges of the *Milwaukee Leader*. The court held that in view of articles in the newspaper over a period of five months in 1917 attacking the war policy of the United States the Postmaster General was warranted after a hearing in declaring the paper unmailable in accordance with the clauses of the espionage act defining non-mailable matter, and consequently in revoking its second class mailing privileges.

Justice Brandeis in his extended dissenting opinion (in which Justice Holmes concurred) declared that a decision that an issue of a paper is non-mailable warrants the Postmaster

General in refusing it the mails generally, or he may refuse it second class privileges if it does not conform in character to the requisites for that privilege, permitting it to be carried at higher rates.

But to carry newspapers generally at a sixth of the cost of the service and to deny that service to one paper of the same general character, because to the Postmaster General views therein expressed in the past seem illegal, would prove an effective censorship and abridge seriously freedom of expression.

Lusk Laws Constitutional.—In *People v. American Socialist Society* (203 App. Div. 640, 195 N. Y. Supp. 801, 1922) the Lusk laws were held to be constitutional. The right to enact laws "to prevent the promulgation of doctrines inimical to our form of government" was sustained upon the authority of the *Gitlow* case. The Rand School of Social Science contended that the law deprived persons of liberty and property without due process of law and infringed the rights of free speech. But Judge Merrel said:

A state has as much right to guard against the commission of an offense against its laws as to inflict punishment upon the offender after it shall have been committed.

Criminal Anarchy Prosecutions.—A continually growing number of states have made it a criminal offense to advocate or teach criminal anarchy, generally defined as the doctrine that government should be destroyed by force, violence, or other unlawful means.

There has been a number of convictions under these laws, including cases in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Illinois.

In general these cases went no further than to hold the act in question constitutional, or that the defendant had by his conduct brought himself within the terms of the act. But in *State v. Sinchuk* (96 Conn. 605, 115 Atl. 33, 1921), the Connecticut court held that the guarantees afforded by the bill of rights protected only citizens and not aliens, and consequently two aliens were not permitted to question the constitutionality of the law.

In a number of criminal anarchy cases the defendant was freed. In *State v. Gabriel* (95 N. J. L. 337, 112 Atl. 611, 1921) defendant's statement of his views to the magistrate was held not to be the public advocacy forbidden by the law, and a portion of the New Jersey law which prohibited as criminal association with persons hostile to the government was held unconstitutional. Judge Bergen said:

Under the constitution and bill of rights the legislature cannot make it criminal to belong to a party organized or formed for the purpose of encouraging hostility or opposition to the government of the United States, or of this state, unless the hostility or opposition includes a purpose to overthrow or subvert such government.

In *State v. Diamond* (202 Pac. 988, 1921) a New Mexico statute making it a criminal offense to do any act "which has for its purpose or aim the destruction of organized government" was declared unconstitutional as an attempt "to close the mouths and tie the hands of people who were dissatisfied with the government."

Ferguson and Ruthenberg won their case on appeal in New York (*People v. Ferguson*, 199 App. Div. 642, 192 N. Y. Supp. 24, reversed 234 N. Y. 159, 136 N. E. 327, 1922) because they had not been proved to have knowledge of the circulation of prohibited material in, or to be owners or proprietors of, the *Revolutionary Age*, owned by the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, of which they were members of the National Council.

The case of Benjamin Gitlow involving the right of a state under the due process clause of the federal constitution to enact a criminal anarchy law was awaiting decision by the United States Supreme Court at the end of the year. The constitutionality of various other state acts may hang on the decision in the Gitlow case.

Criminal Syndicalist Prosecutions.—In a few states the legislatures have gone further and declared not only the advocacy of criminal anarchy to be illegal but even the advocacy of criminal syndicalism, the doctrine that property should be destroyed by unlawful means.

Since the passage of its criminal syndicalism act, undoubtedly directed against members of the I. W. W. (L. 1919, C. 188) California has been the jurisdiction in which most of the criminal syndicalist prosecutions have been conducted.

In general these cases merely established the constitutionality of the law or that the defendant by his personal acts had brought himself within the prohibition of the law. But the California courts have gone further. In *People v. Steelik* (187 Cal. 367, 203 Pac. 78, 1921); *People v. Roe* (58 Cal. App. 690, 209 Pac. 381, 1922); *People v. LaRue* (216 Pac. 627, 1923), they have held that mere membership in the I. W. W. brings the defendant within the act's prohibition of membership in an organization advocating criminal syndicalism and that all the violence of which individual I. W. W. members

have been guilty is proper evidence against the defendant of the character of that organization.

The constitutionality of the California criminal syndicalism law under the due process clause of the 14th Amendment of the federal constitution will soon be tried in the United States Supreme Court in the Whitney case, which was awaiting argument in the Supreme Court at the close of the year.

There have also been convictions for violations of criminal syndicalist laws in Minnesota (State v. Moilen, 140 Minn. 112, 167 N. W. 345, 1918), Washington (State v. Hennessy, 114 Wash. 351, 195 Pac. 211, 1921) and Kansas (State v. Breen, 110 Kan. 817, 205 Pac. 632, 1922).

Injunctions against the I. W. W.—Prosecutions under the criminal syndicalism law in California and Kansas proved expensive. To meet this situation injunctions were granted against the I. W. W. in those two states at the suit of the government.

In California Judge Busick of the Superior Court of Sacramento County granted an injunction in *People of the State of California ex rel Webb v. I. W. W.* (1923). Without any hearing, an injunction was granted in July, 1923, until a hearing could be had, restraining defendants from conspiring to damage property, to take over the industries and the government, and from circulating by word of mouth or by printed matter advocacy of criminal syndicalism, sabotage, or the destruction of property for the purpose of taking over the industries. After there had been an extended hearing this injunction was continued in September until the time of the trial. Before the trial takes place a test case brought by the Civil Liberties Union will probably have tested the validity of the injunction.

In Kansas Judge Burch of the Supreme Court enjoined the I. W. W. in the case of *State ex rel Hopkins v. I. W. W.* (214 Pac. 617, 1923). The injunction was applied for on June 24, 1920, to restrain the I. W. W. from an alleged conspiracy to stop work in the wheat and oil fields of Kansas.

VII. CIVIL LIBERTIES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Activity of Civil Liberties Union.—The American Civil Liberties Union was founded in 1920, as a successor to the National Civil Liberties Bureau formed in 1917, on the principle that right of free expression is "the only sure guarantee of orderly progress."

During 1922 and 1923 its chief efforts were directed to obtaining the release of state and federal political prisoners, and to maintaining the right of free speech and freedom of teaching. In its report for 1922 it notes a falling off in the number of cases involving civil liberties. Enough old cases are still pending, and enough new cases still arise, to compel the continuance of the Union. The fight for civil liberties has been transferred almost entirely to the industrial field. By far the most restrictive measures on freedom of assemblage, speech, and picketing in strike districts are affected through injunctions or armed force. The Post Office Department now bars no newspapers from the second-class mails for expressing radical views. The Department of Labor is more reasonable in its handling of deportation cases. On the whole it finds that the schools are today the most sensitive of all institutions to the fear of criticism for harboring radical thought.

The Union is supported by contributions from individuals; at the beginning of 1923 there were nearly 1,700 contributors. Its affairs are managed by an Executive Committee of 12 members. Harry F. Ward is chairman, Helen Phelps Stokes, treasurer, Roger N. Baldwin, director, and Walter Nelles, counsel. The Union's offices are at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

POLITICAL AND STRIKE PRISONERS

Amnesty.—On Christmas Day, 1921, President Harding released 25 political prisoners, including Eugene V. Debs, leaving 118 men still in jail. An active campaign for the release of the rest, including a spectacular Children's Crusade, resulted in the release of 12 more in June, 1922. On July 19 President Harding promised to review all the remaining cases within 60 days. In the fall of 1922 the President became more conservative, probably because of the large strikes then in progress. After President Harding's death on August 2,

1923, the campaign for amnesty had to begin all over again. It was evident that Attorney General Daugherty knew nothing of the cases, and had no understanding of the principles involved. However, President Coolidge released all the remaining federal political prisoners on Christmas Day, 1923.

The groups which participated in the amnesty struggle were the Civil Liberties Union, the Central Labor Bodies Amnesty Conference affiliated with the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party, the Workers' Party, the I. W. W., some liberal churches, and a number of liberal journals. To the Joint Amnesty Committee of Washington, D. C., belongs the credit for initiating the particular tactics which led to President Coolidge's final action. The officers of the committee were Edwin Evans, chairman, Abbey Scott Baker, Gertrude Fendall, Gilson Gardner, and others.

After the release of the federal prisoners, the amnesty campaign centered on the release of state prisoners, of whom there were still 116. On December 28, 1923, these were distributed as follows: California, 99; Washington, 5; Idaho, 4; Pennsylvania, 4; Oklahoma, 2; Illinois, 1; and Kansas, 1. An effort to obtain Christmas amnesty for these men failed.

New Cases.—In January, 1923, Vurlen Orr and Luther Wise, railway shopmen, were jailed in Arkansas for violent strike activity. They pleaded guilty to escape lynching at the hands of a mob that surrounded the court. When asked to release these men Governor McRae declined to extend clemency "unless the pending negotiations for the settlement of the strike and all controversies growing out of it are amicably settled by the contending sides." The Civil Liberties Union pointed out that this was equivalent to the medieval practice of holding hostages in war-time.

On December 15, 1923, a term of from 15 months to 10 years was imposed on Edwin Krier, in Idaho, on a criminal syndicalist charge based solely on his membership in the I. W. W. In Connecticut, late in 1923, a sentence of 3½ to 5 years was imposed on Ernst Schleifer, who was charged with inciting strikers to violence.

In Idaho, 14 members of the I. W. W. were under indictment under the criminal syndicalism laws in December, 1923.

On December 10, Carlo Tresca was sentenced to prison for a year and a day for having printed an advertisement of books discussing birth control. The books are still on sale, and neither seller nor importer has been molested. The Civil Liberties Union charges that Tresca's arrest and con-

viction was brought about at the request of Prince Caetani, the Italian Ambassador to the United States. Tresca has been active, and successful, in preventing the growth of Fascist organizations in the United States. Ambassador Caetani, speaking in New York, declared that "a certain Italian weekly published in New York ought to be suppressed." He was referring to Tresca's paper *Il Martello*.

On April 22, 1923, James Larkin was deported to Ireland.

Cases Pending.—A fight against the deportation of 17 former political prisoners, who are aliens, is in progress. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, radicals who were convicted of murder in Massachusetts in 1921, are still in jail. It is claimed that the men were convicted on perjured testimony. Jacob Dolla is serving a term of 12 to 17 years in Pennsylvania on a dynamiting charge.

Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in jail on perjured testimony on a murder charge growing out of the 1916 Preparedness Day bomb explosion in San Francisco. On April 18, 1922, District Attorney Brady, of San Francisco, asked the governor of California to pardon Mooney and Billings as they had been convicted on perjured testimony. The governor took no action.

Richard Ford and Herman Suhr are serving life sentences in California for alleged participation in riots in the hop fields. Charles Cline and J. M. Rangel, serving 99 years for murder, are also still in prison in California. Many of the cases of the hundreds of men indicted in Logan County, West Virginia, in connection with the miners' armed march in 1921, are still pending.

FREE SPEECH

Contests.—On May 28, 1922, Arthur Garfield Hays of New York, representing the Civil Liberties Union, made a test case in the Pennsylvania free speech fight. He spoke in Vintondale, and was assaulted and jailed. He went back with warrants for the arrest of the coal and iron police, and the officials of the Vinton Colliery Company, for assault. The arrests were made, and the offenders fined. He then obtained an injunction restraining them from interfering with the exercise of civil rights. This injunction was finally dismissed, but there is free speech in Vintondale.

In McKeesport on September 9, 1923, Jay Lovestone and Fred H. Merrick of the Workers' Party, Robert W. Dunn, associate director of the Civil Liberties Union, William Mikados and Patrick Toohey, were arrested for holding a meeting

without a permit from the mayor. Two other political meetings held the same day, Sunday, were not molested. The men were nevertheless found guilty of disorderly conduct, violation of the Sabbath, and speaking without a permit. The cases were appealed, and decided in favor of the mayor. Two of the cases have been appealed to the Supreme Court.

On August 6, 1922, William Z. Foster was expelled from Denver, Colorado, by troops. On August 22, 17 Communists were arrested for participating in a secret conference at Bridgman, Michigan. Others, including Foster, were later indicated for participation in the same conference. The charge against them was membership in the Communist Party, and advocacy of its principles, in violation of the criminal syndicalism law. No overt act was charged. On April 5, 1923, the jury trying Foster on these charges disagreed. Foster was discharged on bail, and the state moved for a second trial. On May 4, Charles E. Ruthenberg was found guilty of criminal syndicalism. His case has been appealed.

On May 16, 1923, Upton Sinclair was arrested, and held incommunicado for 24 hours, in Los Angeles, for holding a meeting against the orders of the city authorities. He was reading Amendment I of the federal constitution. On May 26, 1923, Scranton prevented Alexander Howat from speaking. On June 7, 1923, Columbus barred Debs, and on June 14, Cincinnati followed its example. On September 6, 1923, Esther Freedman, speaking for the Socialist Party in Kansas City, was fined \$100 for "disturbing the peace and blocking traffic."

Academic Freedom.—The fight to preserve freedom of teaching has gone on steadily through 1922 and 1923. On June 20, 1923, conservative Amherst alumni caused the resignation of President Alexander Meiklejohn; on July 21, 1923, President Wilson of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College was ousted for radicalism. Benjamin Glassberg, ousted from the New York City high schools, made an effort to have his license restored. His case is still pending. The license of David P. Berenberg, who resigned from the New York City high schools in 1918, to accept a post with the Rand School, was restored on September 27, 1923, after a cross-examination by the Board of Examiners of the Board of Education. The license of Mary Macdowell of New York, a Quaker, which was taken from her during the war, was restored to her.

VIII. WORKERS' EDUCATION

Spread of Movement.—The first important study of workers' education was published in 1921, by Arthur Gleason, whose untimely death is a distinct loss to the movement. As American experiments he enumerated the Ladies' Garment Workers, the United Labor Education Committee, the Rand School of Social Science, the Department of Education of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Trade Union College of Washington, D. C., the Chicago classes of the Women's Trade Union League, the Boston Trade Union College, Amherst Classes for Workers, the Cooperatives, the Workers' College of Seattle, and "other experiments," conducted in institutes and labor temples. Since then, the Workers' Education Bureau of America, and the resident Brookwood Labor College were organized, and a large number of additional trade union schools and classes have sprung up, while several of those listed are no longer active.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

History and Structure.—The Workers' Education Bureau of America was organized at a national conference on workers' education held by trade unionists and labor teachers, in April, 1921, at New York City. "Membership in the Workers' Education Bureau," at the present time, "is open to workers' educational enterprises under trade union auspices; to labor unions both national and local, and to cooperative associations." Annual dues for international unions are \$35, for state federations of labor \$20, for city central bodies and labor educational enterprises \$10, for local unions and cooperative associations \$5. For individuals the dues are, honorary members \$100, sustaining members \$25, contributing members \$10, cooperating members \$5, associate members \$2, and student members \$1. Its officers are: James H. Maurer, president; Fannia M. Cohn, vice-president; George W. Perkins, treasurer; and Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary. Matthew Woll is chairman of the Executive Committee, which besides the officers includes John Brophy, John P. Frey, Freida S. Miller, Harry Russel, John Van Vaerenewyck. The next annual convention of the Bureau will be held probably in

the fall of 1924, outside of New York City. According to the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Portland convention of October, 1923, there were affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau:

National federations of labor	1
National or international unions	14
State federations of labor	5
Central labor unions and district councils	26
Local unions	8
Workers' educational enterprises	18
Cooperative societies	3
Student associations	3

At the time of the Bureau's third convention, held in New York, April 14-15, 1923, there were 181 associate and student members. The basis of representation at conventions is: unions, 1 vote each; trade union colleges, 1 vote for each class of 15 or less, and 1 additional vote for each 15 members or major fraction thereof, up to a maximum of 5 votes; workers' study classes, same as trade union colleges.

Affiliation of the American Federation of Labor.—About nine months after the organization of the Workers' Education Bureau, the Executive Committee entered into a co-operating agreement with the Educational Committee of the A. F. of L., which was to expire in April, 1922, the date of the second conference. Among other points, this agreement stipulated that the Educational Committee of the A. F. of L. was to help frame replies and form letters and receive copies of same, in answer to requests "for information relative to the beginnings, conduct of [and] support for extending workers' educational enterprises in the United States and Canada." At the conference in 1922 the delegates adopted a resolution reading:

Resolved, That a committee of five be selected by the incoming Executive Committee to confer with a like committee of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of so organizing the Workers' Education Bureau of America for promoting workers' education. This committee to report the results of the work to the Executive Committee of the Workers' Education Bureau, and that the Executive Committee of the Workers' Education Bureau be authorized and empowered to make whatever change in the organic law, officers and offices that it may deem desirable or advisable, and that all officers or committees elected or re-elected in the interim assume office with that understanding.

The Executive Committees of both organizations subsequently ratified an agreement which provided that dual and seceding unions were ineligible to membership in the W. E. B., and that only workers' study classes doing bona-fide educational work were to be admitted. Three members of the Executive Committee, all of whom were to be members of affiliated unions, were to represent the A. F. of L. The powers

of the Executive Committee were to be suggestive and not mandatory in questions of curriculum. Workers' study classes were to have complete autonomy. John P. Frey, George W. Perkins, and Matthew Woll, who was elected chairman of the Executive Committee, were designated from the Educational Committee of the A. F. of L. The Executive Committee afterwards defined labor educational enterprises eligible to membership "as those initiated and controlled exclusively by trade union bodies." This ruling was not made retroactive. At the third convention the committee on officers' report declared:

We suggest that the definition of "labor educational enterprises," adopted by the Executive Committee is too narrow in that it excludes various workers' educational classes which may be formed and administered by non-trade union workers.

This recommendation was not adopted.

Functions.—The Workers' Education Bureau has supplied information and printed material to adult groups and various organizations, trade union and otherwise, interested in the promotion of workers' education. It has given counsel of a specific character to those organizing study classes and workers' colleges. It has helped establish trade union colleges in Passaic, N. J., Denver, Spokane, Milwaukee, Sacramento, San Francisco, Syracuse, N. Y., Portland, Ore., and other places. It has been of assistance in the organization of workers' study classes in Reading and Erie, Pa., in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and study groups in industrial spots of the Middle West and Pennsylvania. A Labor Textbook Committee, consisting of Fannia M. Cohn, Spencer Miller, Jr., and, until his death, Arthur Gleason, acts as a group of trustees to administer a fund given for the purpose by Evelyn Preston. With the cooperation of this committee the Bureau has begun several series of publications. One is the "Workers' Bookshelf," four volumes of which, *Joining in Public Discussion*, by A. D. Sheffield, *The Control of Wages*, by Hamilton and May, *Humanizing Knowledge*, by James Harvey Robinson, and *Women and the Labor Movement*, by Alice Henry, have already appeared. Another is a Workers' Education Bureau Series, three of which are reports of the Workers' Education Bureau conferences and the fourth is *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*, by Mary Beard. The third line of publications is a Workers' Educational Pamphlet Series with four numbers up to the end of 1923: *How to Organize Workers' Study Classes*, by Broadus Mitchell; *An Outline of the American Labor Movement*, by

Leo Wolman, *How to Run a Union Meeting*, by Paul Blanshard, and *An Outline of the Social and Political History of the United States*, by H. J. Carman, reprinted from a pamphlet of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Educational Department. A bibliography on *The American Federation of Labor*, by Frank V. Anderson and David Saposs, is the first of a series of Workers' Education Reading Lists. The Bureau has also published *The Brussels Conference*, a report by the American delegates on the First International Conference on Workers' Education, held at Uccle, near Brussels, Belgium, in August, 1922.¹ The Bureau has distributed several thousand copies of the reports of its annual conferences on workers' education. It publishes a quarterly journal called *Workers' Education*, of which the third number appeared in November, 1923, with John P. Frey, Fannia M. Cohn, and Spencer Miller, Jr., as editors. The W. E. B. has assisted in purchasing standard texts with a saving to the workers, it has loaned books, and it has started a correspondence department for courses by mail. Besides the paid executive secretary and office assistants, the Bureau has in the field an organizer or field secretary, securing affiliations of eligible unions and groups. The Executive Committee meets quarterly unless specially called. Between the meetings of the Executive Committee, the administration of affairs devolves upon the president, vice-president, and secretary.

Educational Problems.—The committee on teaching methods at the third convention of the W. E. B., in April, 1923, made a detailed report on (1) language and terms used by teachers in workers' schools and classes; (2) organization of materials; (3) vitalization of presentation; (4) methods of securing evidence of learning, and (5) use of outlines. It recommended that certificates might be given at the end of classes and urged the extension of correspondence courses.

The committee on publicity and organization, of which John P. Frey representing the A. F. of L. was chairman, took the stand that "Workers must no more permit the education of their people to get beyond their control than they would permit their union to get beyond their control." It called for "Education of the worker, for the worker, and under the complete control of the workers with a view of developing leaders and workers who thoroughly understand the basic principles of civic, social, and industrial cooperation." It

¹See p. 231.

stated its belief that "it is the particular function of the W. E. B. to serve as the national organization through which the workers of America can most effectively develop workers' education under their own direction and administration." The committee suggested summer courses for training teachers, and that all teachers in labor colleges and schools should affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers. "What we are trying to accomplish," said Chairman Frey in discussing the report of the committee, "is that the workers of themselves and by themselves shall determine what particular fields of knowledge it is necessary for them to understand, and shall then provide the ways and means by which that knowledge shall be given."

On the subject of curriculum, the committee in charge declared that "The primary function of present day labor education is to create an intelligent army of workers conscious of their aims and of the best methods of realizing them." The subjects taught should be mainly those not taught satisfactorily from the labor point of view in other institutions, such as history, labor problems, labor history, sociology, economics, psychology, literature, economic geography, and government. Its report stated that "as taught in other institutions" these courses "are generally explanations and apologies for the existing order." It recommended courses in parliamentary law and public speaking for practical reasons in connection with the organizing and administrative work of trade unionists. The committee also advocated cultural courses as satisfying the individual and emotional needs of the workers. In a separate report the committee on curriculum recommended special efforts in health education. "There is a growing tendency among trade unions," the committee reported, "to assume the responsibility for the health of their members as well as for their economic welfare." In furtherance of this policy the committee urged classes in physiology, anatomy, personal hygiene, and industrial hygiene.

In the discussion which followed, the need of a flexible curriculum was pointed out. "We find," said Fannia M. Cohn, "that the curriculum for workers' classes organized for miners, railroad men, or printers, differs from that for garment workers or cap makers. We must formulate a program that is adaptable to the economic, temperamental, and spiritual characteristics of our varied population."

Following out the recommendation of the committee, the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. in November, 1923, formed a committee of three to prepare plans for a normal school for the training of teachers in labor classes.

The committee on text books, of which Fannia M. Cohn was chairman, and John P. Frey a member, regretted that "there are hardly any books written for workers." Even among publications on the labor movement, "The structure of these books as well as the presentation of the subject matter is so remote from what the workers need, that very few, if any of them, are understood or call forth any interest." "A history of the workers in this country," the committee declared, "has not yet been written. According to our conception, a history of the labor movement should present in simple language the trials and tribulations, the achievements and failures, the joys and despair of the workers." The committee therefore recommended publication on many subjects of three types of text books and pamphlets: (1) for worker students in labor colleges or study classes; (2) for workers not in class but who could be induced to read if suitable books or pamphlets were provided; and (3) for advanced students and for teachers in labor colleges.

In an editorial in the official journal of the Workers' Education Bureau, two statements on the nature of workers' education are made. The thesis of the secretary, Spencer Miller, Jr., in his address to the A. F. of L. convention at Portland in October, 1923, it is stated, was that

Education is neither information nor training, much less propaganda . . . but it is an interpretation of life; . . . that it is not the exclusive product of the school house, but is a continuous experience that comes out of and enriches the experience of men's lives, and should be universal and life long; . . . that it corresponds to the cultural and humanistic aims of the labor movement and should enable workers to express and direct their organization for the benefit of the whole of society.

The other declaration by the editors is as follows:

Workers' education should strive to create new social values. It should concern itself with thought-provoking facts. It should promote discussion by the worker on the nature of these facts and their relevance to his problems. It should set forth with clarity the nature of modern social institutions on the assumption that no economic institution is permanent and that society is ever changing and modifying them.

International Representation.—Secretary Miller and Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn of the Bureau attended the First International Conference on Workers' Education at Uccle, Belgium, in August, 1922, as American delegates.

BROOKWOOD WORKERS' COLLEGE

Origin.—At Katonah, N. Y., a small country town in Westchester County, labor men and women and labor educators gathered in March, 1921, and established the resident Brookwood Workers' College. The school was opened to students in October, 1921.

Government.—The institutional organization of Brookwood includes six groups, three outside and three inside. The Brookwood Associates, the Labor Cooperating Committee, and the Educational Advisory Committee comprise the three outside groups. The faculty and administrative group, the student body, and the community as a whole make up the three inside governmental bodies.

The Brookwood Associates are five people, four of whom are active inside the college, and all are members of the American Federation of Teachers. "These people hold the legal title to the property in trust for the purpose of workers' education. They executed a three-year lease to the Brookwood Cooperators for the nominal rental of \$1 per year. As associates they have no power or control of any kind over the institution itself." The Labor Cooperating Committee, whose function has been defined "to keep Brookwood close to the heart and purpose of the American labor movement and to enable it to serve, as an educational institution, its best interests," comprise John Fitzpatrick, James H. Maurer, John Brophy, Rose Schneiderman, Abraham Lefkowitz, Charles Kutz, Jay G. Brown, Thomas Van Lear, Fannia M. Cohn, and Philip E. Ziegler. The Labor Cooperating Committee chooses an Executive Committee of three, with a voice and vote at all faculty and community meetings. The Labor Cooperating Committee meets annually. It "has a power of veto on the engaging of new teachers and on the budget. . . . the participation in Brookwood of this Labor Committee is a very real, vital, and valuable one." The Educational Advisory Committee of four are educators in sympathy with Brookwood's purposes and are consulted on educational problems.

The three inside groups have their own officers, hold meetings, and meet together as well. An Executive Board, made up of two delegates from the faculty, two from the first year students, two from the second year students, and one from the community at large, exercises power when the com-

¹This quotation and the others following are taken from an article by Toscan Bennett, executive secretary, in *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, March, 1923.

munity is not in session. The board has set up a Works Committee, which "has entire charge of the upkeep of the physical and material side of Brookwood and assigns all work (for at Brookwood there are no servants; all join in performing the necessary tasks of the place)." The students have set up a student Discipline Committee to handle breaches of discipline among themselves, and they publish *The Brookwood Review*, a monthly.

Finances.—The buildings and grounds at Brookwood represented an investment in 1923 of about \$90,000. The institution is financed by student payments, trade union scholarships and contributions, and individual donations. The annual budget amounts to about \$35,000 to \$40,000. Brookwood charges its students, when they are able to pay, \$450 a year, which includes schooling, board and lodging, although the students contribute about three hours' work a day. It pays its faculty. In the December, 1923, issue of *The Brookwood Review* it is stated that Brookwood has received the endorsement of seven international unions, six state federations of labor, 12 city central bodies, and 33 local, district, and miscellaneous organizations. Financial support has come from District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers "which has established two scholarships, from the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the United Textile Workers, the United Brewery Workers, the central body of Salem, Mass., and others." The American Fund for Public Service has also assisted financially.

Courses.—The courses at Brookwood cover two years. First year students begin with a class on how to study, and take full year courses on use of the English language, history of civilization, psychology, and social problems. These are courses designed to give general background and preparation for the second year studies. These latter include: social theories, government, history of the American labor movement, survey of the movements of agricultural and industrial workers in other lands, labor organization problems and tactics, trade union bookkeeping, and certain special courses such as statistics, workers' education, and labor and farmer journalism. Toscan Bennett is executive secretary, and is in charge of the administrative work of the college, while A. J. Muste is chairman of the faculty. The faculty is organized into Brookwood Local No. 189 of the American Federation of Teachers, and the college and the student association are affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau.

Students.—The college is co-educational, and has no formal entrance requirements. Acceptance of the purposes of the institution, and loyalty to the labor movement, are expected. The students come directly from industry. In the fall of 1923 Brookwood started its third year with 37 students, 13 in the second year class, and 24 in the first. Three of the new students come from Denmark and Mexico. Practically all the new students, as well as the old, hold cards in trade unions, such as the Mine Workers, Upholsterers, Machinists, Molders, Electrical Workers, and the needle trades. Of the fifteen students graduated in the first class in June, 1923, four are officially organizing for trade unions; one is assisting on a monthly trade union journal; and the rest are at work in factories or on farms or continuing their education in the labor movement. Among the old and new students, as well as the graduating class, about a dozen nationalities are represented.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

Development and Aims.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has pushed steadily ahead with the work for labor education in which it was the pioneer among American labor unions. It is largely due to the persistent and self-sacrificing effort of this organization in building up classes and study courses for its members that other unions, and the A. F. of L. itself, have been won to the idea. In an attractive booklet, issued by the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. for 1923-24, it is stated that

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was practically the first labor organization in America to recognize the truth (and act upon it) that in addition to providing for the economic needs of its members, a labor union has other functions; among the most important of these, is that of providing for their spiritual needs. . . . The function of labor education is to assist in the all-important task of making our world a better place for all to live in. The truth is clear to all intelligent workers, that it is the mission of the workers themselves to abolish the inequalities and injustices under which they suffer, and that it is only through organization that they can accomplish this aim. But it is equally clear that economic strength is much more effective if directed by intelligent, well informed, clear-thinking men and women. . . . The purpose of the educational activities of the I. L. G. W. U. is to provide the labor movement with such men and women. . . . In addition, . . . courses are intended to widen their interests and gratify their desire for the true and the beautiful, to the end that they live a fuller and richer life, with the ultimate ideal of providing such a life for all their fellow workers.

The Educational Department of the union was organized in 1916. The biennial conventions of the international union

increased the appropriation for the work, until the 1922 convention voted \$17,500 annually. In the eight years of the department's existence, more than \$100,000 have been expended for educational purposes. General plans for the department are worked out by the Educational Committee, consisting of five vice-presidents of the union, with I. Feinberg as chairman. Actual administration of the work is in the hands of Fannia M. Cohn as executive secretary of the Educational Department, and Alexander Fichhandler as educational director. Joint conferences of local educational committees of the local unions, the students' councils, and the faculty, cooperate in their respective fields in planning and conducting the work.

In an article in *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal* for March, 1923, entitled "Why Workers' Education Should Be under the Trade Union," Executive Secretary Fannia M. Cohn writes that "many organizations offer free education to adult workers, but this is not workers' education. It is education given to the worker. . . . The trade union must of necessity require the retention of this acquired education within its fold. . . . Workers' education should influence the individual worker to stand with his group."

Workers' University.—The courses in the Workers' University conducted in the Washington Irving High School, New York City, by the union, included in 1923-1924:

Foundations of Modern Civilization, Political and Social Institutions, American Labor in Modern Civilization, Economic and Social Developments in Europe, The Economic Basis of Government, Economic Basis of Modern Civilization, The Industrial Development of Modern Society, Social and Political History of the United States, Economic and Labor Problems, Social Forces in Contemporary Literature, Applied Psychology, Social Psychology, Public Speaking. Special courses for union officials, Office Management and Office Accounting, and the Financial System of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The course in economic and labor problems embraced short groups of addresses on:

Aims, Problems, and Policies of American Trade Unions, Policy of American Trade Unions Towards Unemployment, Labor Situation in Basic Industries, The Cooperative Movement, Waste in Industry, Problems of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Labor and Publicity, Workmen's Compensation, Labor and Injunctions.

Unity Centers.—Besides the advanced courses in the Workers' University, preliminary training is given in the eight unity centers of the union's Educational Department. The classes are conducted in different public school buildings in New York. Teachers for English, arithmetic and physical training are assigned by the Board of Education free. Classes in labor economics, trade unionism, psychology, ap-

preciation of music and similar subjects, are controlled by the union, which assigns teachers. Lectures in hygiene are given in addition, through cooperation with the Union Health Center and the New York Tuberculosis Association.

Extension Division.—The Educational Department conducts a special series of lectures at the auditorium of the international union building. In 1923 the series comprised 15 discussions led by prominent experts, on the international situation as affecting American labor. The department assigns lecturers to local union meetings, and conducts courses at the offices of local unions as well. It arranges entertainments with a musical program, organizes excursions, hikes, social gatherings, and the like.

Extent of Work.—The main work of the Educational Department is conducted in New York, but educational activities are carried on through the department in Chicago, Boston, Worcester, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark, N. J., and other cities. In Boston the union cooperates with the Trade Union College. In New York City thousands of members of the union receive intensive or other educational instruction each year. In the Workers' University, the lectures on literature are attended by about 160 students, but in the other subjects the principle of small classes is adhered to. In the Unity Centers the classes are uniformly small. For the last two years the proportion of men students has been increasing, while the number of women has not declined. Attendance is also becoming more regular. Lectures for locals at their business meetings are arranged. "Post graduate" courses are given for union officers. In time it is hoped that candidates for positions in the union will avail themselves of special courses which will qualify them for more effective activity. The Educational Department has popularized the use and necessity of complete outlines of each lesson for every class, which are mimeographed and given to each student. The outlines contain a list of readings, and at the end of the course form a permanent work of reference. The department published the 48-page pamphlet, *An Outline of the Social and Political History of the United States*, by Professor H. J. Carman, consisting of a set of outlines for a course given for several years in the Workers' University. This pamphlet was later reprinted by the Workers' Education Bureau. Pamphlets containing the outlines of other courses are planned to follow. These include *Economics and the Labor Movement*, by Sylvia Kopald; *Policies, Tactics, and*

Aims of the American Labor Movement, by David J. Saposs; *Social Institutions*, by Arthur Calhoun; and *Modern Economic Institutions*, by A. L. Wilbert. The weekly organs of the international union devote a page to education, giving the work of the Educational Department and outlines of courses, and discussing the aims and problems of the workers' education movement in general. The radical daily newspapers of New York City carry announcements and publicity material.

Together with the teachers, the Educational Department is endeavoring to develop a teaching method which suits adults. Special attention is given to the selection, arrangement, and presentation of subject material.

Recreation.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, through its affiliated Waist Makers' unions in New York and Philadelphia, conducts three summer homes for its members, Unity House, at Forest Park, Pa., Unity House, at Orvilla, Pa., and Villa Anita Garibaldi, on Staten Island, N. Y. Here many thousands take vacations and week-end trips, at rates that pay merely the cost of operation.

UNION HEALTH CENTER notice

Unique Institution.—The only trade union health department and clinic in the United States is the Union Health Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City.

The Center was established in 1920 by nine locals of the International. It is housed in its own four-story building at 131 East 17th Street, near the district where the members work. The purposes are to provide for members' instruction on health, physical examination on joining the locals and for life extension purposes, and medical examination and treatment for those who need it. The Center is organized on a self-supporting, cooperative basis. The sum of \$1 is charged for all examinations and treatments in the medical department. Fees in the dental, physio-therapeutic, X-ray, and eye-examination departments are based upon cost. The staff consists of a director, a trained nurse, two clerks and a book-keeper; 17 physicians attend the clinic. The drug store fills prescriptions at a customary rate of 25 to 35 cents. The total investment in building and equipment is \$112,455. The annual budget amounts to about \$29,000.

Work Done.—The Health Information Bureau in the Center helps members who seek information and advice on health

matters. A class of 40 to 50 workers receives instruction in first aid, dietetics, and other subjects. A well attended weekly Health Forum presents lectures by prominent physicians and experts. In 1923 a new class, in corrective exercise, was started. Pamphlets, calendars and other printed matter spread the gospel of health among the members.

The total number of examinations made was 15,767 in 1922, and 17,805 in 1923. Medical work alone during 1923 consisted of:

Table 69—Work of Union Health Center, 1923

Examination of applicants	3,368
General clinical examinations	5,289
Special clinical examinations	5,410
Examinations for sick benefit	1,029
Life extension examinations	605
Physio-therapeutic treatments	1,784
X-ray examinations	176
Other examinations	144
Received for drugs and first aid appliances.....	\$3,193

In addition the dental clinic had 4,502 patients, gave 26,788 treatments, and had an income of \$59,117.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Purpose and Management.—The Rand School of Social Science, in New York, is probably the oldest enterprise of its kind now in existence, having been established in 1906. "Its object," as stated in its Bulletin of 1922-1923, "is to offer to the general public facilities for studying the principles, purposes, methods, and problems of Socialism and organized labor, and at the same time to give to adherents of these movements such instruction and training as will help to make them more efficient workers for the cause." The school is an autonomous auxiliary to the working class movement in the United States, "as represented by the Socialist Party on the political field, and by the progressive organizations of labor on the field of industry." The American Socialist Society, nearly all of whose members are dues-paying members of the Socialist Party, annually elects a Board of Directors to supervise the operation of the institution. The school occupies about 60 per cent of the space in the People's House, a five-story and basement building, with an auditorium seating nearly 600 persons, class rooms, a large library and reading room, gymnasium, clubroom, and administration offices. The expenses run up to about \$50,000 a year, of which tuition fees constitute less than a third.

Fight against Lusk Laws.—Action was begun against the Rand School on October 24, 1921, for operating without the license required under the Lusk law. This law authorized state officials to decide the kind of schools which may exist in New York state. The state courts upheld the law, which, however, was repealed in 1923, following the election of Alfred E. Smith as governor.

Courses.—Study classes are held in Socialism, descriptive and theoretical economics, trade unionism, sociology, social statistics, physiology, psychology, history, economic geography, English, arithmetic, public speaking and parliamentary law. A number of lecture courses are also given in literature, drama, music, art, current events and other popular subjects. Instruction is offered in gymnastics and dancing.

A small full-time class follows an intensive course of study for a six months' term. The students devote practically their entire time to study, and are expected to spend twenty to twenty-four hours a week in class, and more than that in study and preparation. A three-year part-time training course, the first year of which is a preparatory course, is also given. Each grade involves six hours a week of class work or more, through a term of 32 weeks. There are a number of scholarships for both the full-time and part-time courses to members of the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, the needle trades' unions, and others.

The Rand School Library and reading room contains over 6,000 bound volumes, mostly on Socialism, labor, social science, philosophy and science. It has a good collection of original sources, reports and pamphlets on the Socialist and labor movement of the United States and foreign countries. It also carries a fairly complete file of current periodicals on the working class movement.

The students are almost entirely wage-workers of both sexes, over 21 years of age, and form a mixed industrial and nationality group. The total enrollment in all study and lecture courses in the season of 1923-24 was over 2,300. The educational director is Algernon Lee, and the executive secretary is Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly.

The Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers, the Furriers' Union, and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers have approved the plans worked out in a series of preliminary conferences for the organization of a Labor Education Council to coordinate the efforts of their

¹See p. 206.

unions and of the Rand School in systematic educational work.

The Rand Book Store helps to distribute by its sales Socialist and radical literature, and to assist the school financially. It carries the standard works and new publications in social science and literature, as well as the radical books, periodicals and pamphlets. It conducts a growing mail-order business.

Research Department.—A Labor Research Department is also connected with the school. The department maintains a research library, answers inquiries on labor matters, and has issued five numbers of the *American Labor Year Book*.

Camp Tamiment.—In 1921 the Rand School opened its summer camp, Camp Tamiment, situated on a tract of 2,200 acres of woodland and lake at Bushkill, Pa. The camp adjoins the grounds of Unity House, maintained by the International Ladies' Garment Workers for their members. In the three seasons of its existence, upwards of 5,000 people have enjoyed the open-air life of the camp and its athletic facilities. Lecture courses are given through the summer by members of the Rand School staff and others. Sociology, psychology, psycho-analysis, social problems, literature, the drama, and astronomy are among the subjects which have been presented. The camp is a source of income to the school.

LOCAL AND STATE ACTIVITY

Boston.—The Boston Trade Union College, one of the oldest in the country, was opened in 1921 to all workers, organized or unorganized. The Boston Central Labor Union, the students, and the faculty send delegates to the Board of Control, which runs the college. Several hundred students are registered yearly. A student association shows considerable interest in the work of the college. Courses in literature, economics, public speaking, and similar subjects are given.

Denver.—The Denver Labor College is open to any one, whether carrying a union card or not. Tuition is \$2 for a course of 12 weeks. In 1923 the attendance reached 200. The subjects include psychology, public speaking, science, co-operative movement, economics, English, labor law, world history, shop arithmetic, current events and foundations of politics.

New York.—Under the Educational Committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council, another attempt was made in

the autumn of 1923 to establish a labor college for the general trade union membership. Six-week courses were conducted in labor and the law with 18 students, and in public speaking and parliamentary law with 33 students. A fee of \$2 was charged for each course. Plans are under way to extend the number of courses, and to organize a governing committee on which each union interested in the work will be represented.

Philadelphia.—The Philadelphia Trade Union College was started through the efforts of the Woman's Trade Union League. In 1922 it had a registration of 130, and the year before just under 100. A series of 10-week classes were given, the students being mainly interested in economics.

Portland, Ore.—The Portland Labor College, opened in 1921 under the auspices of the Central Labor Council, grew until in 1923 there was an enrollment of 135. Financial support is secured through a tax levied by the unions to the amount of 12 cents per member per year. In return the unions secure scholarships in the ratio of one for each \$2.50 contributed. A Board of Representatives, composed of one member from each local union, oversees the school. A unique activity of the college is the Portland Labor College Players, which gave four public performances during the season.

Rochester.—In Rochester, N. Y., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Shoe Workers, neither of which is affiliated with the A. F. of L., are a part of the Labor College, together with certain A. F. of L. unions. Some classes in economics and labor problems have been given, and lecturers have been assigned to the business meetings of local unions.

Washington, D. C.—The Washington Trade Union College, founded in 1919, is controlled by a Board of Delegates from affiliated unions, which elects the officers and Board of Directors. Fees from affiliated unions and from associate members, who may or may not belong to trade unions, finance the college. Classes in English, economics, literature, and mathematics have been given. Lectures have been conducted in the meetings of the central body, which, together with the Building Trades Council and many other unions, is affiliated.

State Efforts.—In Pennsylvania, President James H. Maurer, of the State Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau, has energetically and actively helped to

found labor colleges in the state, and to send labor teachers into various communities. The Federation keeps a full time educational director in the field, organizing, advising, and assisting practical efforts in workers' education. In Colorado, through the efforts of the State Federation and the Denver Labor College, a state educational director is also in the field for the same purposes as in Pennsylvania.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers.—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers conducted three forums in New York City. Leaflets were distributed to arouse interest in the lectures. Courses of lectures were given to local unions or groups, and an Active Workers' School was conducted with classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, trade unionism, psychology as related to economics and trade unionism, politics, history of civilization, modern literature, and theories of life. In April, 1922, there was an enrollment of close to 500 students in all classes.

In Rochester also the Amalgamated Clothing Workers conducted a weekly forum, with some entertainment to help attract the people for the serious talks. The meetings started with singing by the audience, led by a song leader, with the words on the screen. Basket ball games, bowling, a summer cottage, picnics, swimming and walking clubs, helped to keep up interest. About seven classes, in labor problems, public speaking, and social science were given. Every new member who joined the A. C. W. in Rochester was required to attend two classes on the principles of unionism.

The Chicago unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers spend about \$12,000 a year for mass lectures and concerts, with a symphony orchestra. Certain of the Chicago locals conduct forums in addition. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has published a number of valuable pamphlets, and issued a 1923 and 1924 almanac and a calendar, which are of unusual artistic merit.

Amherst Classes for Workers.—In the days when President Meiklejohn was still at Amherst, the academic institution cooperated with the Central Labor Unions of Springfield and Holyoke, Mass., in running some classes for workers, in economics and politics.

Bryn Mawr.—The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry is held at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania. The school held its first session in 1921. Courses are given in economics, social history, modern industrial society, English, literature, general science, hygiene, psychology, and

appreciation of music. In the three years of its existence 275 working women have attended. Control of the school rests with a joint administrative committee of 36 people, 15 from different parts of the college, 15 from women in industry selected by the alumnae of the summer school, and six selected by these 30.

Workers' Party.—Schools for the instruction of Workers' Party members and other interested persons were opened in Chicago and New York in 1923. The Chicago school offered 18-week courses in revolutionary policy and in history of the American labor movement. The New York school arranged 12-week terms, with courses in economic theory, applied economics, Marxism, trade union history, history of revolutions, history of the three Internationals, American history, English, and social forces in literature. An attendance of 120 was recorded.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Organization.—The League for Industrial Democracy was organized in November, 1921, as the successor to the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, formed in 1905.

In its reorganization the League broadened its basis of membership to include among its regular members non-collegians as well as collegians. It admits to regular membership those who believe in "a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." It admits to auxiliary membership those interested in the work of the League but not committed to any particular economic or political point of view. The work of the League includes among other things the following:

Study Groups.—The League organizes and strengthens discussion groups in colleges and centers of population. It has affiliated city groups in Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Paul, and New York City, and college groups in Columbia, Cornell, Yale, Dartmouth, Vassar, Wellesley, Oberlin, the Universities of Maine, Indiana, and other colleges. College chapters are not committed to any social program, but merely to the development of a better understanding of the problems of industrial democracy.

Lectures.—The League schedules lectures before college and city groups. During the autumn of 1923 Paul Blanchard, Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, and many other speakers addressed university audiences under the auspices

of the League. Paul Blanshard, the field secretary, addressed 15,000 students in some 36 colleges and student conferences.

Pamphleteering.—Among the pamphlets of the League are: *The Challenge of Waste* by Stuart Chase; *The Challenge of War* by Norman Thomas; *Irrepressible America* by Scott Nearing; *The Intellectual and the Labor Movement* and *Accumulation of Capital* by George Soule, and *Public Ownership Here and Abroad* and *Recent Developments in the Labor Movement* by Harry W. Laidler. Other pamphlets in the course of preparation are: *The Profit Motive in Industry* by Harry F. Ward; *The Amalgamation Movement* by Benjamin Stolberg; *The Denial of Civil Liberties in Non-Union Mining Districts* by Winthrop D. Lane, and *What Is Industrial Democracy?* by Norman Thomas.

Research Work.—Research work is done on current industrial and social problems, the results of which are used in pamphlets and in other ways.

Conferences.—Student and non-student conferences are organized on labor problems, problems of social ownership, and the like.

The student and city membership of the League is about 2,500. The officers include Robert Morss Lovett, president; James H. Maurer, Vida D. Scudder, Vladimir Karapetoff, and Evans Clark, vice-presidents; Norman Thomas, chairman of the Executive Committee; Harry W. Laidler, director; Paul Blanshard, field secretary.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WORKERS' EDUCATION

Countries Represented.—The First International Conference on Workers' Education was held at Uccle, Belgium, near Brussels, August 16-17, 1922. About 30 delegates were present from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States—twelve countries in all. The American delegates were Spencer Miller, Jr., and Fannia M. Cohn, secretary and vice-president, respectively, of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Discussions and Decisions.—In nearly all countries, in spite of the hardships and reaction of the period after the war, keen interest was reported. Views were exchanged on

policy, experience in methods of teaching, and results achieved. The main means of attracting the workers were the trade union and Socialist press, leaflets, and local committees. The principal difficulty encountered was lack of interest on the part of the trade union movement. Minor variations existed in courses of study, but in every country classes were held in economics, social, industrial, economic, and political history, and aims, problems, and methods of the labor movement. Qualifications usually considered essential for teachers, in addition to academic requirements, were knowledge of the labor movement and sympathy with the ultimate aims of labor. Exchange of students between various countries was advocated, in spite of recognized difficulties, as a means of developing international unity. The Central Workers' Educational Committee of Belgium (*Centrale d' Education Ouvriere*) was requested to maintain relations between the organizations represented, until the next conference in 1924, when a formal international organization might be set on foot. It was decided to consult the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions on the possibility of setting up a permanent clearing house for the workers' education movement. In response to this suggestion the Amsterdam Federation has established an Educational Department, with John W. Brown as secretary, which sends out a weekly letter on *International Educational Notes*.

IX. LABOR BANKING

GROWTH OF LABOR BANKS

Number and Resources.—One of the most extraordinary developments in the American labor movement, during the last three years, has been the growth in number and resources of banks, owned and controlled by labor organizations and their members. The following table shows how extensive the movement has become:

Table 70—Labor Banks in the United States, 1923

<i>Name of Bank and Location</i>	<i>Year Found- ed</i>	<i>Labor Organi- zation in Control</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Resources</i>
Commonwealth Mutual Savings Bank of Milwaukee, Wis.		Cooperative	.....	\$931,981.09
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, 1920 Washington, D. C.	1920	Machinists	\$160,000	2,689,182.00
Brotherhood of Locomotive En- gineers Cooperative Nation- al Bank, Cleveland, Ohio	1920	Locomotive En- gineers	1,000,000	24,738,772.98
People's Cooperative State Bank, Hammond, Indiana	1920	Locomotive En- gineers	50,000	1,289,258.91
Federated Bank and Trust Co., 1922 Birmingham, Ala.	1922	Locomotive En- gineers	500,000	.....
Brotherhood of Locomotive En- gineers Cooperative Trust Co., New York City	1923	Locomotive En- gineers	500,000	.....
Brotherhood Trust and Savings Bank, San Bernardino, Cal., with branches at Barstow and Needles, California	1922	Railroad Brotherhoods	200,000	.....
Labor National Bank of Mon- tana, Three Forks	1922	Railroad Brotherhoods	25,000	.....
Transportation Brotherhoods' National Bank, Minneapolis, Minn.	1923	Railroad Brotherhoods	200,000	.....
Brotherhood Cooperative Na- tional Bank, Spokane, Wash.	1923	Railroad unions	200,000	1,051,991.19
Potomac Trust Company, Po- tomac, Va.	1923	Railroad unions	.....	.....
Brotherhood Savings and Trust Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.	1923	Railroad unions	125,000	.....
Fraternity Trust Co., Harris- burgh, Pa.	1923	Railroad and other unions	200,000	.....
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks National Bank, Cincinnati, Ohio	1923	Brotherhood of R'way Clerks	1,000,000	.....
Amalgamated Trust and Sav- ings Bank, Chicago, Ill.	1922	Amalg. Cloth- ing Workers	200,000	2,552,968.85
Amalgamated Bank of New York, New York City	1923	Amalg. Cloth- ing Workers	200,000	2,622,855.62
Federation Bank of New York, New York City	1923	Labor groups	250,000	3,719,158.91
Cooperative Bank and Trust Co., Tucson, Ariz.	1922	Labor groups	70,000	.....
Producers' & Consumers' Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.	1922	Labor groups	155,831	.....
Telegraphers' National Bank, St. Louis, Mo.	1923	Telegraphers	500,000	2,173,094.00
International Union Bank, New York City	1924	Ladies' Garment Workers and Needle Trades	500,000	.....

In addition to these labor banks in operation or about to open at the end of 1923, the Locomotive Engineers control a bank in Nottingham, Ohio, about which no information is at hand, and they will soon open another in Boston, Mass. A labor bank with a capitalization of \$1,000,000 will soon be opened in Indianapolis, Ind., of which John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers is president. A number of labor organizations and central bodies have taken steps to establish labor banks in a number of other cities. At the present time, from the information available, there are in all labor banks, exclusive of the Brotherhood Investment Co., of which more will be said, total resources of approximately \$50,000,000. The Mt. Vernon Savings Bank of the Machinists was the first bank owned by a trade union, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, begun in November, 1920, is the largest. The Federation Bank of New York has the second largest amount of total resources in any single labor bank in the country. The two Amalgamated Clothing Workers' banks in Chicago and New York have resources approaching \$6,000,000.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LABOR BANKS

Special Features.—The distinctive features of labor banks as contrasted with the ordinary commercial banks are as follows:

1. Ownership and control by labor;
2. Limitation on dividends to stockholders;
3. Higher rates of interest on deposits;
4. Dividends to depositors;
5. Resources and safeguards;
6. Special advantages to trade unions;
7. Special services to workingmen.

Ownership and Control by Labor.—The labor banks are owned and controlled by labor unions and their membership. The majority of the voting stock is in the hands of the labor union or unions. These bodies, as well as the individual stockholders of the bank, have the same financial obligation to depositors in case of bankruptcy that any other bank stockholders have, namely, responsibility for twice the value of the stock held.

Labor banks are chartered like other banks, under federal or state law. They are as rigorously examined as any other banks of the same class. The boards of directors and the officers are labor union officials, practical bankers, and others who are selected for their financial or political influence, and

their sympathy with labor. The majority of each board, however, is made up of labor men. The administration and business operations of the bank are in the hands of experienced bankers, together with officers of the union or unions in control. No individual can own more than a limited number of bank shares, usually three, a provision which distributes ownership. The union as an organization runs the bank, and "statements of condition" are given through the labor press and in the officers' reports to the membership, as well as to depositors.

Limitation on Dividends to Stockholders.—Labor banks limit the dividends payable to their stockholders to a maximum of 10 per cent. In the case of the original stockholders' investment in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Co-operative National Bank at Cleveland, this amounts to approximately only 9 per cent. In the first and second years, dividends at the rate of 6 and 8 per cent, respectively, were paid by the Cleveland bank. The labor banks, without exception so far as known, have had considerable financial success.

Higher Rates of Interest on Deposits.—Depositors in labor banks are usually given 4 per cent interest on their savings, which constitute the bulk of the deposits of these banks. In addition, they receive part of the bank earnings. The interest rate on checking accounts, in the Cleveland bank of the Engineers and others, is 2 per cent on a daily balance above \$500. Interest on savings and checking accounts is paid from the first day.

At the end of 1923 the Brotherhood bank of Cleveland had approximately 10,500 checking accounts, and about twice that number of savings accounts. At about the same time the Amalgamated Bank of New York, opened in April, 1923, had 1,614 checking accounts and 4,794 savings accounts. On November 1, 1923, demand deposits at the Engineers' Bank amounted to \$3,587,951.64, and savings deposits to \$18,525,483.14. The labor banks are depositories of state and city governments. The Amalgamated Bank of New York is a member of the Federal Reserve system, and all are enabled to rediscount with the Federal Reserve banks. The Federation Bank of New York is a member of the Federal Reserve system, and announces that it has been selected as a depository for the funds of retail merchants, local and international unions, employers, employers' associations, political, patriotic, fraternal, and religious organizations, the state and city of

New York, court and trust funds of New York county, and for United States postal savings.

Dividends to Depositors.—Over and above the 4 per cent interest paid to savings depositors and 2 per cent on checking accounts beyond \$500 or \$1,000, labor banks have made it a practice to pay dividends to depositors. A. E. Barnes, vice-president of the Cleveland bank, writes that

after setting aside a substantial portion of the net earnings for the mutual benefit of the stockholders and depositors, the remainder is returned to the depositors in the form of a cash dividend. The amount paid to the stockholders for the last half of 1923 and amount paid to the depositors is approximately the same. This recognition of the rights of the depositor to share in the net earnings is a feature that is looked upon as highly commendable by an ever growing group of depositors.

Resources and Safeguards.—The reports of the Federation Bank of New York, the Amalgamated Bank of New York, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, Ohio, rendered at or near the close of 1923, showed the following:

Of total resources of \$3,719,158.91 of the Federation Bank, \$2,294,347.51 represents loans and discounts, "mostly secured and eligible for re-discount at the Federal Reserve Bank." Of total resources of \$2,622,855.63 for the Amalgamated Bank, \$1,032,943.50 represents loans and discounts. And of the \$24,734,772.98 resources of the Brotherhood bank, loans on demand are \$5,131,423.78, and other loans and discounts are \$3,595,973.89, or a total of \$8,727,397.67.

Cash and due from banks in the Federation Bank totals \$448,887.63, \$316,953.59 for the Amalgamated Bank, and \$2,907,463.04 for the Brotherhood Bank.

United States government and other bonds and securities amount to \$942,105.21 for the Federation Bank, \$1,262,315.47 for the Amalgamated Bank, and \$12,746,000.23 for the Brotherhood Bank.

Labor banks are conservatively run. One important safeguard, in addition to those of a financial or legal nature, exists for them. Labor officials in control are responsible not only as bank officials, but they hold responsible positions in their labor unions. They will not place these positions in jeopardy nor will they threaten the stability of the unions. The labor men, therefore, have surrounded themselves with competent practical bankers to help run their banks. The labor leaders are also showing ability to run labor banks. In an address to the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Warren S. Stone, president of the Engineers' Bank of Cleveland, said that conducting a bank

was as difficult as running a peanut stand or grocery store. He also predicted that if the workers would build up their own banks, they would control the financial power of the country in 10 years. The market value of the stock of labor banks is an indication of the resources, as well as the earning power of these institutions. Despite limitations on the dividends to stockholders, this value is in excess of par.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers owns two office buildings in Cleveland worth approximately \$5,000,000, it has \$195,500,000 of insurance in force in its various fraternal insurance organizations, and its annual disbursements exceed \$4,000,000. It has lost no money on any of its investments. The labor organizations controlling the other banks have assets running into the tens of millions of dollars. In the Brotherhood Bank, as well as the others, so far as known, no loans or profits of any kind are permitted to any officer, director, or employee of the bank. The books of the banks are audited daily, and all employees are bonded. The temptation to take risks is definitely reduced by the limitation on dividends to stockholders.

Special Advantages to Trade Unions.—Labor banks are more than financial conveniences. They are investments. They earn profits on the union's money, which amount to more than the interest which would be received if the defense and insurance funds, often running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, were to remain in commercial banks. They assist trade unions and other progressive movements which otherwise might not be able to secure funds. Thus W. F. McCaleb, who has helped establish a number of labor banks including the Engineers' Bank of Cleveland, stated in an address before the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, who now have a bank of their own:

We have been fighting the open shop movement in Cleveland from the first, and have supported a lot of unions there, and have financed a number of them. We saved the Bank of North Dakota from failure by loaning them \$50,000, which has been paid. They would have closed the bank if we had not bought \$50,000 of their bonds and loaned them \$50,000. . . . We loaned \$500,000 to the wheat farmers in the West, when the scamps in Minneapolis were cutting their throats. And all that money has been paid back to us. . . . I have succeeded in financing, for the Maintenance of Way people in Detroit, their building. . . . I got a \$1,250,000 loan financed, underwritten, . . . [Despite the strenuous opposition of the San Bernardino, California, Chamber of Commerce] the workers of San Bernardino . . . have [their] bank . . . because the money they lacked was forthcoming from the Engineers' Bank in Cleveland.

In time of strike, the pressure of banks on individual employers, by withholding credit facilities, may be somewhat lifted by labor banks. Commercial banks have used and have

been used by employers and employers' associations in various cities to defeat labor. In Los Angeles and San Francisco certain banks will not even receive communications bearing the union label. The opportunity offered to labor to move its funds to labor banks is one means of compelling the banks and their directors to go slow in lining up with Citizens' Committees as in the Chicago building trades dispute which followed the Landis award. The means at the disposal of labor to finance fair employers is another means of improving labor conditions. Credit can also be extended to enterprises set up by labor unions or cooperatives, if they are shown to be sound.

Special Services to Workingmen.—Labor banks assist workers who might not be inclined to trust their money to private bankers, to become informed on banking facilities. For those who do not speak English, there are interpreters. Representatives of important nationalities are on the boards of directors, and among the officers of the bank. The Amalgamated banks in Chicago and New York have a distinct service for those whose relatives are in Russia: the transmission of money to the Soviet country, to be paid out in American dollars. They have transmitted nearly \$3,000,000 in this way. A steamship ticket agency business of considerable proportions has developed. Labor banks are assisting through mortgage and real estate as well as bond departments to place the money of their depositors in safe and lucrative channels. Depositors and others are helped to build or purchase homes. Small loans are made to many who do not go to commercial banks for them, and who would ordinarily not be able to secure accommodations there. The hours of labor banks are suited to the needs of working people. The Federation Bank of New York is open from 9 a. m. to 9. p. m. on weekdays, and on Saturday until 5 p. m. The banks are located in the industrial sections where the workers are employed.

ADDITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Brotherhood Investment Company.—The Brotherhood Investment Company, chartered in December, 1922, is capitalized at \$10,000,000. Fifty-one per cent of the voting stock is owned by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as an organization. The corporation has sold the full amount of \$10,000,000 7 per cent cumulative preferred stock, and has given away free 1 share of common stock of no par value with

every two of preferred purchased. There are 100,000 shares of this common stock. The Board of Directors of the Brotherhood Investment Company is practically the same as that of the Cleveland bank. The company has about 14,000 stockholders, with 75 per cent of the value of the stock in the hands of the Engineers' organization and its members. Some 20 per cent was sold to other than working people, including some prominent business men. The sales expense, direct and indirect, in selling the stock amounted to a fraction above $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The Brotherhood Investment Company has two main functions: (1) it buys and holds stocks of banks and trust companies; (2) it deals in high-grade investment securities. Its headquarters are in Cleveland, and in 1923 it had branches in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Kansas City, Mo., and Milwaukee.

As a holding company, the Brotherhood Investment Company owns the majority of voting stock of several of the Engineers' banks. It also owns a substantial block of the stock of the Empire Trust Company, of New York City. The Empire Trust Company is not a labor bank and has no limitations on the amount of dividends to be paid out to stockholders. The Engineers' company is represented in the management, and is thus in close contact with an influential New York bank. As an investment company, the Brotherhood Investment Company buys and sells and underwrites high-grade securities, and has paid a quarterly dividend of 7 per cent. The common stock, which was given away free, has already some market value. The Investment Company has a clientele of about 90,000 members of the Engineers' Brotherhood to start with. Through its investment and credit operations the Investment Company is able to play a part in numerous large financial and industrial transactions.

International Union Bank.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers, the Capmakers, Furriers, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Forward Association, perfected plans to open a bank in New York City on January 5, 1924. The bank was to open with a capital and surplus of \$500,000. Abraham Baroff, secretary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was made president, Philip R. Rodriguez vice-president and general manager, and Philip Kaplowitz cashier. The Board of Directors includes Abraham Baroff, Joseph Breslaw, Joseph Fish, Israel Feinberg, Jacob Heller, Morris Hillquit,

Philip Kaplowitz, Morris Kaufman, Louis Levy, Salvatore Ninfo, Isadore Schoenholtz, Morris Sigman, B. C. Vladeck, Ossip Wolinsky, and Max Zuckerman. This bank is exclusively a labor venture. The directors of the International Union Bank serve without compensation. It is a state bank and is under the supervision of the Banking Department of New York state.

The financial backing of the bank, besides the capital and surplus, includes properties in which the unions own equities of more than \$1,000,000. These properties include the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., Italian Labor Center, 231 East 14th Street, Headgear Workers' Lyceum, 210 East Fifth Street, Cloakmakers' Building, 130 East 25th Street, Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th Street, International Building, 3 West 16th Street, Fur Workers' Building, 22 East 22nd Street, and the Waist Makers' Building, 16 East 21st Street.

X. COOPERATION

TWO YEARS' DEVELOPMENTS

Cooperatives Hold Ground.—The Cooperative League of America, the official union of cooperative societies in the United States, reported at its latest convention in 1922 a total affiliation of 289 societies with a membership of 82,000 and an annual turnover of \$35,000,000. Of the 3,000 societies in the United States three years ago, but a small fraction failed during the business depression of 1921 and 1922.

Fraudulent Societies Cleared Out.—One noteworthy advance has been in the decrease of "fake" and fanciful undertakings. A year or two ago these schemes had large support from labor organizations, and their promoters were busy discrediting the honest cooperators. Now they have almost melted away. In the Middle West there survives a continuation of one of these fraudulent societies with "cooperative" banking schemes, but only the very poorly informed are putting their money into these projects.

Farmers' Cooperation.—The farmers continue to promote cooperative societies with signal success. The Grange, the Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, are especially active in this work. The Grange at its national convention in November, 1923, passed resolutions strongly favoring cooperative organization, and endorsed a bill for cooperative marketing and for consumers' organization which they are pressing in Congress.

A marketing method has been promoted among the farmers under the name of the "California Plan" which has carried with it depreciation of Rochdale cooperation, close alliance with big financial interests, and large fees and salaries for the promoters and staff. This has given the farmers some immediate results. The farmer, however, cannot be taught to join hands with the middle man and big financier, omitting any consideration of the consumer, without sooner or later coming to grief. Yet that is what seems to be the tendency under the California Plan.

The prevailing form of cooperative marketing association in the United States is modelled on the Rochdale plan. These associations usually buy farm products from members and frequently from other producers for resale. The profits are

distributed among members who furnish capital in business. Through these organizations, financed with their own money and supported and managed by themselves, the farmers of the United States are conducting almost every sort of business in any way connected with their activities or needs. The number of these societies is very large—over 5,000. For the past five years, the combined yearly turnover averaged about \$2,000,000,000. They have, in spite of many failures, increased in numbers and grown in usefulness, have forced the payment of fair prices for grain and other produce at local shipping stations and have abolished the worst forms of profiteering by dealers in farmers' supplies.

Freedom from Outside Control.—In the New England states the cooperative movement has hitherto had its strength among the Finns. Political dissensions have greatly impaired these societies. The most recent development in New England is the growth of successful cooperative consumers' bakeries among the Jewish workers.

In the middle and Eastern states, strong societies continue to flourish. Such organizations as the Purity Bakery in Paterson, N. J., Our Cafeteria in New York, and many of the store societies, have made steady advances in membership and business. Experience is showing that cooperative societies are most successful when free from every sort of influence external to the cooperative movement.

The societies in the Northern states and among the farmers in the Middle West are steadily growing in strength and understanding. The Rochdale societies among the industrial workers in these sections are generally strong and successful. A reorganization among the 50 or more substantial societies in Illinois is now in progress. An educational director is doing effective work.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

Cooperative Schools.—One of the most significant developments of the past year was the cooperative training school conducted by the Northern States League at Minneapolis. This school gave an intensive full time course of five weeks in one of the buildings of the Franklin Cooperative Association. It conducted courses on the history, theory, and principles of cooperation, bookkeeping and accounting, store management, and administration of other cooperative enterprises. Twenty-two students attended.

Another successful cooperative school is that conducted in

Finnish by the Cooperative Central Exchange (a federation of 55 societies of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and northern Michigan, at Superior, Wis.). In 1923, 34 students attended the fifth session of the school for the first five weeks and several managers and bookkeepers came for "post graduate" work the sixth week.

In addition to these schools, the Cooperative League gives its course of instruction each year at the Cooperative League House in New York. The class in 1923 consisted of 35 students. The course covers a period of two months.

HOUSING AND BANKING

Cooperative Housing.—An increasing interest is being taken in cooperative housing. Cooperative housing societies have been confused with all sorts of spurious housing schemes promoted by real estate speculators, but the education that is going on is clarifying the matter so that the people are coming to understand what cooperative housing means. In one section of New York City are 25 of these societies with apartment houses. In Brooklyn, N. Y., the Scandinavian housing associations own 20 buildings for 308 families. The societies have also bought old tenement houses, remodelled, and repaired them. In this way rents have been reduced nearly half. In another part of New York City 24 tenants organized a cooperative society, thus saving in rental from \$30 to \$50 a month. Many similar cooperative apartments exist throughout the country.

The Garden Homes Association, promoted by Socialist Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee, is developing well. This begins with non-cooperative control but ultimately becomes cooperative. Up to date about 100 detached or semi-detached houses have been constructed, worth about \$4,500 each. Each tenant pays about \$300 as share capital, and then pays monthly charges, starting for a six-room house at \$50. At the end of 20 years the monthly cost to the tenant will be reduced to \$22.50. He will have paid off all loans and acquired share capital equal to the value of his home by means of this partial payment plan. As in all true cooperative housing, the tenant does not buy an apartment or house. He buys shares in the society, and rents from the society the house or apartment he wishes.

Cooperative Banking.—Cooperative banking, as such, is going forward slowly with education work and some organization. It is promoted chiefly by the National Cooperative

Banking Committee of the Cooperative League and by the Credit Union National Extension Bureau. The effective banking institutions which have been organized by many trade unions¹ are as yet in no sense cooperative in method. Cooperative banking is strongest in Massachusetts, where there are over 80 cooperative or people's banks with 3,500 members and \$5,000,000 resources. New York state has over 39 of these credit societies. They are found in the Southern and Western states in smaller numbers.

MILK AND LAUNDRIES

Milk Distribution.—Among the most servicable consumers' cooperative ventures is that of milk distribution, already in operation in a number of American cities: Franklin Cooperative of Minneapolis; City Cooperative Dairy of Cleveland; Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan, Ill.; United Cooperative of Maynard, Mass.; United Cooperative of Fitchburg, Mass.; Cooperative Central Exchange of Superior, Wis., and others.

Among the most successful of these is the Franklin Cooperative of Minneapolis. It was organized in the fall of 1919 by a number of locked-out milk drivers and dairy employees. In 1923 it operated 85 routes, had a membership of over 6,000, and distributed milk to half the population of Minneapolis. It does a business of \$3,000,000 a year and has some 150 wagons. The Cooperative Dairy of Waukegan, organized in 1911 as a consumers' cooperative, was later joined by the farmers who were desirous of getting better prices for their products. Thus the cooperative dairy is run now to the mutual benefit of both consumers and producers.

One of the results of the bettered milk supply is the lowering of the infant mortality rate as well as of typhoid fever deaths.

Cooperative Laundries.—Success of cooperative laundries in the United States has not been so uniform as in other cooperative ventures. Seven cooperative laundries reported business to the amount of \$200,000 ranging from \$7,000 to \$96,000 a year. Due to expensive machinery, competition with non-cooperative laundries, and lack of interest by the membership, few of these laundries report profits, and they present many problems to be solved before success can be assured.

¹See page 233.

XI. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LABOR

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Purpose and Affiliations.—The International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters at Amsterdam, is an alliance of national trade union federations in the various countries, and of international trade union "Secretariats" or federations of national unions in specific trades. Practically all members are thus represented in two ways—through the secretariats of their trades, and through their national federations. As a rule, no union is allowed to join a secretariat unless it is affiliated with the official national federation in its country.

The following national federations, with the membership shown, were affiliated with the Federation on December 31, 1922:

Table 71—National Federations Affiliated with International Federation of Trade Unions

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Federation</i>	<i>Membership, Dec. 31, 1922.</i>
Austria	Gewerkschaftskommission Deutschoester-reichs	1,049,949
Belgium	Commission Syndicale	618,871
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Federation of Trade Unions	14,803 ¹
Canada	Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	117,814
Czechoslovakia	Odborové Sdružení Československé	400,000
Denmark	De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark	232,574
France	Confédération Générale du Travail	757,847
Germany	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund	7,908,516
	Allgemeiner Freier Angestelltenbund	667,898
Great Britain	Trades Union Congress	4,369,268
Hungary	Ungarlandischer Gewerkschaftsrat	202,956
Italy	Confederazione Generale del Lavoro	1,128,915 ²
Latvia	Zentralbüro der Gewerkschaften Lettlands	12,350
Luxemburg	Commission Syndicale de Luxembourg	12,100
Netherlands	Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen	201,045
Palestine	General Federation of Jewish Labor	8,000
Peru	Centro Internacional Obrero de Solidaridad Latino-Americana	25,000 ¹
Poland	Komisja Centralna Zwiaskow Zawodowych	411,056
South Africa	South African Industrial Federation	50,000
Spain	Union General de Trabajadores de Espana	239,861
Sweden	Landssekretariatet	292,917
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund	152,191
Yugoslavia	Gewerkschaftsbund Jugoslaviens	50,000 ¹
Total:		18,923,931

¹For December 31, 1921.

²For first half of 1922.

When the International Federation of Trade Unions was organized in July, 1919, at Amsterdam, the American Federation of Labor took part in the proceedings. It withdrew in 1921.¹ Negotiations are, however, still being conducted between the International and the A. F. of L. When the last congress of the I. F. T. U. was held in April, 1922, at Rome, Italy, the following organizations were affiliated which are not shown in the foregoing list:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Federation</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Greece	Confédération Générale du Travail	170,000 ²
Norway	Faglige Landsorganization in Norge	150,000
Argentine	Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina	749,518

There had been heavy losses in membership from July 1, 1921, to December 31, 1922, in the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, the Confédération Générale du Travail of France, and in the national federations of labor in Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Canada. The total membership of the I. F. T. U. for July, 1921, was 23,907,059, while on December 31, 1922, it was 18,923,931.

The International Trade Secretariats, which were affiliated with the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions on December 31, 1922, included the following:

Table 72—Trade Secretariats Affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Bookbinders	193,280	Metal Workers	3,257,211
Building Workers	1,146,881	Miners	2,128,800
Carpenters	113,410	Musicians	52,550 ³
Clothing Workers	372,261	Painters	87,182
Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees.	809,087	Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers..	508,700
Diamond Workers	18,633	Printing Trades Workers	178,543
Factory Workers	1,955,590	Public Service Workers.	427,027
Food and Drink Trades Workers	564,141	Shoe and Leather Work- ers	345,733
Furriers	24,244	Stone Workers	149,319
Glass Workers	134,322 ¹	Textile Workers	1,695,078
Hairdressers	13,118	Tobacco Workers	180,065
Hatters	60,457	Transport Workers	2,316,434
Hotel and Restaurant Workers	174,600	Wood Workers	839,821
Land Workers	954,458		
Lithographers	44,435	Total	18,745,380

Rome Congress, 1922.—The latest biennial Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was held at Rome, April 20-26, 1922. There were 102 delegates representing

¹See p. 61.

²July, 1921.

³December 31, 1921.

20 countries, and 36 fraternal delegates representing 23 trade secretariats. Russia was not represented.

Economic Restoration of Europe.—A resolution adopted by the Rome Congress declares that the present international crisis "is the outcome of that economic nationalism, which has persistently failed to recognize the material and moral interdependence of nations and has been rendered more serious by the effects of speculation and the failure to regulate production in accordance with the vital needs of man; by the development of a super-capitalism." The workers of the world as organized in the I. F. T. U. demand (1) the removal of "the difficulties which the countries with depreciated currencies at present encounter in procuring raw materials for industrial purposes;" (2) the end of world imperialism; and (3) the organization, separately and collectively, by all nations of a "system of production which can be regulated in accordance with vital requirements . . . by putting all peoples in the position to employ to the full their labor resources."

World Reaction.—To stem the tide of world reaction, the Congress said that "the forces of reaction are having recourse to various pretexts in order to crush the working class movement by attacking especially the eight-hour day, wages, social legislation, and international conventions." It called for affiliation of all manual and non-manual workers with their national centers and with the I. F. T. U., and for the workers of Russia, America, and the Far East to establish a united front. It assured all national groups of the moral and material support of the Federation in all their struggles. A manifesto was ordered sent to all countries with the slogans: "Stand up for the eight-hour day," "No wage reductions," and "Defend the rights and liberties already won."

War and Militarism.—The Congress declared "that the fight against militarism and war and for world peace, based upon the fraternization of the peoples, is one of the principal tasks of the trade union movement which adopts the program of the overthrow of the capitalist system." The Bureau and Management Committee of the Federation have shown their determination at all times since the organization of the international body to vitalize and make effective the peace program of the organized workers, through the columns of the official magazine, *The International Trade Union Movement*,

the *Supplements*, the speeches and missions and correspondence, and resort to action as well as to words. The Congress further declared "that it is the task of the organized workers to counteract all wars which may threaten to break out in the future, with all the means at the disposal of the labor movement, and to prevent the actual outbreak of such wars by proclaiming and carrying out a general international strike." The resolution also calls for the proper education and preparation of the workers in each country so that "they will be willing and ready to respond to all appeals for working-class solidarity and when necessary to respond to the call of the International Federation of Trade Unions for an immediate withdrawal of labor in the event of an actual menace of war." The control, restriction, and reduction of the production of war materials by the International Trade Secretariats was applauded. The existing committee, made up of the Management Committee and one member of the Secretariats of Transport Workers, Miners, and Metal Workers, was ordered continued.

Working Women.—In a manifesto to the women of the world, the Congress called upon them to assist in the war against war, by joining their unions, and by the most active participation in and cooperation with working class organizations, to combat war. In a resolution specially dealing with the organization of working women, the Congress went on record urging the national labor federations to "devote their whole attention" to the unionization of women. It instructed the Bureau to report to the next Congress on the question of the relation between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Federation of Working Women, with the continuation of the existing friendly relations between the two organizations.

International Trade Secretariats.—The Congress declared that each national trade union should affiliate with its International Trade Secretariat. Special conferences are to be held between the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. and the secretaries of the Secretariats.

Relations with Red International of Labor Unions.—The Management Committee of the I. F. T. U. declared in a resolution adopted May 18-20, 1921, that "every organization which affiliates to the political trade union International of Moscow places itself automatically outside the I. F. T. U. . . . in particular, the International Trade Secretariats are

hereby instructed to apply these principles." At a subsequent meeting held August 3-4, 1923, the Management Committee received a letter from the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, and letters and resolutions from the International Transport Workers' Federation which had accepted the Russian Transport Workers who are affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. The Management Committee declared: (1) "trade union unity is of supreme importance" now; (2) "the hostile acts and attacks directed against the I. F. T. U., its affiliated organizations, and its leaders must cease once and for all;" (3) the "Russian workers must like the organized workers in the other countries declare their willingness to fight war and reaction in all its forms in their own land;" (4) the Management Committee will enter "into negotiation with the representatives of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions as soon as these can be regarded as the genuine mandatories of the Russian trade unions which have accepted the conditions;" (5) "the Trade Secretariats shall not, without previous consultation with the Executive of the I. F. T. U., take any action which may prejudice the decisions of the International Trade Union Congresses;" and (6) a conference of the Bureau with all the Trade Secretariats is to be held as soon as possible.

Finances.—The national federations were asked to grant a special subsidy for 1923 and for the period until the meeting of the next Congress set for June 2-7, 1924, in Vienna. The countries with depreciated currencies were asked to pay affiliation fees which bore the same proportion to their own income as was the case in 1919. The I. F. T. U. receives the equivalent of 1 cent per member per year from the affiliated national centers or federations of labor.

Constitutional Amendments.—The rules of the International Federation of Trade Unions were adopted at the first conference held in Amsterdam, in July, 1919. Amendments were made at the Rome Congress to change the personnel of the Bureau, to consist of one president, three vice-presidents, and the permanent secretaries, chosen as far as possible from different nations. Each member of the Management Committee is to have one substitute appointed at the biennial Congress, in the same manner as the members of the committee itself. The Management Committee, it was also agreed, was to be selected from the following grouping of countries; and the following representatives were selected:

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Members</i>
Canada and the United States	
Central and South America	
Great Britain	J. B. Williams
Belgium, Luxemburg, Netherlands	G. Solau
Spain, Portugal	F. L. Caballero
Italy	L. D'Aragona
Austria, Switzerland	A. Hueber
Germany	P. Grassmann
Russia, Baltic States	E. Morics
Czechoslovakia, Poland	R. Tayerle
Scandinavian countries	
Hungary, Balkan States	S. Jaszai
Australia, Oceania, South Africa	
India	
Japan, China, the Far East	
France	G. Dunoulin

The Bureau was reelected, with the addition of Leipart for Germany. Since the resignation of W. A. Appleton of Great Britain from the presidency in the first year of the International Federation, the Bureau has consisted of J. H. Thomas of Great Britain as president, L. Jouhaux of France and C. Mertens of Belgium as vice-presidents, and Edo Fimmen and Jan Oudegeest of Holland as secretaries. In 1923 Fimmen resigned.

The Ruhr.—On October 3, 1923, the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. met jointly with the Committee of the Socialist and Labor International at Brussels, and adopted a joint resolution demanding the following: "an amnesty for the workers of the Ruhr district, who have refused to work for the French and Belgian occupation; the reestablishment of intercourse between the occupied and unoccupied territory of Germany; the cancellation of the ordinance prescribing that German civil servants must take an oath of allegiance to the Franco-Belgian regime in the occupied territory; and lastly, the resumption of direct negotiations between Germany and the Allied countries." The I. F. T. U. has done all in its power to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr and the ending of the military occupation, once it took place.

Reparations.—The I. F. T. U. "has always demanded the prompt determination of Germany's real capacity to pay, the revision and cancellation of the inter-Allied debts, the floating of an international loan, and the pursuit of a policy of reparations in kind by the collaboration of French and German labor." It has demanded that the reparations question be submitted to the League of Nations.

Relief.—The Federation has sent money to the Japanese workers, and has helped the Russian, German, Austrian, Spanish, Italian, Balkan and Hungarian workers. It recently sent quinine to the value of 20,000 guilders to Georgia.

World Peace Congress.—The International Federation of Trade Unions took the initiative in calling a World Peace Congress, which was held at The Hague, December 10-15, 1922. The Second and the Vienna Socialist Internationals, pacifist organizations, the International Cooperative Alliance, the International Federation of Working Women, the Young Workers' International, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, various religious groups, and the I. F. T. U. were represented. Over 600 delegates from 24 countries attended. J. H. Thomas, secretary of the British National Union of Railwaymen and president of the I. F. T. U., was chairman.

A resolution on the task of the labor movement in the war against war called specifically for the general strike and the economic boycott, and proper preparations for their actual use. The Congress demanded the revision of the peace treaties, public control of the armaments industries, the admission of Germany into and the transformation of the League of Nations into "an all-embracing League of Peoples," and the abolition of secret treaties and secret diplomacy. It was decided to form a joint body to coordinate the efforts of all peace societies. The pacifist organizations were urged to unite their forces, remain independent of any government connections, and establish close relations with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Congress went on record in emphatic terms against the occupation of the Ruhr. A resolution on education detailed the forms of influencing the young against war, and urged the definite organization of women into political, trade union, and co-operative groups. The Russian delegation consisted of Radek, Losovsky, and Rothstein. They voted against all the resolutions on the grounds, (1) that the struggle against the ruling class in each country must precede the war against war, and (2) that the general strike could not be undertaken unless the workers were prepared for the civil war which would inevitably follow. Nine members of the German Federation of Peace Societies also voted against the resolution on the task of the pacifist organizations.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKING WOMEN

Second Congress.—The Second International Congress of Working Women, held at Geneva, October 17-26, 1921, adopted a constitution under the name International Federation of Working Women. It decided to admit working

women's organizations accepting the principles and aims of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It removed the headquarters to London, England. The following countries were represented with credentials from national trade union movements and therefore entitled to vote:

Great Britain	9 delegates	Switzerland	1 delegate
France	5 delegates	Cuba	1 delegate
United States	4 delegates	Czechoslovakia	1 delegate
Italy	2 delegates	Norway	1 delegate
Belgium	1 delegate	South Africa	1 delegate
Poland	1 delegate		

The Congress declared in favor of the eight-hour day, protection of women and children, improvement of housing conditions, measures to prevent unemployment in agriculture, prohibition of white lead in painting and preventive measures against anthrax, international action on unemployment, and total disarmament.

Third Congress.—The latest Congress met at Schoenbrunn, Austria, August 14-18, 1923, with delegates from the International Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated organizations in Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and the United States, together with fraternal delegates from Argentina, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Japan, and Rumania. The representative of the International Federation of Trade Unions stated that in the national organizations affiliated to Amsterdam there were in Germany 1,561,000 women members, in Great Britain 832,000, in Austria, 232,000 and in Italy (1921) 151,000. Considerable discussion developed at this Congress in reference to the relation between the international working women's organization and Amsterdam. The Congress decided that an international committee be set up, in agreement with the Amsterdam International, for the unionization of women; that a working women's international Congress be held at least once every two years; that the Federation should continue along the lines laid down at the second Congress until the affiliated organizations determined whether it should continue its independent existence. The American delegates spoke and voted in opposition, demanding that women workers be organized in separate trade unions and should not be affiliated with the Amsterdam International. The delegates of Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, and France, however, declared that women should join mixed unions and thus be affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The 1924 convention of the Amsterdam International will consider further the relationship between the two bodies.

The Congress approved the International Labor Organization and defended the International Labor Office, demanding governmental ratification of the draft conventions. Discussions followed on inspection of home work, family allowances, peace, unionization of working women, minimum wage, and international labor legislation. Miss Burniaux (Belgium) was elected president, succeeding Mrs. Raymond Robins, resigned. Margaret Bondfield of Great Britain and Mrs. Maud Swartz of America, among others, were chosen vice-presidents.

THE TRADE INTERNATIONALS

Relations with Amsterdam.—At the end of 1923 there were 28 International Trade Secretariats or Trade Internationals affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions.¹ At a meeting of the Trade Internationals with the Amsterdam Federation, November 9-10, 1923, it was agreed that there would be a joint meeting immediately preceding the biennial Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in June, 1924, at Vienna. A commission of three from the trade internationals is to be a part of the Management Committee. It was decided that only the following organizations might affiliate with a trade international adhering to the International Federation of Trade Unions: (1) organizations affiliated with their national federations, which in turn are affiliated with the I. F. T. U.; (2) organizations not associated with any international; (3) organizations which belong to a non-affiliated national federation which does not make propaganda against the I. F. T. U. (e. g. organizations belonging to the American Federation of Labor); and (4) organizations not affiliated with their national trade union center, if this latter belongs to an international opposed to the I. F. T. U.

Membership.—In 1921 the official membership of all the trade internationals affiliated with Amsterdam was 20,290,182, while in 1922 this dropped to 18,174,343. The International Secretariat of Potters dissolved. In 1922 the Land Workers lost 48.9 per cent of their membership, the Factory Workers 25.1 per cent, the Diamond Workers 19 per cent, while a number of others lost between 1 and 17 per cent. On the other hand, the Furriers increased 86.3 per cent, the Food and Drink Trades 71 per cent, the Building Workers 39.9 per cent, Car-

¹See p. 246.

penters 16.2 per cent, Lithographers 10.6 per cent, the Textile Workers 7 per cent, Tobacco Workers 6.4 per cent and several others to a slight extent. International unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are affiliated with the following trade internationals: Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Food and Drink Trades, Furriers, Metal Workers, Mine Workers, Postal Workers, Stone Trades, Textile Workers, and Transport Workers.

Bookbinders

Affiliations.—The International Federation of Bookbinders and Kindred Trades was established in 1907, and held its last two Conferences in 1920 (Berne) and 1922 (Leipzig). Its membership as of December 31, 1922, was as follows:

Austria	5,978	Italy	13,300
Belgium	2,898	Netherlands	4,097
Czechoslovakia	3,656	Norway	1,528
Denmark	3,009	Sweden	2,700
France	1,457	Switzerland	1,266
Germany	98,810	Yugoslavia	846
Great Britain	24,000		
Hungary	3,949	Total	167,494

1922 Congress.—The Leipzig conference considered the problem of wage-rates for women, and decided to make a special order of this question at the next Congress in 1924. It also decided that when the economic conditions improved international aid to strikes would be instituted. It demanded that when workers entered countries where exchange rates and conditions were stable they receive the prevailing rates, on the basis of the difference in exchange, and thus wipe out a dangerous form of international competition. The Italian delegates introduced a resolution, which was adopted, calling for a united and energetic fight against capitalist reaction. Their motion for independence from both Amsterdam and Moscow was not adopted. The Congress elected Hochstrasser as international secretary, and Harraway (Great Britain), Hauelsen (Germany), Koch (Switzerland), Peyer (Switzerland), and Spallaccia (Italy) as international representatives.

Boot and Shoe Workers

Reorganization.—The International Federation of Workers in the Shoe and Leather Industries, or International Federation of Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers, is an amalgamation of the Shoemakers' International, the International Saddlers' Union, and the International Leather Workers' Union, effected in August, 1921, at Vienna. Its membership at the end of 1922 was as follows:

Austria	21,811	Italy	1,500
Belgium	9,300	Luxemburg .....	.....
Czechoslovakia	4,994	Norway	2,034
Denmark	8,038	Spain	1,500
France	10,597	Sweden	8,278
Germany	210,182	Switzerland	2,677
Great Britain	75,500		
Hungary	13,130	Total	369,541

1923 Congress.—The 1921 Congress had instructed the international secretary to urge Amsterdam and Moscow to get together. It had declared for the establishment of works councils with power of control, and amalgamation of all unions in the industry in each country. The 1923 Congress was held September 16-18, 1923, at Dresden, where 56 delegates from 12 different countries gathered. The Central Committee proposed a resolution, the first part of which was adopted unanimously except for the dissent of Great Britain, and which provided for unity in one international of all workers in the industry who accept the principle of the class struggle. However, unions in each nation applying for admission must recognize without reserve the rules and decisions of the Congresses, discuss differences without attacks on individuals, cease all attempts at divisions in the national organizations, and help restore unity where splits already exist. The second part was adopted by 42 delegates in favor and 14 against. It declared that affiliated organizations must not attempt to apply any decisions arrived at by those who do not belong to the Federation; they must cease organizing sympathetic groups on the inside, and they must cease insulting and slandering the Amsterdam International and its leaders. This resolution provides for admission of the Russian workers' organization in the trade international if it is willing to accept the conditions. The Congress adopted a resolution calling for vigorous propaganda to maintain the eight-hour day, and to educate the workers up to the 44-hour week. It also requested the affiliated unions to take up the study of Esperanto as an international language.

Building Workers

Membership.—The International Union of Building Workers was founded in 1903 to prevent strike-breakers from being imported from one country to another, to provide mutual help in wage controversies, on matters of immigration, unemployment, benefits, and general international issues. At the end of 1922 it had a membership in the following lands:

Austria	87,154	Luxemburg	1,105
Belgium	42,065	Netherlands	9,061
Czechoslovakia	42,413	Norway	2,278
Denmark	5,074	Poland	9,975
Finland	1,331	Rumania	2,390
France	6,353	Sweden	3,999
Germany	588,371	Switzerland	3,825
Great Britain	253,000	Yugoslavia	608
Hungary	23,249		
Italy	60,000	Total	1,143,550

1921 Congress.—The first post-war Congress took place at Innsbruck, August 22-24, 1921, with Great Britain and France absent. The Russian Building Workers' Federation was not admitted on the ground that it was not represented by a member. The Czechoslovakian, Italian, and Swiss delegates thereupon left, bringing the Congress to an end.

1922 Congress.—At the Congress of October 2-5, 1922, at Vienna, there were representatives from all the countries mentioned above as affiliated, with guests from Palestine, Poland, Spain, and Rumania. The Congress this time welcomed the desire of the Russian building workers to co-operate, but declared that as long as they belonged to the Red International of Labor Unions, which obliged its adherents to oppose Amsterdam, the International Union of Building Workers could not admit them. The trade international declared its wish to cultivate friendly relations with its Russian colleague through exchange of opinions and activities, and participation of the representatives of the All-Russian Building Workers' Federation in the general conferences of the international. The Congress expressed "its horror at the brutal violations perpetrated on the Italian labor organizations by a reaction which employs for this purpose Fascist criminals." A resolution on the Building Guilds International declared that the latter must remain an independent organization, and recommended that financial and moral support be given it.

Under the constitution adopted at this Congress, each affiliated national craft union preserves its full independence, and in voting on contributions or granting of aid, it has one vote for 50,000 members, two votes for a membership of 50,000 to 100,000, and one additional vote for each additional 100,000 members or fraction thereof. In lockouts extending over the whole country or affecting a great number, appeals may be made to the International Union of Building Workers. To help pay the costs of management, editorial work, translation (the reports are printed in five languages), printing, traveling to national conventions, and the like, the affiliated

unions pay per capita tax of 2 Swiss centimes per member per year.

At the end of 1923 a meeting of the National Executives of the affiliated federations was held at Zurich, and it was stated as extremely doubtful that the German Building Workers' Union would be able to pay any affiliation dues for the year. The Executive unanimously resolved that the other unions should pay double dues. Aid had already been started for the German union. The Building International has borne the cost of maintaining a special center for taking care of the interests of, and organizing, the reconstruction building workers in northern France. At this meeting the applications of the Building Operatives and Pottery Workers of Czechoslovakia and the All-Russian Building Operatives' Union were rejected, but the unions of the building operatives in Spain and Latvia were admitted.

After hearing the secretaries of the international federations of the Carpenters, Painters, Stone Workers, and Tilers, the Congress of 1922 instructed a committee to draw up a constitution satisfactory to all the internationals concerned, for a single federation, with autonomy to each group of workers.

Officers.—The Management Committee, with headquarters in Hamburg, is made up of Fritz Paepflow chairman, Hermann Kober treasurer, and Georg Kaeppler secretary. The Executive Council, consisting of representatives of seven groups, comprises V. Bjorkmann (Sweden), R. Coppock (Great Britain), J. W. van Achterbergh (Holland), E. Gryson (Belgium), F. Quaglino (Italy), Th. Meissner (Austria), and K. Tetenka (Czechoslovakia).

Carpenters

Unity with Building Workers.—Formerly the carpenters' unions of Austria, Bohemia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, and Switzerland were affiliated to the Carpenters' trade international, but now only the Danish union, (5,500) and the German organization (107,910) belong. A special international Congress in September, 1923, at Hamburg took up the question of amalgamating with the Building Workers' International.

Civil Servants

Organization.—The Austrian Association of Public Employees initiated a move which resulted in an international

conference of civil servants' organizations at Vienna, July 2-3, 1923. Besides the Austrian association, two groups each from Germany and Czechoslovakia, one from France and Netherlands, as well as the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers' International were represented. The Congress decided to adopt trade union aims and the principle of solidarity among all who work for wages or salaries. The German organization, with a membership of about 1,000,000, declared it could not support these principles and announced its withdrawal, but was willing to collaborate. Vienna was chosen as the provisional headquarters with Janicki of the Austrian association as provisional secretary.

Clothing Workers

Affiliations.—Two American organizations are affiliated with the International Clothing Workers' Federation, the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Journeymen Tailors. The Federation has affiliated organizations in the following countries, membership shown being that for December 31, 1922:

Austria	11,484	Sweden	6,636
Belgium	4,932	Switzerland	2,070
Czechoslovakia	5,698	United States:	
Denmark	9,603	International Ladies' Gar-	
France	3,000	ment Workers' Union...	105,000
Germany	157,836	Journeymen Tailors' Union	10,261
Great Britain	56,386		
Hungary	7,266	Total	375,801
Netherlands	5,569		

Activities.—Since the Copenhagen Congress of August, 1920, the Federation has held no convention. In April, 1922, the Executive Committee requested Benjamin Schlesinger to attend the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Union at Rome, as a fraternal delegate of the Clothing Workers' International, but owing to the convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers, he was unable to attend. The trade international planned to hold Congresses in July, 1922, at Geneva, and again in August, 1923, at Stuttgart, but was compelled to call them off on account of the depressed exchange rates of the continental countries. On September 25, 1923, the Bureau sent out an appeal for the German tailors, and on October 24 a statement that there was unemployment in France, and tailors would not find work if they emigrated there. The Committee of Control of the Federation includes T. Van der Heeg, secretary, Fr. Paer, G. Ringenbach (France), V. R. Arup (Denmark), W. Rines (England), and H. Stuhmer (Germany).

Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees

Affiliations.—The International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees had on December 31, 1923, 35 affiliated organizations in 13 countries, with a total membership of 817,731. The national membership on December 31, 1922, was as follows:

Austria	121,060	Italy	3,000
Belgium	8,400	Netherlands	14,313
Czechoslovakia	76,868	Norway	10,000
Denmark	16,000	Portugal	5,000
France	21,910	Sweden	6,209
Germany	426,975	Yugoslavia	3,500
Great Britain	89,973		
Hungary	21,503	Total	824,711

1921 Congress.—The last international Congress was held at Vienna, August 10-12, 1921. The Congress unanimously refused to admit a representative of the All-Russian Union of State Employees. It declared its aim to be a fight against the capitalism system and the substitution for it of a cooperative order for the common good. It authorized the Executive Committee to expel any organization breaking the rules or opposing the interests of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to call an international Congress at least once every two years. It also instructed the Executive to urge the governments of Europe to abolish the vise and passport formalities. A comprehensive resolution was adopted on social legislation. Resolutions were adopted against the treatment of German salaried employees in Czechoslovakia, and the conduct of the government of Yugoslavia. An appeal was made to the affiliated organizations for Russian relief, and a demand that salaried employees be allowed to enter any country to seek work. G. J. A. Smit, Jr., was elected secretary, O. Urban (Germany) president, G. Buisson (France), vice-president, who together with J. Hallsworth (England), Jens Johansen (Denmark), and R. Klein (Czechoslovakia) constitute the Executive Committee.

On November 14-15, 1922, conferences of organizations of bank employees first and technicians later were held in Berlin, which resulted in the formation of separate sections for these two groups. At the Executive Committee meeting of April 26-27, 1923, at Prague, representatives from these sections were present. The application of the Austrian Union of Theatrical Artists was referred to the next Congress. At a subsequent meeting of the Executive, the applications of the Russian and Bulgarian unions were rejected because those unions belonged to the Red International. In order not to conflict

with the International Federation of Trade Unions Congress, no convention of the trade international will be held in 1924. The secretariat has assisted German organizations to the extent of 75,000 guilders. It publishes information about the working conditions of its affiliated organizations.

Diamond Workers

Membership.—The World Association of Diamond Workers, organized in 1905, held its fifth Congress in London, in 1920. The United States was represented by the Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America, still affiliated. The Alliance has helped to reduce hours and has sought to equalize wages and working conditions in the various countries. Its membership on December 31, 1922, was as follows:

Belgium	10,263	Netherlands	6,528
France	776	United States	476
Germany	133		
Great Britain	237	Total	18,413

Factory Workers

Affiliations.—The International Federation of General Factory Workers was reorganized after the war in 1920 and held its second Congress July 16-18, 1923, in Vienna. The December 31, 1922, figures for its affiliated organizations are as follows:

Austria	44,365	Italy (estimate)	11,000
Belgium (1921)	41,250	Netherlands ..	19,590
Czechoslovakia	21,998	Norway	24,115
Denmark	92,387	Sweden	48,605
Germany	733,583		
Great Britain (estimate) ..	750,000	Total	1,786,893

At the second Congress there were delegates from all the above countries except Great Britain and Italy. The former was not represented for financial reasons, and the latter because the organization in that country, which once numbered 100,000, had been broken up by the Fascisti and all communication between it and the Federation had stopped. Some months after the Congress it was reported that one Czechoslovakian factory workers' group had seceded and joined the Red International. The application of the Russian Federation of Workers in Chemical Factories was referred by the Congress to the Executive Committee, but it was declared that only the International Federation of Trade Unions can determine finally whether or not the Russian workers are to be admitted. If desired, conferences of representatives of special industries, such as margarine, sugar, and rubber, will be called for common international action. The address of the

president, O'Grady of England, read in his absence, and that of Hanusch, president of the Austrian Chamber of Labor, dealt with the preparation of workers for management of undertakings. The Congress instructed the Executive to protect migratory workers from loss of unemployment insurance due them. R. Stenhuis was re-elected secretary.

Food and Drink Trades

Membership.—The International Union of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades was launched at a Conference held in August, 1920, at Zurich. At that time it had a membership of 284,645, which on September 1, 1923, became 577,996, divided in the following countries:

Austria	39,567	Norway	5,433
Belgium	9,328	Poland	4,000
Bulgaria	1,763	Russia	202,438
Czechoslovakia	16,947	Slovenia.	597
Denmark	13,256	Sweden	13,455
France	4,045	Switzerland	5,768
Germany	184,337	United States	35,000
Great Britain	15,000	(Bakery and Confection- ery Workers, A. F. of L.)	
Hungary ...	10,249		
Italy	11,050		
Luxemburg	120		
Netherlands	5,643	Total	577,996

Activities.—The trade international has assisted in disputes of an international character, it has conducted boycotts, it has contributed financially to strikers in Hungary and Italy. It has organized a central office to abolish night work in bakeries, and convened for this purpose a Congress of working bakers at Cologne in October, 1922. Another Bakers' Congress will be held before the International Labor Conference, in June, 1924.

Second Congress.—The second Congress, starting September 30, 1923, at Hamburg, decided by a vote of 22 to 20 to admit the All-Russian Federation of Food and Drink Trades. The Russian delegates, however, had to accept conditions, which were drafted into the rules to make them general and not exceptional, calling for (1) prevention of the formation of nuclei within the trade international; (2) abolition of the Central Propaganda Committee; and (3) suspension of its journal. The Administrative Committee of the international was empowered to expel organizations violating these rules. The Congress instructed its Administrative Committee strictly to apply the rule and refuse admission to any organization not affiliated to the national central trade union organization. On the question of amalgamation the Congress declared that the most urgent task to be undertaken was that of transform-

ing the unions in each country into industrial organizations, and called upon the Executive to draw up plans for the industrial unions. The Congress called for the abolition of night work in bakeries, with no exceptions, and effective regulation, prescribing an absolute rest period between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. The Congress appealed to the International Federation of Trade Unions to bring pressure on governments to secure legislation prohibiting night work in bakeries. A number of resolutions of the Russian delegates were not acted upon, being considered matters for Amsterdam, though the delegates individually pledged themselves to carry out their intent. They dealt with Bulgaria, the capitalist offensive, reaction and Fascism, and the German situation.

Officers.—The Governing Body of the trade international was increased to 15 members as follows: Huppert (Austria), Lauwers (Belgium), Banfield (England), Savoie (France), Diermeier, Kaeppler, and Hensel (Germany), Goudsmit (Holland), Kroll (Russia), Lagergren (Sweden), Willhelm and Ormianer (Switzerland), and Hohmann (United States). The Executive Board consists of Willhelm president, Buechi vice-president, Ormianer recording secretary, and Schifferstein re-elected international secretary.

Furriers

Affiliations.—One of the oldest secretariats, the International Secretariat of Furriers, was established in 1894. Its membership in affiliated organizations on December 31, 1922, was as follows:

Austria	1,329	Sweden	578
Denmark	480	United States	8,760
Germany	12,445	(International Furriers' Union)	
Hungary	610		
Italy	52	Total	24,279
Norway	25		

Congress.—The trade international held a Congress August 1-3, 1921, at Munich. Belgium was represented at that time, while the United States was not. The Congress decided to abolish the international strike fund. A meeting of international trade secretariats was suggested to devise ways and means to remedy the unemployment situation. The national unions were urged to amalgamate into industrial organizations. Adhesion and support of the International Federation of Trade Unions was voted. The secretary was instructed to open negotiations with the Clothing Workers' and Hatters' internationals for possible union. The Furriers' International publishes a trade organ, *The Furrier*, in German.

Glassworkers

Membership.—The International Federation of Glassworkers at the end of 1922 had a membership of 134,973, one-half of which the German union contributed. Membership by countries was as follows:

Austria	3,798	Great Britain	10,000
Belgium	5,466	Netherlands	2,266
Czechoslovakia	30,000	Sweden	1,000
Denmark	495		
France	4,000	Total	134,973
Germany	77,948		

Congress.—A Congress at Amsterdam on March 30, 1921, re-established the federation, with headquarters at Paris. In addition to the countries above, Scotland was also represented at this Congress.

Hairdressers

Affiliations.—The International Union of Hairdressers, successor to the International Secretariat of Hairdressers, convened its third Congress August 9-11, 1921, at Reichenberg, Czechoslovakia, with 15 delegates representing six national federations. The Congress voted affiliation to Amsterdam, went on record against compulsory arbitration, and demanded that prices be fixed as in Denmark, by agreement of the workers' and employers' organizations, together with representatives of the public. On December 31, 1922, the following countries had organizations affiliated:

Austria	1,448	Latvia	60
Czechoslovakia	800	Norway	200
Denmark	964	Sweden	327
Finland	150	Switzerland	250
Germany .....	....	
Hungary	973	Total	10,906

Hatters

Affiliations.—The International Federation of Hatters was organized at a Congress in Zurich, in June, 1921. At the end of 1923 it claimed 80,000 members in 15 nations. In 1922 its affiliated bodies were as follows:

Austria	5,167	Italy	8,470
Brazil .....	....	Norway	9
Bulgaria .....	....	Poland	1,126
Czechoslovakia	2,134	Sweden	449
Denmark	1,309	Switzerland	152
France	4,200	Yugoslavia	120
Germany	29,143		
Great Britain	3,900	Total	56,569
Hungary	390		

Activities.—The secretary, reporting to the session of the Governing Body's meeting March 31-April 1, 1923, referred

to a boycott, statistics secured on the different branches in the hat industry in the various countries, assistance on appeals, and constant correspondence to secure affiliations and to keep close touch with the unions in all lands. He also referred to steps being taken to prevent mercury poisoning in the trade, and to having approached the International Labor Office with a view to placing this matter on the agenda of the annual Conference. The Governing Body condemned the occupation of the Ruhr district. In view of the hard times and the condition of the treasury it set no date for the Congress of 1924, but decided to refer the matter to another meeting.

Hotel and Restaurant Workers

Affiliations.—When the last Congress of the International Union of Hotel, Restaurant, and Bar Employees was held in Amsterdam May 11-14, 1920, there were delegates from organizations in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. At that time the International Federation of Workers in the Hotel, Restaurant, Lunch-Room, Club, and Catering Industry of the United States had not yet amalgamated with the International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industries (not in the A. F. of L.), but when the latter was organized it did not affiliate with the hotel and restaurant trade international. The Congress of 1920 received detailed reports of conditions in each country. Since this Congress the trade international has considered amalgamating with the international of food and drink trades, but the union has not been consummated. The affiliated organizations had at the end of 1922 approximately the following members:

Austria	20,000	Italy	3,000
Belgium	1,200	Netherlands	780
Czechoslovakia	3,400	Rumania	2,000
Denmark	2,500	Spain .....	.....
France	6,000	Sweden	5,200
Germany	57,758	Switzerland	1,000
Great Britain	18,000		
Hungary	2,700	Total	123,538

Land Workers

Affiliations.—The International Landworkers' Federation, founded in 1920, had in 1923, affiliated organizations in the following countries:

Austria	71,614	France	8,844
Belgium	200	Germany	499,107
Czechoslovakia	46,350	Great Britain	30,000
Denmark	13,000	Hungary	2,420

Italy	42,500	Poland	80,000
Latvia	16,000	Scotland	15,000
Netherlands	8,554	Sweden	20,000

The International Federation of Christian Agricultural Workers claimed in October, 1922, about 1,000,000 adherents, nine-tenths of whom belonged to the Italian and German Christian unions of agricultural workers.

1922 Congress.—The latest Congress of the International Landworkers' Federation was held in Vienna, August 15-17, 1922. It called upon the International Labor Conference and the member states of the International Labor Organization to give the same consideration to agricultural as to industrial workers in the matter of the eight-hour day. The Executive Committee subsequently, in January, 1923, demanded for the time being a nine-hour day, and an adaptation of working time to the conditions in each country. The Congress declared its sympathy with the tendency toward world organization of food production. It condemned in bitter terms the machinations of the Fascisti in Italy against the agricultural workers' unions, and the persecutions of Socialists by the Russian government. It instructed its Executive Committee to cooperate with Amsterdam in the war against war. It increased the Executive to six members, and elected W. Smith (England) chairman, G. Schmidt (Germany), O. Levinsen (Denmark), Madame Altobelli (Italy), Kwapinsky (Poland), and Hiemstra (Holland), secretary. The international will hold its next Congress in Berlin in 1924.

Lithographers

1923 Congress.—The International Federation of Lithographers and Kindred Trades, dating back to 1886, held its tenth international Congress September 27-29, 1923, at Lucerne, Switzerland. Membership figures for 1922 claimed 89 per cent of all workers in the profession, distributed among the following countries:

Austria	4,630	Luxemburg	7
Belgium	1,242	Netherlands	1,437
Czechoslovakia	652	Norway	541
Denmark	650	Rumania	38
Finland	209	Sweden	707
France	600	Switzerland	907
Germany	18,676	Yugoslavia	145
Great Britain	10,808		
Hungary	416	Total	44,079
Italy	2,414		

At the 1923 Congress the application of the Bulgarian organization was accepted, but those of the Greek and Rus-

sian unions were denied because of their affiliation to the Red International. The Graphische Union of Germans in Czechoslovakia was not admitted on the ground that there was one organization from this country already affiliated.

The international secretary, Fr. Poels, submitted a detailed report covering the official *Bulletin*, published in three languages, the statistics of membership since 1913, conditions in each country concerning hours, wages, disputes, reciprocity contract for migratory workers, amalgamation, Amsterdam, the offset machine, together with individual reports of the national sections. The Congress declared again in favor of amalgamation and against wage reductions, and regretted that some of the affiliated organizations had been compelled to accept the 48-hour week, after enjoying the 45 and 46-hour schedule. It supported the International Federation of Trade Unions in all its policies, and urged affiliated unions to carry them out. It called on its national sections to petition their governments to carry out the draft conventions of the International Labor Conferences, and to use the information published by the International Labor Office. The Congress adopted a resolution emphasizing the necessity of a prolonged apprenticeship, and in exceptional cases the admission of skilled workers in other trades. It re-elected Fr. Poels international secretary.

Metal Workers

Membership.—The International Metal Workers' Federation, founded in 1893, is the most powerful of all trade internationals, having at the end of 1922 a membership of 3,204,692. Its decisions in the war against war are vital because metal workers manufacture munitions. There are three forms of organizations in the international: (1) industrial unions, as in Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Belgium, Luxemburg, Poland, and the Balkan States; (2) federations with autonomous sections, as in France, Italy, Spain, and parts of South America; and (3) trade unions, in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. Of all the metal trades unions in the last-named country, only the International Association of Machinists is affiliated, although the last convention of the American Federation of Labor Department of the Metal Trades declared in favor of closer relations. President O'Connell also recommended such action. On December 31, 1922, the following countries had affiliated organizations, with two separate bodies in Czechoslovakia,

Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, three in Germany, and eight in Great Britain:

Austria	172,239	Netherlands	24,401
Belgium	128,656	Norway	20,100
Bulgaria	200	Poland	23,768
Czechoslovakia	159,209	Rumania	10,000
Denmark	24,289	Spain	19,128
France	20,000	Sweden	59,030
Finland	8,500	Switzerland	42,745
Germany	1,743,322	United States	98,000
Great Britain	556,500	Yugoslavia	6,571
Hungary	49,601		
Italy	32,933	Total	3,204,692
Luxemburg	5,500		

1921 Congress.—Fifty-eight delegates from 15 countries met at Lucerne, Switzerland, August 8, 1921, for the ninth Congress, with the Russian delegates held up at the Swiss border. In 1920 at Copenhagen a previous Congress had adopted a program against war. The 1921 convention reaffirmed its former position, and directed all affiliated organizations to conduct an intensive propaganda to carry out the points in that program. It instructed the office of the trade international to compile statistics of the number of workers engaged in each country, and the nature of their work, in the manufacture of munitions. The Congress raised the annual dues and empowered the Executive to give aid to organizations in distress through special levies. The White Terror in Hungary, maintenance of the eight-hour day, and rights of workers living in one country but working in another, were considered.

Central Committee Meetings.—On January 28-30, 1922, the Central Committee met at Vienna, with 17 nations represented. The session adopted the following resolution on the prevention of war, to be submitted to the 1922 Rome Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions:

Wars must be prevented by a general cessation of work.

The craft internationals are requested to bring before their national organizations, and to declare binding upon all their members, the following resolutions of the Congress:

Trade unionists who are members of craft internationals and the Amsterdam International must cease work in case of war and render its continuance impossible.

All national organizations and craft internationals must everywhere exercise control over the production of munitions of war, whether for civil or military purposes, and must restrict it for military needs, and, as far as possible, reduce it to a minimum for civilian needs.

An international committee is appointed to carry out the above provisions; it will decide the methods of application and the occasion of the cessation of work.

If possible, all the craft organizations and the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be represented on this committee.

The Central Committee also met on August 27-28, 1923, at Berlin. It was reported that an agreement had been

signed in May between representatives of the International Federation of Metal Workers and the All-Russian Federation of Metal Workers, providing for mutual pledges, the trade international representatives to support the admission of the Russians, and the latter to help restore trade union unity in the various countries. The Central Committee amended the agreement to the effect that the Russian workers are to be represented at the committee meetings only if they have information to give or desire information concerning labor disputes. The final decision as to admission was left to the July, 1924, Congress at Vienna. The Central Committee rejected the application of the French United Federation of Metal Workers.

Miners

Affiliations.—With the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the United Mine Workers of the United States, and the Alliance of Mine Workers of Germany affiliated, the International Miners' Federation stands out as the representative of the world's organized coal miners. Its membership in the various countries follows:

Austria	29,228	Luxemburg	2,400
Belgium	85,874	Netherlands	2,055
Czechoslovakia	116,000	Poland .....	....
France	98,600	United States	500,000
Germany	395,836	Yugoslavia .....	....
Great Britain	750,000		
Hungary	18,303	Total	2,001,196

At its last Congress the Federation refused to admit the miners of Russia.. The Spanish miners voted to affiliate in December, 1923.

1922 Congress.—The 16th Congress of the Federation was held at Frankfort, Germany, beginning on August 7, 1922. One hundred and nineteen delegates from 11 countries were present. The Congress instructed the Executive Committee "to prepare a uniform program of the objects to be aimed at in the mining industry in all countries." It adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of workers' councils in the mines, with their control by the organizations which conduct the wage negotiations with the coal operators. A unanimous resolution on pensions called for legislation to cover occupational diseases; disability should be assumed without further proof from the age of 50 years if the miner has been in the industry 25 years; and the minimum age limits for miners to receive old age pensions should be reduced. To reduce the shocking number of accidents, the Congress demanded the ap-

pointment of mining inspectors by the workers, to be paid by the state.

The Congress demanded unemployment insurance, an international commission to distribute coal, and the fundamental economic world adjustments urged by the Amsterdam International at the Rome Congress. It declared for the seven-hour day, including descent into and ascent from the mine; a six-hour day for miners working in temperatures in excess of $82\frac{1}{2}$ degrees Fahrenheit, and a five-hour day for those where the temperature exceeds $89\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. The 1922 Congress reaffirmed the position taken in 1921 at the Geneva Congress for nationalization of the mines. The Congress again declared in favor of a general strike in cooperation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, at the outbreak of a war. By a vote of 86 to 16 the delegates refused to accept a resolution of the French representatives to use the general strike to enforce an international proposal.

The Congress voted \$50,000 to the striking miners in the United States, to be raised by a levy on each organization in proportion to membership.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America attended the meeting of the International Committee, April 10-11, 1923, at Brussels, at which Herbert Smith (Great Britain) presided, and the following were present: Smith, Walsh, Ashton, Richardson, and Hodges (Great Britain), Barutel and Quintin (France), Limbertz (Germany), Van de Bilt (Netherlands), Lombard, Dejardin and Delattre (Belgium), and Lewis (United States). Lewis invited the International Committee to meet in the near future in America. He submitted a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, calling for the holding up of coal exports in case of strikes.

Musicians

Membership.—The International Confederation of Musicians had on December 31, 1922, affiliated organizations in the following countries:

Austria	7,000	Netherlands	2,000
Belgium	6,000	Portugal	—
Czechoslovakia	3,000	South Africa	—
Great Britain	18,000	Spain	6,000
Greece	250	Switzerland	800
Hungary	2,500		
Italy	7,500	Total	52,550

Painters

Affiliations.—Dating back to the first attempts in 1891, the International Secretariat of Painters and Kindred Trades has affiliations in the following countries, with membership as of December 31, 1922:

Austria	4,098	Netherlands	6,192
Czechoslovakia	1,758	Norway	1,106
Denmark	5,391	Sweden	3,802
Finland	962	Switzerland	2,018
Germany	58,829		
Hungary	2,458	Total	86,614

The United States was represented at one of the Congresses in 1913.

Congress.—The third international Congress was held in Berlin, March 17-18, 1923. Delegates were present from all the above countries except Finland and Switzerland, while the British painters sent regrets. The secretary of the Building Workers' International was also present. The Congress expressed the hope that arrangements might be made for a just and natural amalgamation with the inclusive Building Workers' trade international. The Congress reiterated its position in favor of socialization, and protested against the military and imperialistic invasion of the Ruhr. The report of the international secretary, Streine, who was re-elected, stated that the Chicago and New York locals of the Brotherhood of Painters were in close communication with the craft international and that the German painters in the former city had sent a contribution. The Congress demanded legislation by the governments against the use of white lead in painting. The secretariat publishes a four-page monthly *Bulletin* in German giving an accurate review of the conditions of the trade in each country.

Postal Workers

Affiliations.—The Postal International, comprising workers in post offices, telegraph, and telephone exchanges, was placed on a trade union basis at the Congress of 1920. At the end of 1923 the National Federation of Post Office Clerks of the United States joined with 18,000 members. In 1922 the membership of the affiliated unions was:

Argentina	9,000	Italy	25,459
Austria	23,646	Latvia	500
Belgium	12,000	Luxemburg	550
Bulgaria	1,000	Netherlands	14,500
Czechoslovakia	10,350	Portugal	1,500
Dutch East Indies	3,000	Switzerland	14,800
France	35,000		
Germany	274,000	Total	511,305
Great Britain	86,000		

Congress.—The second Congress was held in Berlin, August 18, 1922, with 75 delegates from 13 countries. By a close vote it excluded the Russian unions because of their affiliation with the Red International. It adopted resolutions protesting against the denationalizing of state industries, and demanded financial autonomy of the post office, representation in the Congresses of the International Postal Union and of the International Telegraph Union, and for democratic workers' representation in the postal service. It denounced the governments of France, Hungary, and Bulgaria for refusing to recognize the trade union rights of postal workers. The Congress went on record in favor of equal pay for men and women. The trade international issues a *Review* in three languages. The secretariat has endeavored to protect the interests of its members in the Ruhr.

Printers

Affiliations.—Twenty-three countries have unions affiliated with the International Secretariat of Printers, organized in 1889. Neither the British nor the American typographical union is affiliated. On December 31, 1922, the membership amounted to 181,318, with 72,976 in the German union, 21,005 in the French, 17,000 in the Italian, 10,468 in the Dutch, 7,500 in the Austrian organization, and the balance in unions in Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

Congress.—The latest Congress, held September 5-9, 1921, at Vienna, declared that amalgamation was a matter of policy and not of principle. Proposals were adopted for mutual assistance to those migrating from one country to another, for study of effects of new inventions, and for a press absolutely free for the workers as well as for the reactionaries, in fact as well as theory. A report was made on the Christian printers' unions in different countries. The Congress refused to accept the Russian unions, taking as its position the point of view of the Amsterdam International. They elected F. Verdan as international secretary.

Public Service

Membership and Congress.—The International Federation of Workers in Public Services (Municipal Employees), founded in 1907, had in December, 1923, a membership of 421,766. Its platform includes demands for unrestricted rights of

combination and striking, free old age and disability pensions for officers and their widows, and nationalization.

Its last Congress, December 9-14, 1923, in Brussels, was attended by 30 delegates representing eight countries. The Congress considered the following questions: duties of the secretariat in reference to collecting statistics; increasing tendency toward denationalizing municipal enterprises; use of engineers and technicians organized for strike-breaking purposes; right of public service workers to strike; and international action against world monopolistic efforts of gas and electric companies. It re-elected Van Hinte of Amsterdam as international secretary, and set the next Congress for Stockholm in 1926. The Swiss delegates recommended admission of the Russian organization, but such action was postponed pending a declaration by the Russians that they would conform to the rules of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

At the end of 1922 the international had affiliated organizations in the following lands:

Belgium	10,259	Norway (Suspended)	4,353
Denmark	7,643	Sweden	15,501
France	35,930	Switzerland	10,416
Germany	285,709		
Great Britain	50,000	Total	435,588
Netherlands	15,777		

Seafarers

Congress.—The International Seafarers' Federation held a biennial Congress August 2, 1922, in Paris. Affiliation with the International Transport Workers' Federation was made dependent upon acceptance of the important condition that seamen would be permitted to do work in ports where there are harbor workers, exactly as in those where there are none. The French delegate asked for aid to maintain the eight-hour day. Andrew Furuseth, who was present from the Seamen's Union of the United States, and others including Havelock Wilson, president, declared that it would be impossible to conduct a general strike. The French delegate intimated that they might be obliged to join the International Transport Workers' Federation. The French union later withdrew from the Seafarers' organization.

Stone Workers

Membership.—At the end of 1922 the International Secretariat of Stone Workers, founded in 1903, had a membership of 111,521 in the following nations:

Austria	8,500	Netherlands	1,253
Belgium	2,580	Norway	750
Czechoslovakia	5,700	Serbia .....	....
Denmark	644	Sweden	3,118
Germany	62,189	Switzerland	1,800
Finland	3,000	Uruguay	2,500
France	3,200	United States	10,000
Hungary	3,500		
Italy	2,787	Total	111,521

The Granite Cutters' International Association of America is affiliated.

Program.—The latest Congress, August 20-22, 1921, at Innsbruck, Austria, had representatives from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, and Switzerland. It refused to admit the Russians. By a vote of 38 to 14 the Congress adopted a resolution of Siebold (Germany) which declared that until the matter was properly presented in each country, the time was not ripe for amalgamation of the stone workers' international with the Building Workers' trade international. In 1923 a conference held in Vienna made more definite progress for the amalgamation of the stone workers with the larger organization. The Congress demanded a 45-hour week and minimum wage scales, and declared against encroachments of the employers on the shorter work day. It set up trade rules governing space of workrooms, medical examination of apprentices, prevention of the spread of dust, prohibition of employment of young persons in certain kinds of work, adequate rest periods, and annual holidays with pay.

Teachers

Program.—The International Federation of Teachers, founded at Bordeaux in 1920, was reorganized at the Congress in Paris, August 14-15, 1922. It is not affiliated with either the Amsterdam or the Red International. The principles of the Federation are (1) struggle for the workers' emancipation; (2) struggle against imperialism, war and international hatred; and (3) setting up rational schools for children in the various countries.

The Federation has affiliated organizations in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Rumania, Russia, and Spain. The opposition of governments is interfering with the growth of the organization. In 1923 the Federation set itself the task of studying the text books in history in use in the various countries, for the purpose of counteracting nationalist misrepresentation and hatreds.

At a meeting at Osnabruck, in October, 1923, of a committee appointed by the Workers' Educational Conference at The Hague, it was agreed to found a Teachers' International.

A conference of national teachers' unions for the purpose is called at Leipzig, for April 16-17, 1924.

Textile Workers

Membership.—The International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations in 1923 had affiliated organizations in 12 countries. The Russian unions have not been admitted. The membership was 1,547,000, a slight drop since 1922. On December 31, 1922, its membership in all countries was as follows:

Austria	52,753	Italy	75,000
Belgium	62,190	Netherlands	6,588
Czechoslovakia	128,000	Sweden	15,789
Denmark	10,825	Switzerland	12,190
France	81,370	United States	30,000
Germany	727,446		
Great Britain	400,000	Total	1,609,151
Hungary	7,000		

The United Textile Workers of America is affiliated.

Program.—The major part of the Federation's work has been interchanging information on textile conditions and on the eight-hour day, and providing cash assistance to affiliated unions in labor disputes. Substantial help has been given to organizations in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands.

The latest Congress was held September 19-24, 1921. It refused to recognize the Russian unions. The Congress decided to keep the headquarters in London, voted aid to the French and Belgian strikers, and to increase the strike fund, and considered ways and means of meeting the unemployment crisis. The Congress demanded workmen's insurance benefits almost equal to the normal wage, the eight-hour day, 44-hour week, resumption of economic relations with Russia, and the employment of weavers on one loom only. Conferences of the Committee were held in January and December, 1922, and also in May, 1923.

Tobacco Workers

Membership.—The International Secretariat of Tobacco Workers, with headquarters in Amsterdam, had on December 31, 1922, the following membership in its affiliated organizations:

Austria	5,102	Bulgaria	500
Belgium	8,202	Czechoslovakia	5,944

Denmark	7,650	Poland	5,000
France	10,210	Sweden	2,992
Germany	117,956	Switzerland	2,241
Great Britain	4,426		
Netherlands	6,158	Total	178,911
Norway	2,530		

Transport Workers

Strength.—The International Transport Workers' Federation, one of the most vital and strategic of the trade internationals, was founded in 1896. It was disrupted during the World War, but re-established on a firmer footing in April, 1919, at Amsterdam. At the end of December, 1922, it had 2,154,806 members in 22 countries. During 1923 the International Longshoremen's Association of America with a membership of 35,000, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees with 12,567 members, and a union of Argentine railroad engineers affiliated, making 25 countries.

The International Transport Workers' Federation is divided into three sections, with separate secretariats, meeting separately, but all united and meeting together and working through the larger international.

These sections are: (1) Railwaymen, (2) Seamen, and (3) Dock, Road, and Other Transport Workers. On December 31, 1922, the entire membership was as follows:

Austria	157,919	Norway	15,172
Belgium	82,648	Poland	67,000
Bulgaria	848	Spain	8,500
Czechoslovakia	74,394	Sweden	52,411
Denmark	31,827	Switzerland	40,138
France	75,360	Yugoslavia	5,383
Germany	886,817		
Great Britain	565,000	Europe	2,154,806
Hungary	11,275		
Ireland	15,000	Argentina	
Italy	15,000	Canada	12,567
Latvia	4,014	United States	46,300
Luxemburg	5,250		
Netherlands	40,850	Total	2,213,673

1922 Congress.—The latest Congress was held in Vienna, October 2-6, 1922. It was attended by delegations from all countries given above, except Hungary, Latvia, and Norway, and those affiliated in 1923. The Vienna Congress set up the three permanent sections.

Against War and Militarism.—Acting on a resolution reaffirmed at the 1922 Congress the Federation took steps to check the transport of war material in 1923 in the crises between Poland and Russia and between Italy and Greece. In 1921 a transport boycott of war material organized by the International Transport Workers' Federation was successful

in helping to hinder the threatening war between Russia and Poland, and the intervention of other countries.

Against Reaction.—Warnings are issued to the workers to check reactionary waves. The Federation organized in 1923 a press campaign against persecution of unionists in Hungary. It contributed financially to the French seamen and dockers in 1922, to the Italian unions in their struggle against Fascism, and to the German unions in 1923. To assist affiliated organizations the Federation has declared boycotts against Yugoslavian and Norwegian vessels, and Icelandic trawlers.

United Front.—In May, 1923, at Berlin, representatives of the Federation and the Russian transport workers' unions met and took steps to organize a united front against Fascism and reaction. Though the results of this meeting were not directly successful, it paved the way for a strong movement towards unity in the ranks of labor in Europe.

Sections.—The three sections held separate conferences October 4-5, 1922, in the course of the general Congress of the Federation. J. H. Thomas (Great Britain) suggested that in order that "standardization of working conditions" be treated properly, data be secured from the various countries. This was ordered. A telegram of support was sent to the Swedish strikers. A resolution denouncing the White Terror of Hungary was adopted. The Railwaymen's section is in favor of the general adoption of the automatic coupling system. The Seamen held a subsequent conference on May 15-16, 1923, at London and declared for the eight-hour day and standardization of the manning scale, wages, and working conditions. The Dock and Transport Workers' Section demands the fullest possible control and management by the workers, control of the supply of dock labor by the unions, full wages in case of accident, unemployment benefits, measures to prevent accidents, prohibition of night work on dangerous cargo, prohibition of employment of women and children, the working of all cargo by dock labor, and the limitation of weights to 75 kilograms or 165 pounds.

Publications.—The Federation issues a monthly *News Letter*, in five languages, and since November 1, 1923 a press report. A research department is conducting enquiries into port dues in different countries, wages and working conditions of seamen, railwaymen and tramwaymen, the effects of railway electrification on working conditions, automatic coupling on railways, organization of flying men, and nationaliza-

tion of the means of transport. The Federation has already issued reports on working conditions in many countries, including Russia, the British Transport Workers' Federation and the Triple Alliance, and the French railway strike of 1920.

General Council.—The members of the General Council at the end of 1923 consisted of Robert Williams (Great Britain) chairman, J. Doering (Germany) vice-chairman, Edo Fimmen (Netherlands) secretary, N. Nathans (Netherlands) assistant secretary, M. Bidegaray (France), C. Lindley (Sweden), Jos. Tomschik (Austria), W. Brodecky (Czechoslovakia), T. Gomez (Spain), G. Sardelli (Italy), C. Mahlman (Belgium), J. H. Thomas (Great Britain), and H. Jochade (Germany).

Wood Workers

Membership.—The International Union of Woodworkers, first established in 1891, is one of the most extensively organized trade internationals. It has sections in 16 countries, with the following membership as of 1922:

Austria	32,674	Italy	6,000
Belgium	22,500	Luxemburg	350
Bulgaria	150	Netherlands	5,278
Czechoslovakia	12,800	Norway	9,447
Denmark	16,087	Poland	9,500
Finland	4,000	Sweden	38,286
France	5,500	Switzerland	6,804
Germany	455,975	Yugoslavia	2,750
Great Britain	177,449		
Hungary	15,925		
		Total	831,022

In August-September, 1922, a delegation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America visited the European capitals, and secured first hand information on the International Union of Woodworkers. To date it has not affiliated.

Congress.—On June 12-15, 1922, the international met in Vienna for its second post-war Congress. There were present 41 delegates from 14 countries. By a vote of 59 to 11 the Congress refused to admit the Russian union, although the Russian workers were welcome if they disbanded their propaganda committee and seceded from the Red International. Amalgamation with the Building Workers' trade international was voted, and the Executive instructed to take steps in conjunction with the Building Workers to this end. In the latter part of 1923 the Woodworkers raised 30,000 Dutch guilders, somewhat less than \$10,000, to help their German union comrades. In 1921, when the Amalgamated Society of Wood Workers of Great Britain was involved in a dispute

running for nine months, the trade international succeeded in numerous instances in preventing English shipbuilders from having their ships reconditioned in Continental ports. In 1920 the secretariat raised about \$3,500 for the Hungarian Woodworkers' Union. The trade international publishes a *Bulletin* and conducts an extensive correspondence, keeping in fraternal relations with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters of the United States.

RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

Formation.—The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions was established on July 15, 1920, by representatives of the All-Russian Trade Unions' Central Council, a number of revolutionary and syndicalist national federations of labor, and the Executive Committee of the Communist (Third) International. Its purpose was to act as an organization committee to set up an international trade union organization on Communist principles. On July 3, 1921, a World Congress was held, and the name was changed to the Red International of Labor Unions. The following constitution was adopted:

Constitution of the Red International of Labor Unions

The class struggle has now reached such a degree of development and acuteness that the working class, in order to successfully conduct and complete its struggle for emancipation, must fight as a solid revolutionary class power, not only on a national but also on an international scale, against the bourgeoisie, who despite the severe competition on the world market, is closely united in its hatred of the proletarian revolution and solidly welded against the slightest attempt of the proletariat to free itself from exploitation. Since the exploitation is international, the fight against it must have an international character. All internationals of labor unions, which existed up to the present moment, at best were but international statistical bureaus for mutual information. The International Secretariat of Labor Unions before the war was merely an information agency, it did not pursue any militant class aims. The Amsterdam International of Labor Unions is even less fit to deal with the issues at hand than its predecessor. The first was but an information office, the latter occupies itself with politics of the worst kind, with anti-proletarian, bourgeois politics. It sets forth the idea of class cooperation, social peace, and peaceful transition from capitalism to Socialism. In its essence it is an international of counteraction to the struggle for emancipation of the working class. Against this international of impotence, confusion, subservience to the bourgeoisie, such as the Amsterdam International is, we must oppose an international of revolutionary vigor, of class activity—an international which, together with the Communist International, will organize the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; an international which will seize all the means of production and establish the Communist commonwealth.

Such a militant labor union international can be built up only by revolutionary class unions, conscious of the purpose and methods of the defensive and offensive struggle against the class enemy. The problem

history has put before the revolutionary unions requires the utmost concentration of power, unexampled intensity and the greatest self-sacrifice of the conscious vanguard elements of the working class.

I. Name

The international congress of revolutionary, class-conscious trade and industrial unions, which unites the revolutionary labor union organizations of all countries, decides to create a permanent international organization under the name: The Red International of Labor Unions.

II. Aims and Purpose

The Red International of Labor Unions has for its aims:

(1) To organize the large working mass in the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation, and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth.

(2) To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda of the principles of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

(3) To fight against the corruptive ulcer, gnawing at the vitals of the world labor union movement, of compromising with the bourgeoisie, against the ideals of class cooperation and social peace and the absurd hopes for a peaceable transition from capitalism to Socialism.

(4) To unite the revolutionary class elements of the world labor union movement and carry on a decisive battle against the International Labor Office attached to the League of Nations and against the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, which by their program and tactics are but the bulwark of the world bourgeoisie.

(5) To coordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries and organize international demonstrations each time the situation demands them.

(6) To take the initiative in international campaigns about prominent events of class struggle, to open subscription lists for the benefit of strikers in great social conflicts, etc.

III. Membership

Any revolutionary economic class organization is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labor Unions if it accepts the following conditions:

1. Endorsement of the principles of revolutionary class struggle.
2. Application of these principles in its daily struggle with capitalism and the bourgeois state.

3. Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism through the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition period.

4. Recognition and submission to the international proletarian discipline.
5. Recognition and application of the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

6. The rupture with the Amsterdam yellow International.

7. United action with all the revolutionary organizations and the Communist Party of the country in all defensive and offensive activities against the bourgeoisie.

IV. International Congresses

The International Congress of Revolutionary Class, Trade, and Industrial Unions is the supreme organ of the Red International of Labor Unions. Congresses take place as often as possible—at least once a year. They determine the general principles, program, tactics and statutes; elect the directing organ and decide all the questions connected with the orientation of the Red International of Labor Unions. Extraordinary Congresses are called by the decisions of the Executive Bureau or at the demand of organizations representing no less than one-third of the members of the Red International of Labor Unions.

All trade and industrial unions which accept the program and are following the directions of the Red International of Labor Unions have the right to send delegates to the Congresses.

The representation is distributed as follows:

Every national organization of trade or industrial unions, having less than 10,000 members, receives one consultative voice in the Congress; national organizations having from 10,000 to 25,000 members send one delegate with a deciding vote; from 25,000 to 100,000 members, two delegates with deciding votes; from 100,000 to 250,000, four delegates with deciding votes; from 250,000 to 500,000 members, six delegates, and for each additional 500,000 members one delegate with a deciding vote is added. International revolutionary class organizations by trades or industries have the right to two deciding votes each.

Organized minorities in countries have the same representation, but all the organizations of a given country affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions make up a single delegation, inside of which the votes are divided proportionally to the membership of the respective organizations. Organized minorities and factions have representation in the Congress only in the case when the general labor union organization of that country is not affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions.

V. Organs of the Red International of Labor Unions

The Red International of Labor Unions has two organs—the Central Council and the Executive Bureau.

Central Council.—The Central Council is composed as follows: England, United States, Germany, Italy, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and France have two representatives each; Russia has four; all other countries having more than 25,000 have one representative with a deciding vote; countries having less than 25,000 have one representative with a consulting voice. International organizations by trades or industries have one representative with a consulting voice.

The Central Council directs all the work of the Red International of Labor Unions from Congress to Congress; makes all decisions necessitated by the circumstances; represents the Red International of Labor Unions before the whole world; acts in its name; gathers in its hands all the materials and documents related to the international labor movement; manages all funds, including the International Fund of Militant Solidarity; publishes papers and magazines in different languages; in short, is the organ invested with the power to direct the work between the World Congresses.

The Central Council meets at least twice a year, dealing mostly with the clearing of questions of principles and leaving all current work to the Executive Bureau.

The Executive Bureau.—The Executive Bureau consists of seven members elected by the Central Council, including two members of the country where the headquarters of the Red International of Labor Unions is.

The Executive Bureau directs all the current affairs of the Red International of Labor Unions. It regulates the work of the departments and sections; publishes the official organs of the Red International of Labor Unions; represents the Red International of Labor Unions and the Central Council wherever and whenever it is necessary; and prepares all the questions for the sessions of the Central Council. The Executive Bureau meets at least once a week.

VI. Unity of Action and Unity of Organization

Minorities of general labor unions and of national centers affiliated with the Red International and separate organizations affiliated with it must coordinate all their actions. In case in a given country the general federation of all unions affiliates with the Red International, no other separate organizations can affiliate with it. The revolutionary organizations endorsing the stand of the Red International must join the general labor union organization of their country.

VII. Funds

The funds of the Red International are composed of regular dues paid by the national organizations affiliated with it and of special contributions. The quota of the payments is established as follows: At least 1 per cent of the total income of the organizations which receive into their central treasury 50 per cent or more of the membership dues; at least 2 per cent from those organizations receiving into their central

treasury 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the membership dues; at least 3 per cent from those organizations receiving from 10 per cent to 25 per cent of the membership dues, and at least 5 per cent from those organizations receiving less than 10 per cent of the membership dues located. Until the creation of the necessary fund, all financial means will be furnished by the general labor organization of the country where the headquarters of the Red International of Labor Unions is located.

VIII. The International Fund of Militant Solidarity

For the purpose of supporting the militant revolutionary struggle of the workers in different countries the Congress decides to establish an International Fund of Militant Solidarity.

This fund is composed of special receipts and special collections and transfer to it of sums from the general fund. Fifty per cent of all the income of the Red International of Labor Unions is turned over directly to the International Fund of Militant Solidarity. This fund is disbursed at the disposal of the Executive Bureau, which gives regular accounts about the disbursements to the Central Council.

IX. Connections with International Trade and Industrial Organizations

The Red International of Labor Unions admits to membership not only general labor union organizations by countries, but also international organizations by trades and industries.

The Executive Bureau shall create a special section of trade and industrial organizations for the purpose of serving the needs of separate industrial organizations and establishing closest possible connections with them. International trade and industrial organizations establish their connection with the Red International of Labor Unions through their special representatives at the International Congresses.

X. Relations with the Communist International

To establish close and unbreakable connections between the Red International of Labor Unions and the Third (Communist) International, the Central Council:

(1) Sends three representatives to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with deciding votes and vice versa.

(2) Organizes joint sessions with the Executive Committee of the Communist International for the discussion of the most important issues of the international labor movement, and for the organization of common action.

(3) Issues, when it is warranted by the events, joint appeals with the Communist International.

XI. Relations with the International of Revolutionary Cooperatives

For the purpose of coordinated action and mutual information the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions sends a representative with a consulting voice to the executive organ of the International of Revolutionary Cooperatives, as soon as it will definitely constitute itself.

XII. Expulsion from Membership

Organizations affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions which by their action have violated the decisions of the Congresses or do not obey the decisions of the Central Council can be expelled by the decision of the Central Council, on condition that the motion of expulsion must be carried by not less than a two-thirds vote.

In case the violation is done by the central organs of a given organization the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions must call upon the membership of that organization to consider, in a special conference or congress, the dispute at issue between their leading organ and the Red International of Labor Unions. The question of expulsion is taken up by the Central Council only after the conference or convention of that organization has reached a decision on the question at

issue. The expelled organization has the right to appeal from the decision of the Central Council to the next international Congress, which may endorse or annul the expulsion.

XIII. Internal Struggle

The Red International of Labor Unions designed to direct the struggle of the proletariat and to inform its members of the situation in different countries must adapt its apparatus to the work it must perform. For this purpose the Central Council develops its apparatus by creating such sections and departments as shall be necessary.

For the normal conduct of affairs and close contact of the Red International of Labor Unions with the labor union organizations of different countries, the Red International must establish monthly reports of all the organizations affiliated with it and periodical trips to the most important countries by the members of the Central Council, especially in connection with the arising of big economic conflicts.

XIV. Magazine, Bulletin, and Information

The Red International of Labor Unions is publishing its official organ in four languages (French, German, English, and Russian) and a bulletin in the same languages. Besides those two organs for systematic information and ideological leadership, the Central Council of the Red International shall turn their attention to the system of circular letters and visiting trips to organizations.

XV. Auditing Committee

The Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions elects an Auditing Committee of three, which supervises the correct expenditure of funds and gives periodical reports to the Congresses.

XVI. Location of the Red International of Labor Unions

The permanent location of the Red International of Labor Unions is decided by the Congress. The time and place of the Congress are designated by the Central Council.

Strength.—From reports received by the Central European Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions up to October 15, 1922, the following estimates of adherents are given, based chiefly on the results of elections and voting in individual unions of countries where the national federations or the separate organizations are not directly affiliated to the R. I. L. U.:

Table 73—Adherents of Red International of Labor Unions, 1922

Argentina	90,000	Luxemburg	2,000
Australia	60,000	Mexico	25,000
Austria (Shop stewards' elections)	90,000	Netherlands	20,000
Bulgaria	34,000	Norway	100,000
Canada	30,000	Poland	200,000
Lumbermen	10,000	Rumania	2,500
Miners	16,000	Russia (1921)	7,914,000
Chile	90,000	Spain	200,000
Czechoslovakia	367,000	Sweden	75,000
Dutch East Indies	27,000	Switzerland	50,000
Egypt (majority of trade unions)	100,000	Turkey	15,000
Estonia	16,000	United States	422,000
Finland	48,000	Opposition, Clothing workers .	90,000
France	300,000	,, Miners	60,000
Germany	1,250,000	,, Metal wkrs.	48,000
Great Britain	300,000	,, Rail way workers .	80,000
Italy	350,000	,, Transport workers .	35,000
Japan	7,500		

Opposition, Printers . . .	35,000	Food Workers' Union..	12,000
„ Factory workers .	25,000	Labor Council of New York	24,000

Attitude toward International Federation of Trade Unions.

—The third session of the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions, held in Moscow, June 25-July 2, 1923, stated that

The attitude of the R. I. L. U. towards the Amsterdam International remains unchanged; i.e., merciless struggle as before against reformist theory and practice; also against cooperation of classes as practised by the Amsterdam International. But we are ever ready to create a united front for fighting our class foes.

The common agreement adopted by the Executive Committees of the three Internationals at the Berlin meeting of April, 1922, provided that the Organization Committee of Nine should endeavor to bring about unity between the two trade union Internationals, in addition to unifying the three political Internationals. As far as known, nothing was ever done by the Committee of Nine in reference to unity of the Red and Amsterdam Internationals. The leaders of the national federations of labor affiliated with the Amsterdam International, in practically every country, are meeting with the bitter opposition of the adherents of the Red International.

Relations with Communist International.—At the Second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow, in November, 1922, a resolution was adopted on the relations between the trade union and political Internationals of the world Communist movement. The resolution stated “that there are groups of workers of the revolutionary-syndicalist current of thought who are sincerely striving towards the creation of a United Front with the Communists, and who consider that the mutual representation between the Comintern [Communist International] and the R. I. L. U., established by the First Congress, does not correspond with the traditions of the working class movement of their countries . . . That the C. G. T. U. [General Confederation of United Labor] of France, representing the above view, expresses itself most emphatically for militant cooperation between the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. and for concerted action in all defensive and offensive struggles against capital.” The delegations from the Communist trade unionists of Russia, Germany, Italy, and Spain

"standing on the platform of the urgent necessity of the leadership of the Communist Party in each country, and of the Communist International on an international scale, propose, nevertheless, to meet half-way the revolutionary workers of France, and to accept the proposal of the C. G. T. U." The provision for the exchange of three representatives between the Executive Committees of the Third International and of the Red International of Labor Unions² was therefore repealed. The French delegates did not vote on this resolution, as the C. G. T. U. was not then affiliated with the R. I. L. U.

National Sections.—In the resolution on the Organization Problem of the Adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions adopted at the Congress of 1922, tasks were stated for the groups in the important countries of Germany, France, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Balkan States, Greece, Turkey, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States. A special resolution was adopted on the trade union movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries. For the United States "where the Trade Union Educational League and independent revolutionary unions exist, it is necessary to strive towards close cooperation between these organizations. . . . The Trade Union Educational League . . . should strive to base its support upon a collective membership. . . . A Council of Action should be fashioned for coordinating the work of the minorities in the American Federation of Labor, the I. W. W., and the independent unions." At the session of the Central Council in June and July, 1923, resolutions were adopted on the differences in the Czechoslovakian labor union movement, on work in the Far and Near East, on the tactics of Red International of Labor Unions partisans in Spain, and on the American labor union movement. The Central Committee "expresses its full satisfaction at the brilliant progress made in the United States and Canada by the Trade Union Educational League. . . . [and] accepts the good work the League has accomplished in the formation of group committees in the separate branches of industry. It recommends all these committees to take up connections with the R. I. L. U.'s international propaganda committees."

Relations with Trade Internationals.—The resolution on the report on the various trade internationals, adopted at the

Council meeting of 1923, states that "the struggle for unity in the trade union internationals must not be confined to merely a fight for the admission of the Russian unions." Revolutionary unions entering the trade internationals, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, must fight for (1) reorganizing the trade internationals according to the principle of industry and with due regard to professional differences; (2) inclusion of the labor union federations of the Orient and of the colonies; (3) opposition to direct and indirect scabbery, and in favor of the extensive use of boycotts; an international solidarity fund for supporting strikes; (4) determined struggle against war and Fascism, with the workers of the transport, metal, mining and chemical industries supervising the activity of the controlling commissions; and (5) the international propaganda committees of the Red International of Labor Unions are to do all they can of their own accord to win international solidarity and actively support the militant workers.

United Front.—The Council session of June-July, 1923, declared that "the struggle against exclusion and for the rehabilitation of the excluded must be conducted more energetically than ever. All the independent organizations extant must fight for the readmission of the parts split off. In those countries containing two labor union centrals, that which is attached to the R. I. L. U. must unceasingly strive for the restoration of unity. . . . In the countries containing two distinct labor union organizations (i. e., France, Spain, and Czechoslovakia) the unions excluded by the reformists must join the revolutionary organizations. In these particular countries, the oppositional elements must under no condition whatever be drawn out of the reformist unions into the revolutionary parallel organizations. . . . The struggle for unity in the labor union movement will yield most success if the shops are made the centers of our activity. The struggle for the institution of shop stewards where there are none, and the revolutionizing of those already existing must rank as one of our foremost tasks. . . . the shop committees have their distinct functions. . . . all efforts at replacing the labor unions by workshop committees must be decisively opposed. . . . Not only in countries where the Red International of Labor Unions has a majority, but also in such where it is still but a minority, the

methods and forms of strikes must be carefully worked out by the Red International of Labor Unions partisans. . . . In countries comprising workers of distinct nationalities or races, the Red International of Labor Unions partisans have to aim at joining them all in one union."

INTERNATIONAL PEASANTS' COUNCIL

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers, in connection with the agricultural and home industries exhibition, August 15-October 15, 1923, issued a call to the unions of agricultural workers of all countries to come together, September 20, 1923, at Moscow. The International Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Agricultural and Forest Workers addressed the "revolutionary unions and the revolutionary minorities in the unions of agricultural and forest workers," to send delegates to their conference on September 25, 1923. An International Congress of Peasants was held on October 10, 1923. Over 100 delegates were present from peasants' organizations in 20 countries. The agenda comprised (1) the struggle against war; (2) the situation confronting the peasantry in capitalist countries; (3) results of the agrarian revolution in Russia; (4) peasants' cooperatives in Russia and other countries; and (5) closer relations between the peasantry and the working class. A manifesto to the working peasants of all countries was drawn up which stated that "the working class of the towns, dependent on its own resources, is too weak to carry on a victorious fight against the bourgeois state. The workers in the towns and the peasantry must fight together for their joint victory. . . . We have been able to convince ourselves with our own eyes, in the Workers' and Peasants' State of Russia, that. . . . the peasants of Russia have not only retained their land but they have received that of the former great landowners as well. They enjoy perfect liberty. Their property is protected, they can sell their products without restriction. They administer the affairs of their villages by means of their own Soviets. Nobody offends their national feelings, or interferes with them in the exercise of their religion. . . . We must follow their example. . . . You must fight together with them [workers of cities] to crush the power of the ruling class, and to establish the Workers' and Peasants' Government all over the world."

An appeal was also sent to the peasants of the colonial countries, "slaves, who, in your millions in the fields and forests, bear the double yoke laid upon you by foreign capitalism and by the rulers of your own countries," to organize and join forces with the Peasants' International. It called to them: "Pariahs of the colonies, unite!" An International Peasants' Council was set up, with representatives of all countries present. Smirnov, the People's Commissar for Agriculture in Russia, is the secretary.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Revolutionary Syndicalists.—Although the Red International of Labor Unions has made efforts to retain the affiliation of the revolutionary Syndicalists, the international conference of Syndicalist Unions held at Berlin, December 25, 1922-January 3, 1923, decided to launch a new organization. It adopted the name International Workingmen's Association, the same as the first International organized by Karl Marx in 1864. A prior conference, June 16-19, 1922, at Berlin, attended by the French General Confederation of United Labor in an advisory capacity, minorities of trade unions in various lands, representatives of Russian unions unaffiliated with the Red International, and the Spanish Syndicalists, had unanimously declared that "the Red International of Labor Unions, both in principle and in virtue of its constitution, is not an international organization capable of organizing the revolutionary workers of the world in one compact fighting organization." The conference elected an Executive Committee which in turn convened the Christmas Congress.

Program.—The International Workingmen's Association Congress met with representatives from the following countries: Argentina, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany (two organizations), Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, the Hindu Syndicalist Committee, the Russian Minority, and the French Syndicalist Defense Committee (a section within the General Confederation of United Labor). It was reported that the most important national group was that of the German Workers' Union, with a membership of about 100,000. The French Syndicalist Defense Committee sent delegates in protest against the act of the General Confederation of United Labor in joining the Red International. The Congress opposed affiliation to the Red

International because it declared the latter subordinated the trade union movement to the Communist International. It announced its task to be that of reconstituting the unity of the revolutionary workers, and of establishing relations with all organizations toward this end. In case the Red International refused to cooperate, it would appeal directly to the organizations adhering to the Moscow labor international. The International Workingmen's Association aims to create a revolutionary working class international independent of all political parties and governments.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS

Second Congress.—The International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions held its second Congress at Innsbruck, Austria, June 21-23, 1922, with delegates from 14 national federations and 12 countries: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, (two federations), France, Germany, Hungary, Luxemburg, Netherlands (two federations), Poland, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

Resolutions Adopted.—The Congress adopted resolutions on (1) world economic program, (2) present situation of the working classes, (3) eight-hour day, (4) cooperative movement and other matters. The economic program calls for no child labor under 14, and special measures for the protection of young workers, with prohibition of night work to those under 18. The state is urged legally to protect maternity and home-workers, besides insuring workers against sickness, invalidity, old age, accidents, occupational disease, and unemployment. The program further demands a minimum living wage, with wages above this corresponding to the value of the worker's contribution to the product. The Congress asked for equitable representation on the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations. The resolution on the present situation of the working classes demanded that Russia be again admitted to economic relations with the world, on condition that it recognizes state debts and guarantees private property and personal liberty to foreigners. It also called for the stabilization of exchange rates, mutual cancellation of war debts, reduction of reparations, and free trade. It appeals to the working class to "defend itself with all its might against the growing tide of social reaction," and to bring pressure to bear upon

the governments to achieve world economic stability and peace. The Congress declared in favor of the normal eight-hour day. Governments and Christian workers were urged to promote the cooperative movement.

Affiliations.—A day before the opening of the general Congress, the delegates from the various international federations of Christian unions in specific trades held a conference. At this conference the following international federations were represented: Agricultural Workers, Food Workers, Wood Workers, Leather Workers, Building Workers, Factory Workers, Printers, Clothing Workers, Miners, Metal Workers, Commercial Employees, Tobacco Workers, Textile Workers, and Railwaymen. In the early part of 1922 there were affiliated with the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, the following organizations:

Table 74—Membership of International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Austria	Central Committee of Christian Trade Unions	78,561
Belgium	Federation of Christian Unions	202,202
Czechoslovakia	German Federation of Christian Trade Unions .	15,000
France	Confederation of Christian Workers	125,000
Germany	Federation of Christian Trade Unions	1,142,956
Hungary	Federation of Christian Trade Unions	113,855
Italy	Italian Confederation of Workers	1,052,694
Luxemburg	Federation of Christian Trade Unions	500
Netherlands	Federation of Roman Catholic Unions	134,703
	Federation of Christian Unions	65,392
Spain	Federation of Catholic Trade Unions	42,319
Switzerland	Confederation of Christian Trade Unions	14,959
Yugoslavia	Federation of Christian Trade Unions	9,990

At that time the international claimed an affiliated membership of over 3,000,000.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Affiliations.—Through the initiative of the American Federation of Labor, the Pan-American Federation of Labor (*Confederacion Obrera Pan-Americana*) was organized at a conference, November 13, 1918, at Laredo, Texas. The second and third Congresses were held in July, 1919, and January, 1921, at New York and Mexico City respectively. No Congress has met since. On October 24, 1923, the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met with the Executive of the Mexican Federation of Labor at El Paso, Texas, and unanimously adopted a resolution to hold the next Congress in Mexico City, in December, 1924, and to attend the inauguration of General Plutarcho Elias Calles

whom they hoped would be elected President of the Mexican Republic. The resolution stated:

We have neither the right nor desire to interfere in the purely internal political affairs of any country but we cannot refrain from expressing deep satisfaction at the prospect of seeing a devoted friend of labor, justice, freedom, and democracy elected President of one of the greatest republics of the western hemisphere.

The following organizations are affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor:

United States—American Federation of Labor.
 Mexico—Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.
 Salvador—Confederacion de Obreros del Salvador. Union Obrera Salvadorena.
 Honduras—Union de Obreros "El Progreso."
 Nicaragua—Federacion de Obreros Nicaraguense.
 Dominican Republic—Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista.
 Peru—Centro Internacional Obrera del Peru.
 Ecuador—Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana.
 Guatemala—Federacion Obrera de Guatemala.
 Colombia—Directorio Ejecutivo Nacional Socialista.

Officers.—Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor is chairman and James Lord is treasurer, while Canuto A. Vargas and Chester M. Wright are Spanish and English secretaries.

CENTRAL AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Benefit Societies.—The Central American Federation of Labor (*Confederacion Obrera Centroamericana*) is composed of local national federations of the five Central American republics. The organization is slowly taking shape, as it was organized only in 1921.

In the local bodies composing the membership of the five state federations, the mutual benefit idea is predominant, though there are a number of strictly trade organizations.

Novacione is the official weekly paper.

LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Three Internationals.—At the beginning of 1922 there were three Internationals aiming to unite the revolutionary movement of labor on the political field. The Second International, which was reorganized at the Geneva Congress of July 31, 1920, and had its headquarters in London, comprised Socialist Parties in Great Britain (Labor Party and Trades Union Congress), Germany (Majority Socialists), France (Minority group), Italy (Reformist Socialists), Belgium, Switzerland, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary (Social Democratic Party), Lithuania, Poland (Polish Social-

ist Party), Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia (Social Revolutionary Party), and New Zealand. The International Working Union of Socialist Parties, organized with headquarters at Vienna on February 2, 1921, consisted of groups which were opposed both to the nationalist tendencies of the Second International and to the centralism and exclusive Communist character of the Third International. The body was intended not as an International "embracing the whole revolutionary proletariat, but a means to create such an International." It eventually included the Socialist Party of the United States, the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Independent Socialists of Germany, the Social Democratic Party of Austria, the German Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Party of France, the "Villagossag" group of Hungary, the Social Democratic Party of Latvia, the Revolutionary Socialists of Lithuania, the Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation (Poale Zion), the Federation of Socialist Parties of Rumania, the Social Democratic Party (Mensheviks) of Russia, and the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. A number of others were planning to join, when the movement for amalgamation with the Second International began. Finally, there was the Third, or Communist International, which was organized in Moscow, July 19-August 7, 1920, at the Second Congress of the International Association of Workers.

The Bureau of the Vienna International in the middle of January, 1922, opened negotiations with the London and Moscow Internationals for a Conference in the spring of 1922 with a limited agenda: (1) the economic situation of Europe and the action of the working class, and (2) the defensive struggle of the working class against reaction. The Conference was held in the Reichstag building of Berlin on April 2-5, 1922, with the following delegates:

Second International: Vandervelde and Huysmans (Belgium), Wels (Germany), Gosling, MacDonald, and Thomas Shaw (Great Britain), Vliegen (Holland), Stauning (Denmark), Moeller (Sweden), and Tseretelli (Georgia).

International Working Union of Socialist Parties: Adler and Bauer (Austria), Crispin (Germany), Longuet and Faure (France), Wallhead (Great Britain), Czermak (Czechoslovakia), Martoff (Russia), Kalin (Latvia), and Grimm (Switzerland).

Communist International: Bucharin and Radek (Russia), Clara Zetkin (Germany), Frossard and Rosmer (France),

Smeral (Czechoslovakia), Katayama (Japan), Stojanowits (Yugoslavia), and Warski (Poland).

Serrati of the Italian Socialist Party also attended.

The three Executives agreed on a declaration proposing an Organization Committee of Nine, three from each International, to arrange further conferences. The committee was to negotiate with the Amsterdam and Moscow trade union Internationals for the restoration of a trade union united front nationally and internationally. The Communist International representatives agreed to allow the 47 Social Revolutionaries accused of treason to have any defenders they wished; no death sentences were to be inflicted; and representatives of the other Internationals might attend the trial and take notes. Information on Georgia was to be collected and examined by the Organization Committee. On the subject of an immediate general conference of all Socialist parties, for which the Communist representatives were pressing, in connection with the Genoa Congress, the three Executives jointly declared:

The Conference notes that the representatives of the Second International have declared that they do not consider it possible to hold a general conference in April, that is to say, at the same time as the Genoa Conference. The Conference, however, agrees in principle upon the necessity of calling a general conference as soon as possible. The Executives undertake to inform their affiliated parties of the progress which the idea of a general conference has made during the Berlin negotiations, and they will give their representatives on the Organization Committee full power to conclude favorable negotiations for the calling of a general Conference.

The Committee of Nine set up by the Conference met in the Reichstag building at Berlin on May 23, 1922. MacDonald for the Second International submitted a memorandum protesting against the mode of procedure at the trials of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow. The Second International also protested the act of the Soviet Republic in suppressing the Socialist rebellion in Georgia, which had taken place since the Conference of the three Executives. It asked for the appointment of a committee on Georgia, and that the documents on the question promised by representatives of the Third International be supplied immediately. The Second International further declared that it had received from every one of its affiliated parties reports of what it called "disruptive tactics" of the Communists. It declared that a general conference would be possible only when these difficulties were removed. The representatives of the Third International replied that they would lay the promised documents on Georgia before a committee of the three Execu-

tives when the general conference had been convened. They demanded that the Organization Committee of Nine call the general conference. This committee, they said, had no other reason for existence. Adler of the Vienna Union stated that he realized that it was impossible to have a general conference, that the minimum of agreement did not exist for the conference or for the continuation of the Committee of Nine, and asked that the three delegations report to their Executives. Radek announced that the Third International withdrew from the committee.

London and Vienna Unity.—Early in 1921 the International Federation of Trade Unions had invited the Vienna International Working Union of Socialist Parties to attend a conference on April 1, 1921, to discuss reparations. The Vienna Union declined because the Executive of the Second International had also been invited. On October 19-20, 1921, however, the Executive Committee of the Second International and the Bureau of the Vienna Union met in London. They could come to no agreement. On February 26-27, 1922, a five-country international conference on reparations and disarmament was held at Frankfort, which included the French Socialist Party, the English Independent Labor Party, the German Independent Social Democratic Party, all of the Vienna Union, together with the British Labor Party, the German Majority Socialists, and the Belgian Labor Party of the Second International, besides the unaffiliated Italian Socialist Party. The Executives of the London and Vienna Internationals met for several days prior to this five-country conference at Frankfort. They went over the relations between the two Internationals. The Second decided to accept the invitation to the Berlin Conference of the Executives of the Three Internationals in April, 1922. Later, conversations were held in reference to Franco-British-Belgian relations between the leaders of both Internationals in these three countries, at Brussels, May 17-19, 1922, while the Committee of Nine still existed. The British Labor Party pledged itself with the Executive of the Second International, and the French Socialist Party with the Executive of the Vienna Union, to take the necessary steps to call a labor conference at The Hague during the sittings of the conference of the governments.

On May 23, 1922, a few days later, the Committee of Nine of the Executives of the three Internationals met and went out of existence. Subsequently the Bureau of the Vienna

Union sent an invitation to the Executives of the London and Vienna Internationals to attend a meeting on July 19, 1922, at which measures for safeguarding the German republic would be discussed. Both accepted. They met with the International Federation of Trade Unions on July 19, 1922, and issued a manifesto on the needs of Germany and in defense of the German republic. The Vienna Union proceeded to call a conference of all Socialist and labor parties at Carlsbad in September, 1922, while the Second International sent an invitation to the Vienna Union to cooperate with it in summoning a general conference October 1, 1922, at Hamburg. As a result of negotiations, both Congresses were postponed. In September the Independents and the Majority Socialists of Germany amalgamated into one party. At a meeting of the Executive of the Vienna Union, September 2-3, 1922, at which Hillquit, Lee, and Panken were present for the Socialist Party of the United States, a resolution was unanimously adopted, with Shreider of Russia not voting, stating that after the April, 1922, Conference of the three International Executives "further development in this direction has been considerably hampered by the attitude of the Second International and at last made impossible by the action of the Third International," in connection with the conviction of the Social Revolutionaries in Russia. The Vienna Union declared that the Third International "has by its whole conduct demonstrated its lack of honest desire to cooperate with other Socialist Parties as comrades [and] has consequently made any real, practical cooperation between the Socialist and Communist Parties impossible so long as they do not give up their disruptive and venomous tactics." Thereupon, it informed the Second International at its meeting of December 9, 1922, while the World Peace Congress was going on at The Hague, that it had resolved to have a committee meet a committee of the Second International at The Hague to prepare for a Workers' World Conference. The representatives of the two Executives met on December 10, 1922, and set up a joint committee of 10 members to arrange for an International Congress to bring about united Socialist organization and action. The committee fixed May 20, 1923, as the date and Hamburg, Germany, as the place of the proposed Congress. At a meeting in Cologne, on January 5-6, 1923, the committee drafted the formal call for the Congress, inviting all Socialist parties which accept:

1. The principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination as their object and the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organizations as the means of realizing that object;

2. The unity of the International Trade Union movement of Amsterdam as an absolute essential for the realization of that emancipation;

3. The resolution of The Hague World Peace Conference (1922) on "The Mission of Organized Labor in the Movement of World Peace" as the present basis in all action when there is imminent danger of war, and recognize the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy to be pursued by the workers' movement in case of war;

4. Recognition of the Labor and Socialist International, not only as an effective instrument in peace, but as absolutely essential in case of war;

5. Agreement after the formation of a Labor and Socialist International not to affiliate to any other political International.

A second meeting at Bregenz, Austria, on April 4-6, 1923, drew up the final agenda and a draft of a constitution. A meeting of the Vienna Union on May 20, voted 96 to 6 for merging with the new organization. Similar action was taken by the Second International.

Parties Represented.—The basis of representation in the Labor and Socialist International Congress was one delegate for 3,000 members, with a maximum of 50 delegates. There were 424 delegates from 30 countries and 43 parties or groups present, as follows:

Table 75—Parties Represented at Labor and Socialist International Congress, 1923

<i>Country</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Number of Delegates</i>
Armenia—	Armenian Revolutionary Federation	3
Austria—	Social Democratic Labor Party	37
	Czech Social Democratic Labor Party	2
Belgium—	Labor Party	24
Bulgaria—	Social Democratic Party	4
Czechoslovakia—	Czech Social Democratic Party	47
	German Social Democratic Party	30
	Socialist Federation	11
	Polish Socialist Labor Party	3
	Ruthenian Socialist Labor Party	3
	Hungarian Socialist Labor Party	1
Danzig—	Social Democratic Party	1
Denmark—	Social Democratic Party	50
Estonia—	Social Democratic Party	1
Finland—	Social Democratic Party	7
France—	Socialist Party	17
Georgia—	Social Democratic Party	3
Germany—	United Social Democratic Party	50
Great Britain—	Labor Party and Trades Union Congress	9
	Independent Labor Party	10
	Fabian Society	1
	Social Democratic Federation	1
Hungary—	"Jovo" Group	1
	Emigrants' "Villagossag" Group	1
Italy—	Unitarian Socialist Party	3
Latvia—	Social Democratic Party	2
Lithuania—	Social Democratic Party	2
Luxemburg—	Socialist Party	1
Netherlands—	Social Democratic Labor Party	11
Norway—	Social Democratic Party	4
Palestine—	Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation	7

Poland—Polish Socialist Party	6
Independent Socialist Party	3
German Socialist Party	1
Rumania—Socialist Party	4
Russia—Mensheviks	11
Social Revolutionaries	9
Spain—Social Democratic Party	2
Sweden—Social Democratic Labor Party	24
Switzerland—Social Democratic Party	6
Ukraine—Social Democratic Party	6
United States—Socialist Party	4
Yugoslavia—Socialist Party	1

Constitution.—The following constitution was adopted:

Constitution of the Labor and Socialist International The Labor and Socialist International

(1) The Labor and Socialist International (L. S. I.) is a union of such parties as accept the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth as their object and the class struggle which finds its expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organizations as a means of realizing that object.

(2) The object of the L. S. I. is to unify the activities of the affiliated parties, to arrange common action, and to bring about the entire unification of the International Labor and Socialist Movement on the basis of this constitution.

The parties associated in the L. S. I. undertake not to affiliate to any other political international.

(3) The Labor and Socialist International can only become a reality if its decisions in all international questions are binding on its affiliated bodies. The resolutions of the International will therefore imply a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the affiliated organizations.

(4) The L. S. I. is not only an effective instrument in peace but just as absolutely essential during war.

In conflict between nations the International shall be recognized as the highest authority.

(5) The carrying out of this task is entrusted by the L. S. I. to (a) the International Congress, (b) the Executive Committee, (c) the Administrative Committee, (d) the Secretariat.

International Congresses

(6) International Congresses will be convened by the Executive Committee as required by political events, but shall be held at least once in three years. The next Congress is to be held not later than in 1925. The Executive will publish the time and place of the Congress at least four months before it takes place, unless urgent reasons make it impossible. The Executive must convene as speedily as possible an International Congress on being requested so to do by ten affiliated organizations, having at least one-fourth of the votes represented in the International Congress.

(7) Only such parties as are affiliated to the L. S. I. are entitled to attend the Congress. The Executive shall decide upon applications for affiliation to the L. S. I., but such decisions shall be subject to confirmation by Congress.

(8) Every 3,000 members of an affiliated party are entitled to one delegate with a maximum of 50 delegates for any party.

(9) The Executive will allow each party represented at the Congress a certain number of votes in the plenary meetings. The basis of this number of votes is the membership of the Party and the total strength of the organized working class in their respective countries (trade unions, cooperatives, number of electors, party press, etc.). The maximum for each party is 30 votes.

If 30 delegates representing at least five different countries make a demand for a vote to be taken by Congress strength instead of by show of hands the demand must be complied with.

The Executive Committee

(10) Members of the Executive Committee will be appointed by the affiliated parties and their number will be determined by their representation on International Congresses. In countries where there are different nationalities with separate organizations, each organization will be dealt with separately. In the case of small national groups in a country the Executive Committee shall decide how they shall be dealt with.

(11) Countries (nationalities) which are entitled to more than 20 votes may appoint three members to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) which are entitled to from 11 to 20 votes may appoint two members to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) entitled to from 3 to 10 votes may appoint one member to the Executive Committee. Countries (nationalities) entitled to less than three votes may combine into groups, and such groups shall be entitled to one representative on the Executive for every three votes.

In countries (nationalities) where there is more than one affiliated party the number of members of the Executive Committee will be determined by the Congress votes, and will be allotted proportionately. Where one member only is allowed the party with the largest membership will take the appointment.

(12) Between Congresses the Executive exercises the functions of the Congress, but an appeal may be made to the Congress against a decision of the Executive.

(13) If at least one-fifth of the Executive members make a demand for a vote to be taken by Congress strength and not by show of hands the demand shall be complied with.

(14) Parties are allowed to send a substitute for any member of the Executive who is unable to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(15) If any member of the Executive Committee joins a government his membership of the committee shall cease automatically. If he leaves the government his organization can again reappoint him a member of the Committee.

Bureau

(16) The Executive Committee shall appoint nine of its members to form a Bureau which can be called together quickly on urgent matters and can deal with the necessary preparations for the full Executive meetings. These nine members should represent as many countries as possible, but due regard should be paid to being able to get them together quickly. This Bureau shall report and be responsible to the Executive Committee.

(17) When matters are to be discussed which concern a country which has not a direct representation on the Bureau the Administrative Committee shall invite a representative from that country to attend the meeting.

The Administrative Committee and the Secretariat

(18) The Executive Committee shall decide the country where the Secretariat shall be and appoint either one or more secretaries and the treasurer.

(19) An Administrative Committee shall be appointed by the Executive consisting of the secretary or secretaries, the treasurer, the members of the International Executive of the country in which the Secretariat is fixed, and three members appointed by the Executive Committee. These latter must also reside in the same country.

Members of the Administrative Committee have the right to attend and take part in the deliberations of the Executive and Bureau, but the right to vote is confined to the members definitely appointed to the Executive and the Bureau.

(20) The Administrative Committee shall control the activities of the Secretariat, appoint any assistants who may be necessary, authorize the calling of meetings of the Executive and sub-committees, and in urgent cases take all preliminary steps for the discussion of the political situation.

(21) Duties of the Secretariat:

(a) The Secretariat shall make all arrangements for Executive and Bureau meetings and International Congresses.

(b) Shall facilitate communications between affiliated parties and give all necessary information, principally through an L. S. I. bulletin,

to be issued as required, in three languages. This bulletin shall give special attention to reporting meetings of the Executive and Bureau, and record all important decisions and actions of affiliated parties.

(c) Shall prepare for the Executive a periodical statement of income and expenditure.

(d) Shall publish the reports of International Congresses.

(e) Shall create a reference library of the international Labor and Socialist movement.

Financial

(22) To defray the costs of the work of the L. S. I. a yearly levy based on the membership must be paid. This levy will be arranged to deal as equitably as possible with the peculiar position of the exchanges. It will be based on pre-war currencies, say, 1 Swiss centime per member multiplied by the number of times wages have increased.

(23) In addition to the regular yearly levies the affiliated parties will contribute to the cost of Congresses by paying for each delegate they send an amount which will be fixed when the Congresses are convoked.

Relations between the L. S. I. and the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Cooperative Alliance

(24) The L. S. I. considers the unity of the Trade Union movement as it is represented in the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) to be absolutely essential for realizing the emancipation of the working class.

The L. S. I. considers the unity of the Cooperative movement as it is represented in the International Cooperative Alliance (London) to be invaluable to the working class in their struggle for emancipation.

The L. S. I. will, therefore, maintain close connection both with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) and the International Cooperative Alliance (London). The L. S. I. is ready to call joint meetings and Congresses from time to time together with these international organizations in order to discuss problems which are common to all.

The L. S. I. appeals to all workers to realize unity within the Socialist movement in each country and in the International. It is determined to work strenuously for the realization of this unity on the basis of the decisions and resolutions passed by it. It appeals to the Socialists of all countries to give support to its efforts by making all endeavors to bring about a united front against capitalism and imperialism, both in their own countries and also in the international working class organization.

Officers.—The Executive Committee, made up of one, two or three members from countries or nationalities in proportion to the number of votes cast in the Congress, was constituted with the following representatives:

Great Britain—MacDonald, Thomas, Henderson	Polish Independent Socialist Party— Drobner
Germany—Crispien, Mueller, Wels	Hungary—
France—Bracke, Longuet	Netherlands—Troelstra
Italy—Modigliani, Treves	Switzerland—
Belgium—Vandervelde, De Brouckere	Finland—Wiik
Austria—Adler, Skaret	Norway—Nielsen
Russia—Abramovitch, Soukhomlin	Georgia—Tseretelli
Sweden—Branting, Moeller	Rumania—Voinea
Denmark—Stauning, Madsen	Latvia, Esthonia—Zeelens
America—Hillquit, Berger	Armenia, Poale Zion—Varandian or
Czechoslovakia (Czechs)—Nemec	Kaplansky
Czechoslovakia (Germans)—Czech	Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey—Top-
Poles in Czechoslovakia—Drobner	alovic or Sakasoff
Germans in Poland—Drobner	

The Executive Committee selected nine of its members to form the Bureau, consisting of Bracke, Vandervelde, Troel-

stra, Branting, Bauer, Abramovitch, Henderson, Modigliani and Wels. London was chosen as the seat of the Secretariat, and Tom Shaw of Great Britain and Friedrich Adler of Austria as the joint secretaries. The secretaries and the treasurer (Harry Gosling, Great Britain), the British members of the Executive Committee, and three others, Sidney Webb, Clifford Allen, and Richard Wallhead, make up the Administrative Committee.

Finances.—Each affiliated party or group will pay to the Labor and Socialist International on its membership a sum equivalent to 1 Swiss centime per member, on pre-war exchange rates, multiplied by the number of times wages have increased. The political parties with trade union affiliations, as those in Great Britain and Belgium, will pay on half their membership. Great Britain, for example, will pay about \$5,000 a year.

Votes.—The following provisional voting strength was allotted to each country at International Congresses:

<i>Votes</i>	<i>Country</i>
30	Great Britain, Germany
16	France, Czechoslovakia (Czechs 9, Germans 7)
15	Italy, Belgium, Austria (Czechs 1, Social Democratic Party 14)
12	United States, Sweden, Denmark, Russia (Mensheviks 6, Social Revolutionaries 6)
10	Poland (Socialist Party 8, Independents 1, Germans 1)
8	Hungary (Villagossag Group 1, Social Democratic Party 7)
7	Switzerland, Netherlands
6	Finland
3	Georgia, Norway, Rumania
2	Armenia, Latvia
1	Bulgaria, Danzig, Esthonia, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Poale Zion, Turkey, Ukraine.

Resolutions.—The Congress adopted resolutions on (1) the imperialist peace, (2) international action against international reaction, (2A) Russia, (3) the eight-hour day, and (4) Czechoslovakia. On the first question, the imperialist peace, the Congress demanded "the final settlement of the sum still due from Germany at a figure equivalent at present values to the actual amount due for material reparations," and the "adoption of a plan of payment, which, by means of international credit operations, shall make it possible for Germany to free itself in the shortest time practicable, from its burden of indebtedness, whilst at the same time placing at the disposal of the creditor states the funds necessary for their reparations." The Congress further demanded "the conclusion of agreements between the various governments securing that all such payments shall be devoted exclusively to reparations in the strict sense of the word."

It called upon the United States and the Allied Powers to abandon claims for payments from Germany towards military pensions, and to agree to universal cancelling of the inter-Allied government debts. The resolution demanded that every country shall be admitted into the League of Nations, that the League shall be democratized, and that the workers of the world should exercise effective control of their delegates to the League. It declared that labor opposes the oppression of racial and religious minorities, the expansion of colonial powers, the exploitation of native peoples and the violent destruction of their economic systems. Labor is opposed to protectionism. The resolution further accepted the stand taken at the World Peace Congress as to the task of the labor movement of the world in the war against war. It demanded that "the labor and Socialist parties of all countries refuse all support to an imperialist war, and that their Parliamentary representatives . . . withhold their consent to military or war credits having imperialist objects." The Congress went on record for the evacuation of Georgia by Soviet troops and it protested against the rule of Turkey and Russia in Armenia. It declared that the frontiers of the countries detached from Germany and Russia were imposed by violence, and it called for special Socialist conferences to find a peaceful solution on the basis of self-determination.

In its resolution on international action against international reaction the Congress voiced the declaration that "the working class must defend democracy against violent methods of the bourgeoisie." It demanded the right of asylum for political refugees and amnesty for political prisoners. The German workers were urged to defend themselves stoutly against the counter-revolution and the German capitalists. The world workers were urged to work to eliminate national hatreds, and to oppose intervention of all kinds, military and financial, blockades or boycotts, directed against states or groups within states by the ruling classes. It specifically called for opposition to intervention in Russia and for the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Republic. It demanded of the Soviet government that it cease "persecution of Socialists and workers of different opinions," and that it cause the immediate release of all political prisoners, with the "complete abandonment of the system of terroristic party dictatorship, and the adoption of a regime of political freedom and democratic self-government of the people."

The Congress declared in favor of the maximum eight-hour

day. It condemned those nations which had not fulfilled the legislative program adopted by the International Labor Conferences, and urged the workers to oppose the attempts of capitalist interests to undo the work of the International Labor Office.¹ The Congress instructed the Executive Committee to appoint a commission to bring about harmony between the Socialist parties in Czechoslovakia.

The British labor delegation abstained from voting on the Russian resolution. The delegation took the position that a previous resolution, on the imperialist peace, had already condemned the suppression of democracy by the Russian government, and a second resolution introduced by Abramovitch of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party was unnecessary. Questions as to the extent to which decisions reached by the Labor and Socialist International are actually binding on the constituent bodies have been raised. One element in Great Britain holds that "no party in the International is bound unless it agrees to bind itself . . . the resolutions of the International Congresses imply a limitation of their autonomy [but] self-imposed . . . and the time and manner of the execution of these resolutions belong to the uncontrolled direction of the respective parties."²

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN SOCIALISTS

Hamburg Conference.—During the Hamburg Congress in May, 1923, at which the Labor and Socialist International was founded, the women Socialists met in international conference. A total of 93 delegates, representing 21 countries, attended. The following demands for the protection of women and the race were incorporated in a unanimous resolution.

1. Guarantee of labor conditions for women such as will not be prejudicial to the health of the next generation;
2. Protection of women for six weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth;
3. Free medical attendance (doctor or midwife) and free treatment either in hospital or at home during confinement;
4. Measures to secure for children the living conditions necessary for their physical and moral development (allowances for orphans, children who have lost one parent, etc., insurance of children, a statutory system of family allowances, etc.);
5. Free medical supervision and assistance for mothers and children, opening of baby clinics, children's homes, convalescent homes for delicate children, etc.

¹See p. 318.

²W. G., in *Labor Magazine*, official journal of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, January, 1924.

6. Equal legal rights for legitimate and illegitimate children;
7. Prohibition of the employment of children at least until the age of 14, measures for the protection of young workers and for the continuance of their education.

SOCIALIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

Unity Congress.—Immediately after the Labor and Socialist International was organized in Hamburg, the Labor Youth International (affiliated to the Second International) and the International Working Union of Young Socialists (affiliated to the Vienna Union) began their unity conference in the same city on May 26, 1923. The Conference resulted in a united Socialist Youth International. Up to November 30, 1923, the following organizations had affiliated to the new International:

Belgium—National Federation of Belgian Youth Guards
 Bulgaria—Union of the Bulgarian Socialist Youth
 Czechoslovakia—Socialist Youth Union for German area; Czechoslovakian Social Democratic Youth Union; The Youth of the United Socialists
 Finland—Social Democratic Youth.
 France—National Federation of the Young Socialist Guards
 German-Austria—Union of the Socialist Labor Youth.
 Germany—Union of Socialist Labor Youth; Union of Socialist Students of Germany and German-Austria; Young Socialists of the United Social Democratic Party
 Georgia—Foreign Representation of the Social Democratic Youth
 Hungary—
 Italy—Socialist Youth Union
 Lettland—Social Democratic Youth Union
 Netherlands—The Central of the Labor Youth Union
 Norway—Social Democratic Youth Union
 Poland—Jewish Social Democratic Youth
 Russia—Social Revolutionary Youth
 United States—Young People's Socialist League of United States
 Yugoslavia—

The following had not yet applied for membership:

Czechoslovakia—Polish Socialist Labor Youth, "Sila" branch
 Denmark—Social Democratic Youth
 Lithuania—Social Democratic Youth
 Poland—Socialist Youth
 Russia—Social Democratic Youth
 Spain—Union of the Young Socialists
 Sweden—Social Democratic Youth Union
 Switzerland—Social Democratic Youth Union

Program.—The agenda of the Congress included (1) economic struggle of the young workers; (2) cultural tasks of the Socialist Youth organization; (3) political education of the working youth; (4) the proletarian youth and the fight against war; and (5) forming of an International of Socialist Youth. While ultimately demanding the overthrow of capitalism, the Socialist Youth International desires to awaken the young workers to a knowledge of economic questions, to impress them with their duty of joining trade unions,

interesting the latter in the special problems of young workers, and getting the youth to participate in the demonstrations and actions of the adults. The International considers its cultural task to be that of fighting capitalist culture with its individualism, to oppose the use of alcohol and drugs, obscene books and sensationalism in all forms, and by play, sport, and travel, literature and art, youth festivals, and special young people's homes, to lead the youth to a new social life under Socialism.

One of the most important tasks of the youth organizations is the political education of young workers, by active participation in the working class struggle, and by the most intensive educational work in scientific Socialism. In the war against war the young workers must be filled with the spirit of international solidarity, and the relationships with the youth must be continued when they are in camp. The Socialist youth organizations must be closely allied with all Socialist and labor groups which are fighting war. The youth movement must reserve "the right to defend itself when and where it is absolutely necessary against the attacking force of the reactionaries," but individual desertions from the army are declared an anarchistic method, which robs the armies of their revolutionary elements. According to the constitution adopted, the affiliated organizations must not belong to any other international alliance. An Executive Committee is set up, consisting of one elected member of the representatives of each affiliated Youth Alliance. The Bureau comprises the chairman, vice-chairman, the secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer and two others, and is elected by the Congress, which is held every three years.

Activities.—In conjunction with the International Federation of Trade Unions, an international gathering was held in Tinz, Austria, July 26-August 9, 1923, where lectures were given on the Socialist and youth movements, and questions discussed relating to constitutional and workers' rights. On August 11-12, an International Youth meeting took place in Nuremberg. The Austrians, German-Bohemians, and Dutch were strongly represented, while smaller delegations came from Sweden, Belgium, Great Britain, Georgia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, and other countries. There were over 35,000 present. The Constitution Day of the German Republic was celebrated, musical festivals and speeches were given, and the spirit of internationalism was expressed by sealing the reunion of the Socialist Youth International. The

Bureau of the Socialist Youth International applied to the International Labor Office to exchange material, issued a call for financial assistance to the German organizations, and cooperated with Amsterdam in planning an international anti-war demonstration day on September 21, 1924. Since October, 1923, it has issued a monthly in German, the *Socialist Youth International*, and published 5,000 copies of the proceedings of the Hamburg Conference. It sent representatives to the Conventions of the Socialist youth alliances in different countries.

National Sections.—In the youth organizations of Sweden, Denmark, France, and to some extent in Belgium, political educational work is emphasized. Among the German, Dutch, Austrian, and Bohemian groups, educational programs leading to development of character, health, and general knowledge are more largely followed. The Austrian youth organization interests itself in the protection of apprentices who constitute its membership. The young people's Socialist societies receive direct assistance from the trade unions and the Socialist parties of their countries. The German association has a membership of nearly 100,000, with more than 1,000 local groups. The Swedish group consists of about 10,000 members, while the Belgian association, devoting more attention to sports, has a membership of about 25,000. The Austrian society has 30,000 members.

The Belgian Young Socialist Guard has taken repeated action against the government's policy in the Ruhr, and against the support of the Separatists in the Rhineland by Belgian troops. It publishes an anti-militarist magazine, *La Caserne*. The Bulgarian Socialist youth organization cannot hold meetings without being disturbed by reactionary groups. The German Socialist youth organization has had to discontinue its offices and to reduce its magazines, on account of unemployment and the hard times. In France there are two Socialist youth groups, which are very weak in numbers. In the Netherlands the alliance is building a national vacation home. The movement is recuperating in the Italian cities. The Lettish alliance in the summer of 1923 defeated a bill which would have prevented the youth from organizing politically. The dictatorship in Spain has helped to destroy the movement there. But even before the military rule, the leaders of the youth group were thrown into prison for announcing public demonstrations. The convention of the Czechoslovakian German alliance on Novem-

ber 9-10, 1923, was well attended, and a number of lectures were given, resolutions adopted against war, and pamphlets ordered printed. An understanding was subsequently reached between the German group and the Bohemian Social Democratic Youth for cooperation against militarism and for the protection of youth.

Officers.—The Hamburg Congress elected on the Bureau: P. Voogd (Holland), J. Degraeve (Holland), E. Ollenhauer and Albrecht (Germany), K. Heintz and Throller (Austria), and E. Paul (Czechoslovakia). At present E. Ollenhauer is international secretary, and the headquarters have been permanently placed in Berlin. The Young People's Socialist League of the United States is officially represented on the Executive Committee.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Fourth Congress.—The Fourth Congress of the Third or Communist International was held in Moscow, November 7-December 3, 1922. Representation was based "not merely on the actual membership of the parties," but also on "the political importance of the respective parties in the present stage of the revolutionary struggle, the special political and economic situation of the given country, and finally, the degree of illegality of the party and the extent of its oppression by the enemy." Delegates numbering 296 with full voting power were present from 49 countries and two related organizations as follows:

Table 76—Countries Represented at Fourth Congress of Communist International, 1922

<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>Membership Represented</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>Membership Represented</i>
Africa	1	200	France	24	78,828
Argentina	2	3,500	Georgia	2	18,811
Armenia	1	...	Germany	23	226,000
Australia	2	900	Great Britain	7	5,116
Austria	4	16,000	Greece	1	...
Azerbaijan ..	2	...	Hungary	10	(Illegal)
Belgium	1	517	Iceland	1	4,000
Brazil	1	500	India	1	(Illegal)
Bukhara	1	...	Ireland	3	...
Bulgaria	6	40,000	Italy	21	24,638
Canada	1	4,810	Java	1	1,300
Chile	1	2,000	Latvia	6	1,500
China	1	300	Lithuania ..	2	1,000
Chita	1	...	Mexico	1	1,500
Czechoslovakia	17	170,000	Netherlands .	1	2,500
Denmark	1	1,200	Norway	5	60,000
Estonia	2	2,800	Palestine	1	...
Finland	7	25,000	Persia	2	1,000
Fiume	1	150	Poland (illegal)	10	10,000

<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>Membership Represented</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>Membership Represented</i>
Portugal	1	2,900	United States—		
Rumania	3	2,000	Communist		
Russia	75	384,522	Party	9	8,000
Spain	3	5,000	Uruguay	1	1,000
Sweden	6	12,143	Yugoslavia	6	80,000
Switzerland	3	5,200	Young Com-		
Turkey—			munist In-		
Angora Party . . .	2	300	ternational	20	760,000
Constantinople			Red Interna-		
Party	2	...	tional of La-		
Ukraine	10	80,000	bor Unions.. . .	20	12,185,000

There were also a number of delegates with voice but no vote from these countries as well as from Egypt, Korea, Mongolia, Mountain Republic, Turkestan, Workers' Party of America, Italian Socialist Party, Czechoslovak opposition, Women's International, and Famine Relief.

International Communist Organization.—Further steps were taken toward making the Communist International a real international Communist Party. It was decided that world Congresses are to take place annually, the date and number of delegates from each section to be fixed by the enlarged Executive. Each party bears the costs of its own delegates. No binding mandates are permitted. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, consisting of the president, 24 members, and 10 substitutes, not less than 15 of whom must be permanently located in Moscow, is to be elected by the Congress. Every four months meetings of an Enlarged Executive will take place, with the 25 members of the Executive Committee, three representatives from Germany, France, Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Italy as well as of the Red International of Labor Unions and the Young Communist International; two representatives from Great Britain, United States, Poland, Bulgaria, and Norway, and one representative from such other countries as are entitled to votes. The first meeting of the Enlarged Executive must take place immediately after the World Congress. At the first meeting, the Executive Committee will choose a Presidium, with one representative from the Red International of Labor Unions and the Young Communist International with consultative voice. The Presidium will set up departments on the Orient, on Organization, on Agitation and Propaganda, and on Statistics and Information. The Presidium also appoints a reporter for each of the more important countries and organizes and administers the General Secretariat under the management of a general secretary. In exceptional cases the Executive Committee sends representatives to the individual countries, with the

widest powers, to see to it that the decisions of the World Congresses are carried out. Three delegates each from France and Germany are entrusted with the functions of the International Controlling Commission.

All Communist publications are required to print all documents of the Executive Committee when asked to do so. The Central Committees of each national Communist party affiliated with the International must furnish regularly to the Executive the minutes of its meetings. The more important sections of neighboring countries are to exchange representatives. National party conferences are not to take place until after the World Congress, unless with the consent of the Moscow Executive. No member of the Central Committee of a national section may resign without the consent of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Presidium is instructed properly to prepare a number of important parties for illegal work. The International Women's Secretariat continues, with a women's secretary appointed by the Executive. The Communist International is to be represented in the Young Communist International. The Executive Committee is to work out "a special co-ordination of forces" between the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. The date of the Fifth Congress was originally set for March, 1924, but it was postponed to August.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International as elected at the Fourth Congress is as follows:

Chairman—Zinoviev.

France—Frossard¹ and Souvarin; substitute, Duret.

Germany—Zetkin, Eberlain; substitute, Boettcher.

Russia—Bukharin, Radek; substitutes, Lenin,² Trotsky.

Czechoslovakia—Smeral, Neurath; substitute, Nuna.

Italy—Generai, Grasci; substitute, Bordiga.

Young Communist International—Schueller, Schatzkin.

Great Britain—MacManus; substitute, Newbold.

United States—Carr; substitute, Damon.

Scandinavia—Hueglund, Schefflo.

Poland—Pruchnjak.

Finland—Kuusinen.

Balkan States—Kolaroff.

Australia—Garden.

South America—Stuermer.

South Africa—Andrews.

Orient—Katayama, Safarov; substitute, Roy.

Tactics.—President Zinoviev of the Executive Committee reported on the tactics of the Communist International. The resolutions of the Third World Congress, June 22-July 12, 1921, on (1) the World Economic Crisis and the Tasks of the

¹Resigned from the French party after the Fourth Congress.

²Died, January 21, 1924.

Communist International, and (2) the Tactics of the Communist International, were declared confirmed by the developments of the past year and a half. The theses adopted stated that "capitalism is today in a period of deterioration. The collapse of capitalism is now inevitable." The task of the Communist Parties is stated as first to expose the "continuous and unparalleled treachery" of the parties of the Second International and the leaders of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, and to show the workers that the reformists "have even directly left them in the lurch and betrayed them to the capitalists and to the bourgeois governments." It is the duty of the Communist Parties of all countries "to widen the scope of the numerous economic strikes that frequently break out, to deepen them and, wherever possible, to lead them on to political strikes and combats." They must make the fight against international Fascism one of their most important tasks. The resolution declares that "the Fascist organization is the last card of the bourgeoisie [and] brings home to the working masses the conviction that the domination of the bourgeoisie cannot be maintained otherwise than by undisguised dictatorship over the proletariat." "The tactic of the United Front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defense of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. . . . The most important thing in the tactic of the United Front is and remains the agitational and organization unification of the working masses." But the Communist parties are to continue independent, with "complete freedom of propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democracy."

The Communist International recognizes five kinds of workers' governments: (1) liberal workers' government, as now exists in England, and formerly existed in Australia; (2) Social-Democratic workers' government, as in Germany; (3) workers' and peasants' government, possibilities in the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, etc.; (4) workers' government in which Communists participate; and (5) a real proletarian workers' government which the Communist Party alone can embody in a pure form. The theses declare that "in certain circumstances the Communists must be prepared to form a government jointly with the non-Communist workers' parties and organizations." But "the formation of a real workers'

government and the continued existence of such a government whose policy is revolutionary, must lead to a bitter struggle and eventually to civil war with the bourgeoisie. . . . The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat, in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations, in introducing control of production, in putting the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in breaking down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." The resolution further states that one of the chief tasks of the Communist Parties is to organize and continue the support of the factory councils movement. There must be well established Communist nuclei in the workshops, factories, mines, and railways. Finally, every national section and its members must, on pain of expulsion, observe strict discipline in carrying out, not by words, but in deeds, the adopted tactics, which acceptance of the 21 Points implied. The Congress specifically instructed the Executive Committee to demand and watch over the fulfillment of these tactics. On the matter of international unity, the Executive reported that it made a proposal for common action to the reformist Internationals in connection with famine relief in Russia, the White Terror in Spain and Yugoslavia, and the Washington Conference.

Trade Unionism.—The theses on Communist work in the trade unions declare that "to maintain their rule, the leaders of the Amsterdam International do not hesitate to expel, not only individuals or isolated groups, but whole organizations." Reference is made to various Anarcho-Syndicalist groups in France, Netherlands, Sweden, and America, besides the Italian Syndicalist Union, the German Localists, and the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists, who "have come out openly as determined enemies of the Communist International and of the Russian Revolution." The Communists are called on to oppose the battle cry of Anarchism—the independence of the trade unions from political parties. Against the declared splitting and expelling policy of the reformists, the Communists in all countries are directed to unite the workers into single industrial organizations. Once expulsions take place, "the most important task of the Communist Parties is to prevent the scattering of the expelled elements." The International Industrial Propaganda Committees founded by the Red International of Labor Unions are to receive the active support of all Communist Parties.

Agrarian Question.—The Congress issued instructions on

the application of the theses of the Second Congress on the agrarian question. The poor peasants, including the petty farmers, small tenants, and agricultural laborers, it declared, "must be freed from the influence and leadership of the big peasantry allied to the big landowners. . . . The Communist Party must be at the head of every struggle of the agricultural masses against the ruling classes." The Communist Party is urged to help the rural proletariat secure higher wages, "an average yearly eight-hour day," and all improvements attained by the city proletariat. The Communists declared "against all forms of capitalist exploitation [of the peasants] by means of the loan and usurers' capital which makes the poor peasants the slaves of their creditors, also against the exploitation by commercial and speculative capital."

The Communist Party in the interests of the peasants declares it "struggles against the exploitation of industrial capital, which uses its monopoly rights for artificially raising the prices of manufactured goods. It strives for the supply of the means of production (artificial fertilizers, machinery, etc.), to the poor peasantry at low prices." It opposes the private monopoly of the transportation system, and heavy taxation of the peasants. "The Communist Party strives for the expropriation of the land, including agricultural implements, and the distribution of same among those who work on the land." Until the proletarian revolution has brought this about, the Communist Party supports the immediate demands for the betterment of the conditions of the small tenants by decreasing the share of the owner, lower rent for small farms, unconditional compensation for improvements made, with the distribution of land and capital among the poor peasants, with due attention to the interests of the agricultural laborers, that will enable both to exist and free them from the overlordship of the big landowners. The Communists in agriculture must organize and join agricultural unions, disintegrate "yellow, Fascist, and Christian counter-revolutionary organizations," and join the agricultural, consumers,' and credit cooperatives "in order to revolutionize them and to do away with the apparent conflict of interests between the hired laborers and the poor peasants."

National Sections.—Resolutions were adopted in reference to the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Yugoslavia, Egypt, and the East. Special resolutions were approved condemning the executions

of Irish and South African workers, the Yugoslav terror, and protesting against the Japanese occupation of Saghalin. A telegram was sent to the All-Indian Trade Union Congress at Lahore. Greetings were sent to the prisoners of capitalism, to the toilers of Russia, to the Red Army and Navy, to Red Petrograd, to the Italian workers, to the working masses of Turkey, and to the Factory Council Congress at Berlin-Neukoeln. A resolution on the Russian Revolution called upon the "proletarians of the as yet capitalist countries, inspired by the example of Soviet Russia, to strike a death blow against capitalism and to do their utmost for the world revolution."

The resolution on the Versailles treaty reads that "all the provisions of the Peace Treaty have become void except the one that the bourgeoisie of all countries have been able to shift the burden of the war and the Peace Treaty upon the proletariat." The Communists declare that the attempt to carry out the Versailles treaty would plunge the proletariat of the whole of Europe into the deepest misery. Another resolution most emphatically condemns the Geneva treaty providing for assistance to Austria with the aid of the League of Nations. On the Eastern question and imperialism, the Communist International proposes a united anti-imperialist front in the colonies and home countries of the imperial nations. All anti-immigration laws must be fought by Communists. A resolution on the Negro question declares that "the international struggle of the Negro race is a struggle against capitalism and imperialism," in the same way as are the struggles of the peoples of India and China, Persia and Turkey, Egypt and Morocco, and the oppressed colonial peoples everywhere. It states that the Communist International "is not simply the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America, but equally the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world [and] will fight for race equality of the Negro with the white people, as well as for equal wages, and political and social rights . . . will use every instrument within its control to compel the trade unions to admit Negro workers . . . [and] will take immediate steps to hold a general Negro conference or congress in Moscow."

Cooperative Efforts.—Separate resolutions were adopted on the Young Communist International, on Communist work among women, on cooperation, on the organization of class-war prisoners' aid, on Communist schools, and on interna-

tional workers' relief for Soviet Russia. The Communists are instructed to combat the illusion that the cooperatives by themselves can achieve a gradual transition to Socialism, and to oppose their political neutrality. Communists must endeavor to amalgamate the small consumers' societies into larger organizations; they repudiate the principle of dividends; they aim to set up special strikers' aid funds out of profits, and to defend the interests of the cooperative employees, as well as energetically oppose the bureaucracy which ignores the will of the working masses. Propaganda is to be conducted among the young people and working women by means of the Communist nuclei in the cooperatives.

Attitude toward Labor and Socialist International. When the Second International and the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties combined at Hamburg in May, 1923, to form the Labor and Socialist International, the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International declared that the Labor and Socialist International would soon be recognized by the workers as "a protective rampart for the bourgeoisie," and "the task incumbent upon the Comintern [Communist International] and its sections is to accelerate this inevitable process of disillusionment . . . The New Second International is a still-born child. It will be buried on the day of the first international conflict, of the first violent collision between capital and labor. This is the last rival of the Comintern in the labor movement, a rival which guarantees the Comintern's success."

On August 25, 1923, the Executives of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions sent an open letter to the Labor and Socialist International and to the International Federation of Trade Unions calling for a joint international conference to support the German workers, and to take measures for conducting the struggle for peace. No reply was received.

Poland.—The Executive Committee of the Communist International in November, 1923, in drawing a lesson from the recent big strikes in Poland, declared in a manifesto to the workers of all countries that "from the Cracow events the Polish working class must learn how to make the slogan of the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the workers a reality. Henceforth this must be the main slogan of the working class."

Twenty-One Points.—The 21 Points adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) as the con-

ditions for membership remain the basis of Communist affiliation and tactics. They are:

Twenty-One Points of the Communist International

1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely Communist character and agree with the program and the decisions of the Third International. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be propagated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker, soldier, and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day.

The periodical and non-periodical press and all party publishing concerns must be under the complete control of the party management, regardless of the fact of the party as a whole being at that moment legal or illegal. It is inadmissible for the publishing concerns to abuse their autonomy and to follow a policy which does not entirely correspond to the party's policy.

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in trade unions, in cooperatives, and all other places where the supporters of the Third International are admitted, it is necessary systematically and unmercifully to brand, not only the bourgeoisie, but also its accomplices, the reformers of all types.

2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more or less important posts in the labor movement (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, cooperatives, and municipal administrations) and replace them with well-tried Communists, without taking offense at the fact that, especially in the beginning, the places of "experienced" opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses.

3. In nearly every country in Europe and America the class struggle is entering upon the phase of civil war. In such circumstances the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois legality.

It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization machine which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution.

In all countries where the Communists, because of a state of siege and because of exceptional laws directed against them, are unable to carry on their whole work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal activities.

4. The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is forbidden by exceptional laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. It is necessary to carry on a systematic and well planned agitation in the country districts. The working class cannot triumph unless its policy will have insured it the support of the country proletariat and at least a part of the poorer farmers, and the neutrality of part of the rest of the village population. The Communist work in the country is gaining greatly in importance at the present time.

It must principally be carried on with the help of the revolutionary Communist workers in the city and the country who have connections in the country. Renunciation of this work or its transfer to unreliable, semi-reformist hands is equal to renunciation of the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a "demo-

cratic" renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

7. The parties wishing to belong to the Communist International are obligated to proclaim a clean break with reformism and with the policy of the "center" and to propagate this break throughout the ranks of the entire party membership. Without this a logical Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands unconditionally and in the form of an ultimatum the execution of this break within a very brief period. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to a condition that would allow notorious opportunists, such as are now represented by Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, et al., to have the right to be counted as members of the Third International. That could only lead to the Third International resembling to a high degree the dead Second International.

8. In the matter of colonies and oppressed nations a particularly clear-cut stand by the parties is necessary in those countries whose bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppressed other nations.

Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to unmask the tricks of "its" own imperialists in the colonies, to support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not only with words but with deeds, to demand the expulsion of its native imperialists from those colonies, to create in the hearts of the workers of its own country a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies and for the oppressed nations and to carry on a systematic agitation among the troops of its own country against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop a Communistic agitation within the trade unions, the workers' and shop councils, the consumers' cooperatives, and other mass organizations of the workers.

Within these organizations it is necessary to organize Communistic nuclei which, through continuous and persistent work, are to win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of Communism. These nuclei are obligated in their daily work everywhere to expose the treason of social patriots and the instability of the "center." The Communist nuclei must be completely under the control of the party as a whole.

10. Every party belonging to the Communist International is obligated to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam International of the yellow trade unions. It must carry on a most emphatic propaganda among the workers organized in trade unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam International. With all its means it must support the rising international association of the Red trade unions which affiliate with the Communist International.

11. Parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obligated to subject the personnel of the parliamentary groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the party Executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament subordinate his entire activities to the interests of genuinely revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be built upon the principle of democratic centralization. In the present epoch of acute civil war the Communist party will only be in a position to do its duty if it is organized along extremely centralized lines, if it is controlled by iron discipline, and if its party central body, supported by the confidence of the party membership, is fully equipped with power, authority, and the most far-reaching faculties.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communists carry on their work legally must from time to time institute cleansings (now registrations) of the personnel of their party organization in order systematically to rid the party of the petit bourgeois elements creeping into it.

14. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to offer unqualified support to every Soviet republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties must carry on a clean-cut propaganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the Soviet republic; and furthermore, they must use all means, legal or illegal, to carry propaganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republic.

15. Parties that have thus far still retained their old Social Democratic programs are now obligated to alter these programs within the shortest

time possible and, in accordance with the particular conditions of their countries, work out a new Communist program in the sense of the decisions of the Communist International.

As a rule the program of every party belonging to the Communist International must be sanctioned by the regular Congress of the Communist International, or by its Executive Committee.

In case the program of any party is not sanctioned by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the party concerned has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International, as well as the decisions of its Executive Committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the Second International.

In this connection, of course, the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, in their entire activities, take into consideration the varied conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and labor, and only adopt decisions of general application regarding such questions as can be covered by such decisions.

17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must bear the name: Communist party of such and such a country (section of the Third Communist International). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is to a high degree a political question of great importance.

The Communist International has declared war upon the whole bourgeois world and all yellow Social Democratic parties. It is necessary to make clear to every plain workingman the difference between the Communist parties and the old official Social Democratic and Socialist parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class.

18. All the leading press organs of the parties of all countries are obligated to print all important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties that belong to the Communist International, or that have applied for admission to it, are obligated to call, as soon as possible, but at the latest not more than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, a special convention for the purpose of examining all these conditions.

In this connection the central bodies must see to it that all the local organizations are made acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

20. Those parties that thus far wish to enter into the Third International, but have not radically changed their former tactics, must see to it that two-thirds of the members of their Central Committees and of all their important central bodies are comrades who unambiguously and publicly declared in favor of their parties' entry into the Third International before the Second Congress of the Communist International.

Exceptions may be allowed with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions in the cases of the representatives of the center tendency named in paragraph 7.

21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.

The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.

YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Relations with Communist International.—The Third Congress of the Young Communist International began on December 4, 1922, in Moscow, and lasted for 11 days. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International which started on November 7, had just ended on December 3. After hearing Zinoviev of the Communist International, the Young

Communist International Congress voted to endorse all the decisions of the Communist International. It welcomed the decision of the Fourth Congress "to transform the Communist International into a real, well-disciplined and centralized world party." The Second World Congress of the Young Communist International had already agreed upon the political subordination of the Young Communist Leagues, and their transformation into broad mass organizations of the working youth, under the political guidance of the Communist Parties. The Communist International at its Fourth Congress declared it imperatively necessary to create a united front between the young and adult workers. It called upon all the Communist Parties to fight for the demands of the working class youth, and to give the Young Communist Leagues effective assistance to organize and increase their membership.

Program.—The Second Congress of the Young Communist International issued theses on anti-militarism, better economic conditions, revolutionary education, spiritual and physical training, young agricultural and native workers, and children's groups. Resolutions were adopted at the Third Congress on the organization of shop nuclei, united front, and economic demands, in harmony with the theses of the Communist International. On the struggle against militarism, the Young Communist International declared:

The Young Communist Leagues must carry on systematic propaganda and educational work among the young workers to rouse their opposition to political reaction and white terror and to prepare them for active resistance. Their own members must be prepared physically, technically, and organizationally for the final struggle against reaction, in order to form the nuclei for the militant masses of the working class.

It called for the arming of the working class for self-protection. In the war against armaments, the Young Communist International urged:

continuous efforts to awaken the proletarian class consciousness and to rouse the workers' opposition; . . . struggle for the effective legal and illegal control of the manufacture of all war material and its distribution and transport by workers' organizations; an international struggle against the manufacture and transport of war material; systematic propaganda within the army: (a) for the improvement of the material condition of the soldiers; (b) recognition of the soldiers' civic rights of assembly and suffrage and their right to read proletarian newspapers and to frequent proletarian circles; support of the demands of the colonial soldiers for political equality, and the improvement of their material conditions; intensification of the determination of the broad masses to oppose war by every means, from street demonstrations to general strikes, rebellion, and the transformation of capitalist war into a revolutionary class struggle.

In September, 1922, the first international conference of children's groups' leaders was held. A special resolution of

the Third Congress of the Young Communist International on Communist children's groups called for intensified effort to educate children through common work, training and play, as well as instructive methods to prepare the children for the next stage, activity in the Young Communist Leagues. The resolution on the problem of sports instructed the Bureau of the Young Communist International to come to a definite decision on labor sports and athletic organizations.

The new program of economic demands adopted at the Third Congress of the Young Communist International declared that its basis and aim was the "Socialist reorganization of juvenile labor. . . abolition of wage slavery for all young workers up to 18 years, who must be cared for by the state and treated from an educational point of view until they have attained this age." Besides opposition to child labor, partial demands for all young workers of both sexes up to 18 years include (1) minimum living wages, equal wages for equal work for young and adult workers of both sexes; (2) six-hour day with pay for eight hours; (3) equal unemployment benefits for young and adult workers; (4) compulsory employment, with continuation training for young workers; (5) 44-hours' week-end rest; (6) full paid four-weeks' vacation; (7) no night or Sunday work for young workers up to 20 years; (8) prohibition of employment of young workers up to 20 years in industries injurious to their health; (9) compulsory vocational education up to 18; (10) all study classes to be held during the day-time, and paid for; abolition of evening, Saturday afternoon and Sunday classes; establishment of pupils' councils with right of voting on curriculum and school management, and (11) protection of apprentices.

Delegations.—There were over 90 delegates at the Third Congress of the Young Communist International, from Europe, Asia, North and South America, Australasia, and Africa. Lazarus Shatzkin of the Russian Young Communist League reported for the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. Shueller, secretary of the Young Communist International, opened and closed the convention. Two delegates were present from the Young Workers' League of America.

Executive Committee Activities.—The Executive Committee and the Bureau of the Young Communist International issued a number of manifestos and appeals between the Second and Third Congresses. They proclaimed days, such as Liebnicht

and Luxemburg day, for special propaganda purposes. They made overtures to the two Socialist Youth Internationals for a united front. They issued instructions to Young Communist Leagues in various countries, particularly in the storm centers of Communist activity, Germany, France, and Italy, and during the times of stress, in Poland and Finland.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

Organization.—The Treaty of Versailles and other peace treaties at the close of the World War set up an International Labor Organization with membership from all states affiliated to the League of Nations. The Labor Organization is to promote the regulation and improvement of labor conditions by international agreement. There is an annual Conference, consisting of four delegates from each state, two of whom are government delegates, and one each from the employers and employees, all selected by the governments. The Conference may, by a two-thirds majority, adopt draft conventions or recommendations on labor legislation to be incorporated in the laws of all nations affiliated, but there is no obligation on the governments, except that a member state may refer the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice whose decision is final.

The annual Conference selects a Governing Body of 32, 16 representing governments, eight the employers, and eight the employees, the latter 16 appointed by the delegates of their respective class. Since 1922 six of the government delegates, and two each from the employers and employees are to come from non-European states. Labor representatives on the Governing Body have included Poulton (Great Britain), Moore (Canada), Jouhaux (France), Oudegeest (Netherlands), Hueber (Austria), Thorberg and Backlund (Sweden), Schuerch (Switzerland), Cabellero (Spain), and Leipart (Germany). The International Federation of Trade Unions has voted at times to refer labor matters to the International Labor Organization.

The International Labor Office, under control of the Governing Body, is located at Geneva. Albert Thomas, the French Socialist, is director. The functions of the office are:

the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference.

The International Labor Office issues an *Official Bulletin* and *Industrial and Labor Information*, both weeklies, the *International Labor Review*, a monthly, and an annual *International Labor Directory*, besides a *Series of Studies and Reports*, and a *Legislative Series*.

Conferences.—Five annual Conferences have been held—Washington, 1919; Genoa, 1920; and Geneva, 1921, 1922, and 1923. At the 1921 and 1922 Conferences 39 states were represented, and in 1923 there were delegations from 42 states. The United States and Russia, which are not members of the League of Nations, were not represented at any of the Conferences. Germany, Austria, and Hungary have been admitted, the first two through the efforts of the labor groups of the Amsterdam International.

Third Conference.—At the third Conference, 1921, draft conventions were adopted forbidding employment of boys under 18 as trimmers and stokers on ships, and requiring medical examination of persons under 18 taking up sea life. After a long debate the Conference decided by a vote of 74 to 20, over the protest of the French government representatives, that it was competent to deal with agricultural questions. The Conference then went on record for action to give agricultural workers the right to organize, workmen's compensation and other social insurance benefits, more steady work through technical methods of farming and technical education, childbirth protection for women farm workers, regulation of night work for women and young persons, prohibition of child labor on farms during school hours, and regulation of housing conditions. It was agreed, however, not to press for the application to farming of the eight-hour day adopted in principle at the Washington Conference of 1919. A weekly rest period of 24 hours was proposed for manufacturing and commerce, and a draft convention was framed prohibiting white lead in painting.

Fourth Conference.—The fourth session of the Conference, in October and November, 1922, dealt mainly with improving the machinery of the International Labor Organization. It proposed an amendment to the constitution by which, of the 16 countries represented on the Governing Body, eight would be, as before, the countries of chief industrial importance, while the other eight would be selected by the government delegates at the Conference. Non-European nations were for the first time given representation on the Governing Body, by requiring that six of the government repre-

sentatives and two each of the workers' and employers' representatives be from those states. The Conference recommended that member states send the International Labor Office statistics on emigration, immigration, and the repatriation and transit of emigrants. The workers' group successfully proposed a resolution instructing the Office to make a study of changes in the workers' standard of life. Director Thomas reported on unemployment, and the Conference adopted a number of resolutions for expanding the inquiry, by the collaboration of the Office with the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations. The Office was also instructed to study the question of procedure for amending draft conventions, and report to the next Conference.

The workers' delegates complained, at the 1922 Conference, of the inaction or procrastination of governments, and the opposition of employers to the enactment of the draft conventions into law in the various countries. The official report of the Conference stated that there was "general recognition that economic and political circumstances, unforeseen and not to be attributed to any particular group, had checked the forward march of social progress."

Fifth Conference.—At the fifth Conference, Geneva, October 22-29, 1923, the 42 governments attending were represented by 122 official delegates and 70 technical advisers. The credentials of the delegate from Italy representing the Fascist unions, and of Japan and India for the workers, were contested, but the delegates were finally admitted. The Conference devoted itself exclusively to the general principles for the organization of factory inspection. After hearing reports from five committees, the Conference unanimously recommended the following methods:

1. That all accidents should be reported to the competent authorities.
2. That inspectors should inform and advise employers respecting the best standards of health and safety.
3. That inspectors should encourage the collaboration of employers' managing staff, and workers for the promotion of personal caution, safety methods, and the perfecting of safety equipment.
4. That inspectors should endeavor to promote the improvement and perfecting of measures of health and safety.
5. That in countries where it is considered preferable to have a special organization for accident insurance and prevention completely independent of the inspectorate, the special officers of such organizations should be guided by the foregoing principles.

Principles were also laid down with regard to the organization of the staff, the qualifications and training of inspectors, the standard and methods of inspection, the cooperation of employers and workers, and the submission of annual inspectors' reports.

Sixth Conference.—The sixth Conference is to open at Geneva in the latter half of June, 1924. The agenda prepared by the Governing Body includes the following points:

1. Development of facilities for the utilization of workers' leisure.
2. Equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.
3. Weekly suspension of work for 24 hours in glass manufacturing processes where tank furnaces are used.
4. Night work in bakeries.
5. Institution of a procedure for amendment of conventions.
6. The report of the Advisory Committee on Anthrax.

Results.—By October, 1923, the results in legislation of the International Labor Organization were reported as follows:

Number of ratifications registered by the secretary-general.....	86
Number of countries adhering to Berne convention on white phosphorus since Washington Conference	12
Ratifications authorized but not yet communicated	20
Ratifications recommended by governments	126
Legislative measures adopted to give effect to decisions	98
Legislative measures proposed but not yet adopted	72

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION

1922 and 1923 Meetings.—The tenth and eleventh meetings of the International Association for Labor Legislation were held October 13-14, 1922, and October 12-13, 1923, at Geneva and Basle respectively. The 1922 gathering declared that one of the tasks of the international Association henceforth is to deal with social insurance of every kind and with the protection of workers in countries of immigration; that generally speaking works councils contributed to the maintenance of industrial peace without injuring production; and that an international socio-political congress be convened in 1923. The Pope sent a message of greeting and an expression of his good wishes for the success of the meeting.

The Basle meeting endorsed for non-manual workers such measures as the 48-hour week, one day's rest in seven, minimum age for child employees, protection of women and young persons, social insurance, legal recognition of collective agreements, notices before dismissal and a dismissal wage, annual holiday with pay, and health measures in offices and shops. The meeting noted that works councils were supported by the working class in so far as they do not hinder the development of trade union organizations or interfere with the unions' or their political parties' spheres of activity. Further study of the question was voted. Two new national associations, in Czechoslovakia and Latvia, were admitted. It was decided to convene the Socio-Political Congress at Prague on June 10, 1924.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT

Reorganization.—The first post-war Congress of the International Association on Unemployment, founded in 1910, was held at Luxemburg, September 9-11, 1923, with 150 delegates representing 18 countries. John B. Andrews, with credentials from Secretary Herbert Hoover, attended as semi-official observer from the United States. There were present official representatives of the governments of Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Yugoslavia. There were also delegates from local authorities, employers' and workers' organizations, and public and private institutions, and a number of noted specialists.

Draft Resolution.—John B. Andrews, for the special committee on the subject, submitted a resolution embodying a general program of action, which was adopted. It embodied the following suggestions to the national sections of the international Association: (1) governmental policies providing for greater freedom for the circulation of goods, effected where possible by customs unions; (2) improvement of the monetary situation and re-establishment of normal international financial relations; (3) gathering of statistics of production and economic resources and needs of each country, to encourage the cooperation of business men in providing proper distribution of work and of the factors of production throughout the world; (4) facilitation of a desirable distribution of population; (5) development of an adequate and permanent system of public employment exchanges; (6) making unemployment insurance general, and consideration of suggestions for regularizing industry; (7) promotion of long-range planning of public works; and (8) increased educational facilities and development of machinery for vocational guidance in order to direct labor into the most desirable and efficient channels.

Emigration.—The Congress urged the national sections to exchange data on migratory movements of workers, and how far emigration and immigration would affect unemployment. The Congress also decided to inform the national sections concerning the method used in France in connection with the immigration of foreign workers.

Preventive Insurance.—The preventive nature of unemployment insurance, as embodied in the experiments in the United States and Great Britain, through the efforts of John R. Commons and William Beveridge, were discussed.

A resolution was adopted which declared that the most important "benefit" to be given by unemployment insurance is the provision of employment. The national sections were to study this feature of unemployment insurance.

Vocational Guidance.—The Congress, recognizing that "the lack of systematically planned vocational guidance is one cause of individual unemployment and of disturbance in the labor market," adopted a resolution recommending the establishment of laboratories for experiment, outlining a few of the problems in the conduct of vocational guidance, the matter of placement, and some general recommendations calling for consideration of the state of the labor market, as well as aptitude of the young person, the avoidance of excessive specialization, and the control of vocational guidance and apprenticeship by public authorities and joint bodies representing workers' and employers' organizations.

The problem of unemployment among intellectual workers was placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Association, and the secretariat was instructed to communicate with international organizations dealing with questions affecting intellectual workers.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOR STATISTICIANS

Purposes.—The International Labor Office invited the member states of the International Labor Organization to send delegates to an international conference on labor statistics. The Conference met at Geneva, October 29-November 2, 1923, with 52 official statisticians from 33 countries. The agenda included (1) classification of industries and occupations for the purposes of labor statistics; (2) statistics of wages and hours of labor; and (3) statistics of industrial accidents. The purpose of the Conference was to make labor statistics in all countries more uniform and comparable internationally.

The Conference adopted a resolution asking the International Labor Office to secure the necessary wage and cost of living figures for tentative international comparisons of real wages. The scarcity of wage and hour statistics was pointed out, and a minimum and an ideal program were urged. Standard classifications of industrial accidents were presented for practical use.

XII. TRADE UNIONISM AND LABOR POLITICAL MOVEMENTS ABROAD

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

Trade Union and Political Strength.—The growth of the economic and political organizations of labor in all countries is in many ways the most significant social development of recent years. The steady increase of membership was interrupted by the outbreak of the war in 1914. With the close of hostilities the membership shot upward again at an in-

Table 77—Membership of Trade
(In thousands)

<i>Country</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>1915</i>	<i>1916</i>
Argentina .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Australia	365	433	498	523	528	546
Austria	200	257	253	147	112	109
Belgium	189	231	203	263	...	...
Bulgaria .....	...	...	30	...	143	160
Canada	133	160	176	166	143	160
China .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Czechoslovakia	100	107	107	55	40	24
Denmark	128	139	154	156	173	189
Finland	20	24	28	31	30	42
France	1,029	1,054	1,027	1,026	...	...
Germany	3,336	3,566	3,572	2,271	1,524	1,496
Great Britain	2,970	3,226	4,192	4,199	4,417	4,677
Greece .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hungary	95	102	107	107	43	55
India .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Italy	847	861	972	962	806	701
Japan .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Latvia .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Luxemburg .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mexico .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Netherlands	169	189	220	227	251	304
New Zealand	56	61	71	74	68	71
Norway	53	61	64	68	78	81
Peru .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Poland .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Portugal .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rumania	6	10	...	...	17	16
Russia .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Africa .....	...	...	5	...	...	...
Spain	80	190	128	121	76	99
Sweden	111	120	136	141	151	189
Switzerland	78	86	89	50	65	89
United States	2,282	2,539	2,722	2,672	2,860	3,000
Yugoslavia ¹	8	5	9	14	12	12
Total	12,255	13,351	14,763	13,222	11,394 ³	11,860 ³

¹Figures up to 1919 for pre-war Serbia. ²American Federation of Labor only. ³Total not reliable because of incomplete reporting during war and changes of boundaries. ⁴1921 figure for Argentina includes 153,000 in an Anarcho-Syndicalist federation and 20,000 in a Catholic organization not listed in 1920. ⁵1921. ⁶1923. ⁷White workers only. *United States Month-*

creased rate, so that in 1920 there were more than three times as many trade unionists as before the war. In spite of a drop of more than 6,000,000 during the economic depression and the anti-union campaign of 1922, there are still over about 40,000,000 workers in the world's trade unions.

The proportion of trade unionists to total population varies from less than 1 per cent in the industrially backward countries to more than 10 per cent in Great Britain, 18 per cent in Germany, and 19 per cent in Austria.

In political strength, also, the workers' movement is growing. There is hardly an important country in which the workers are not directly represented in Parliament, and in several they form a large and influential legislative bloc.

Unions in Various Countries, 1911-1922

(In thousands)

Country	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Argentina .....	...	...	...	68	248 ⁴	60
Australia	564	582	628	684	703	750 ⁶
Austria	211	295	772	985	1,178	1,177
Belgium .....	...	450	750	920	920	781
Bulgaria .....	...	...	...	36	44	54
Canada	205	249	378	374	313	292 ⁶
China .....	...	...	...	...	300	500
Czechoslovakia	43	161	65 ⁴	1,650	1,562	1,383
Denmark	224	316	360	362	323	314
Finland	161	21	41	59	49	49
France	1,500	2,000	2,500	1,788	1,047	1,396
Germany	1,937	3,801	9,000	13,000	12,625	11,264
Great Britain	5,547	6,645	8,024	8,493	6,793	5,580
Greece .....	...	...	...	170	...	...
Hungary	215	500	500	343	266	203
India .....	...	...	...	500	500	500
Italy	740	...	1,806	3,100	2,200	3,443
Japan .....	...	...	...	...	111	...
Latvia .....	...	...	...	...	50	26
Luxemburg .....	...	...	...	...	26	21 ⁶
Mexico .....	...	...	...	...	1,056	656 ⁶
Netherlands	369	456	625	664	649	550
New Zealand .....	...	...	100	96	98	83
Norway	94	180	144	154	98	96
Peru .....	...	...	...	...	25	...
Poland .....	...	...	...	947	1,312	1,253
Portugal .....	...	...	...	150	150	...
Rumania	16	...	...	170	106	82
Russia .....	...	...	...	5,222	8,400	4,828
South Africa .....	...	...	...	133	108	60 ⁷
Spain	90	150	211	373	311	310
Sweden	244	302	339	390	362	325
Switzerland	149	177	224	312	267	234
United States	3,451	4,000	5,607	4,924	3,907 ²	3,680 ⁶
Yugoslavia ¹	12	15	20	47	72	81
Total	15,772 ³	20,290 ³	32,680	46,114	46,138	39,951

ly *Labor Review*, May, 1921; *International Labor Review*, February-March, 1923; *Twelfth Annual Report on Labor Organization in Canada*, 1922; *Second Statistical Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions*, 1924; *Industrial and Labor Information*, 1922-24; and *Proceedings of Congresses*.

Table 78—Percentage Trade Union Membership to Population

<i>Country</i>	<i>Trade Union Membership (In thousands)</i>	<i>Population (In thousands)</i>	<i>Percentage of Population in Trade Unions</i>
Argentina	60	8,533	.7
Australia	750	5,437	13.8
Austria	1,177	6,131	19.2
Belgium	781	7,479	10.4
Bulgaria	54	4,861	1.1
Canada	292	8,769	3.3
China	500	302,110	.2
Cuba	20 (est.)	2,889	.7
Czechoslovakia	1,383	13,596	10.3
Denmark	314	3,268	9.6
Dominican Republic	5	897	.4
Ecuador	5	2,000	.2
Egypt	60	12,710	.5
Finland	49	3,368	1.5
France	1,396	39,403	3.5
Germany	11,264	59,857	18.8
Great Britain	5,580	42,768	10.7
Greece	170	5,535	3.1
Hungary	203	7,841	2.6
India	500	247,140	.2
Ireland	183	4,390	4.2
Italy	3,443	37,528	9.2
Japan	111	56,961	.2
Latvia	26	1,503	1.7
Luxemburg	21	264	8.0
Mexico	656	15,502	4.2
Netherlands	550	6,841	8.0
New Zealand	83	1,219	6.8
Norway	96	2,646	3.6
Palestine	15	762	2.0
Panama	3	401	.7
Peru	25	4,570	.5
Poland	1,253	27,778	4.5
Portugal	150	5,958	2.0
Rumania	82	17,393	.5
Russia	4,828	131,546	3.7
South Africa	60	6,923	.9
Spain	310	20,784	1.5
Sweden	325	5,904	5.5
Switzerland	243	3,880	6.3
United States	3,680	105,711	3.5
Virgin Islands	2	26	7.7
Yugoslavia	81	11,338	.7

Table 79—Labor and Socialist Representation in Lower Houses of Parliament, 1923

<i>Country</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Socialist</i>	<i>Communist</i>	<i>Total Seats in House</i>
Argentina	158
Australia	29	...	...	75
Austria	66	1	175
Belgium	67	...	186
Bulgaria	8	49	227
Canada	2	...	...	244
Chile	2	118
China	596
Cuba	115
Czechoslovakia	87	22	300
Denmark	48	...	149
Estonia	32	10	100
Finland	53	27	200
France	52	16	610
Germany	173	15	459
Great Britain	191 ¹	...	...	615
Greece	369
Hungary	25	...	245
Ireland	14	...	...	153
Italy	122	16	535
Japan	464
Latvia	37	...	100
Lithuania	11	5	78
Luxemburg	7	...	48
Netherlands	20	...	100
New Zealand	17	...	...	80
Norway	8	29	150
Poland	48	2	444
Porto Rico	2	...	39
Portugal	164
Rumania	19	...	347
Russia	1441 ²	1441
Spain	3	...	417
Sweden	93	13	230
Switzerland	43	...	189
Turkey	200
Union of South Africa.....	12	...	...	134
United States	2	1	...	435
Virgin Islands	1	...	33
Yugoslavia	3	54	419

¹ The British Labor Party delegation contains nearly 100 members of the Independent Labor Party, a Socialist organization.

² This group contains some Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries and others, but numbers are not available.

ARGENTINA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The largest national labor organization in Argentina is the Argentine Syndicalist Union (*Union Sindical Argentina*). This is an extremely radical organization of 60,000 members. Its headquarters are in Buenos Aires. In 1922 this organization severed relations with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

There is another national labor organization called the Argentine Federation of Labor (*Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina*). The membership of this organization is uncertain.

In 1923 the legal work-day was fixed at eight hours in commercial, industrial, and transport undertakings, and on public works. Children under 12 may not be employed. There are other laws for the protection of women and children.

Labor Disputes.—In June, 1923, more than 40,000 persons were thrown out of work. On the 17th of the same month most of the unions of Buenos Aires, including the seamen, longshoremen, chauffeurs, and motormen, declared a strike following the shooting by a soldier of Kurt Wilckens, a German anti-militarist, who was in prison for killing Col. Hector B. Varela. The Argentine Syndicalist Union, the Argentine Federation of Labor, and the independent trade unions all joined in the strike. On the 19th the Argentine Federation of Labor ordered its members back to work. The Argentine Syndicalist Union stayed out, and organized a meeting the same evening, which was prohibited by authorities. At the meeting two were shot dead and a number wounded.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Argentina has a Congress of two houses—a Senate of 30 members, elected indirectly, and a House of Deputies of 168, elected directly for four-year terms. There is one Socialist in the present Senate.

Socialist Party.—The Socialist Party, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, controls about one-half the vote in the larger cities. The party has gained through a feud between the leaders of the Radical Party, which stands for

capitalist as opposed to aristocratic agrarian policies. Its headquarters are in Buenos Aires.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, reports 3,500 members. It utilized the general strike over the murder of Wilckens to promote its tactics of the United Front.

AUSTRALIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are five central labor organizations in Australia: (1) Labor Council of New South Wales, 125,000 members; (2) Trades and Labor Council of Queensland, also 125,000; (3) Trades and Labor Council of South Australia; (4) Trades and Labor Council of West Australia; and (5) the Trades Hall Council of Victoria. About 170 bodies are affiliated with these Councils, the largest being the Australian Workers' Union at Sydney, with a membership of 120,000.

In 1921 there were 382 trade union organizations with a combined membership of 703,009, of which 80,516 were women. In 1922 there were employed in the whole of Australia 1,325,000 workers aged 20 years or over.

In 1923 the total of trade union membership increased to 750,000, slightly over 70 per cent of the entire working class.

The group having the largest membership is the Railway and Tramway Workers, who number 88,731; the metal working trades follow with 57,000 trade unionists.

The 1922 All-Australia Trades Union Congress met at Melbourne June 26-30, with socialization of industry as the main subject for consideration. Prolonged discussion ended in reaffirmation of the decision of the Brisbane (1921) Conference, which advocated socialization of all means of production, distribution, and exchange. The Congress also called upon the Australian Labor Party for a uniform political policy throughout Australia, and to that end asked the party to admit affiliation from all working class groups, at the same time allowing the latter freedom of organization and propaganda.

One Big Union.—The One Big Union scheme, under the name of the Workers' Industrial Union of Australia, was officially launched in February, 1922, with a membership of

220,000, as follows: Australian Workers' Union (agriculture), 120,000; coal miners, 30,000; dock workers, 12,000; railwaymen, 48,000; seamen, 10,000. The Seamen's Union later withdrew because of a clause in the O. B. U. constitution debarring colored workers. The organization scheme of the O. B. U. provides for the following large departments: Agriculture and Fisheries, Building and Construction, Transportation, Manufacture, and Mining. The building trades unions have formed one group in the O. B. U. The new organization held its first annual conference in February, 1923. The entire attention of the delegates was occupied with organization problems.

A Labor Research and Information Bureau was formed in 1921, under the auspices of the Sydney Trades and Labor Council.

Labor Disputes.—The weakness of labor after the war has been reflected in working conditions. The 48-hour week began to replace the 44-hour week, without compensation for the extra four hours. Wages fell. The average decrease for 1922, amounting to 2s. 3d., affected 628,116 workers. In three of the states having a basic wage, reductions occurred. In 1923 the coal trust tried to effect a 33 per cent wage cut. The general industrial depression in 1922 threw approximately 100,000 out of work. In Sydney alone 25,000 iron and steel workers were jobless. Severe strikes added to the amount of unemployment.

The most important labor dispute during 1922 was the pastoral strike. The squatters, or ranch owners, wanted to reduce shearing rates and wages for roustabouts. Arbitration of the wage dispute led to a cut of shearing rates from 43 to 35 shillings for each 100 sheep, and roustabouts were cut from £4 10s. to £3 10s. a week. These cuts were so drastic that the squatters themselves urged the arbitration judge to revise his decision. The reductions were cut in two. The Executive of the Australian Workers' Union instructed its members to accept no less than the union rates as published in the *Worker*, and as they prevailed in Queensland. For this the general secretary of the Union and the editor of the *Worker* were each fined £100, and were enjoined from repeating the offense. Efforts were made to continue the strike without the help of the union, but they failed. In 1923 wages were raised 3 shillings for each 100 sheep, and pro rata increases were given to week workers.

In West Australia employees in the engineering trades rejected the 48-hour award of the Federal Arbitration Court. The ensuing struggle of over eight months was lost. The men returned to work on assurance of the State Trades Dispute Committee that there would be no victimization.

A dispute over hours and wages in the Maitland coal fields was important in showing the government's hostile attitude toward labor. The strike lasted from April until the end of July.

On October 31, 1923, the police of Melbourne went on strike because the police commissioner refused to dismiss officers accused of spying.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Commonwealth Parliamentary elections of 1922 resulted as follows: Labor 29, National 27, Country 14, Liberal 5. All but one (Queensland) of the state labor governments were swept out of office by the post-war tide of reaction.

Labor Party.—The Labor Parties of all the Australian states have adopted a new objective: The socialization of industry, production, and exchange, by (1) constitutional utilization of industrial and parliamentary machinery; (2) industrial organization of workers; (3) nationalization of banking and principal industries; (4) control of nationalized industries by boards upon which workers shall have representation; (5) establishment of an elective supreme economic council by industry; (6) and establishment of labor research and information bureaus, and of labor educational institutions in which workers shall be trained in industrial management.

The party opposed the projected British naval base at Singapore, and objected to a common foreign policy for the British Empire on the ground that it would involve Australia in another war. It also opposed plans for wholesale immigration, pointing out that in the autumn of 1923 93,000, or 7½ per cent, of the workers were unemployed. The Labor Party is not affiliated with any international organization.

Queensland.—To strengthen his majority E. G. Theodore, the Labor Party premier in Queensland, held a special election in May, 1923. The farmers swung to the Labor Party, causing the Country Party to lose half of its seats, and increasing the Labor majority to 16.

Attacks on the Queensland Labor government are aimed at its numerous successful state enterprises. Of special importance is the development of the state timber industry. The government has also entered the meat and fish industries, establishing cold storage plants and controlling prices. It has taken measures to develop state oil resources, and has established a coastwise carrying trade. This government showed its political radicalism by abolishing its upper House.

Communist Party.—The Australian Communist Party, established in 1920, was reported at the end of 1921 to have 2,900 members. At the end of 1922 it had 900. It is affiliated with the Third International and publishes a weekly called *The Communist*. Its stronghold is in New South Wales, where the Labor Party has accepted its affiliation.

AUSTRIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are three labor federations in Austria, the General Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated with the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, with 56 unions and 1,049,949 members—a slight loss since 1921; the Central Committee of Christian Unions, with 23 unions and 78,737 members; and the Federation of German-Speaking Workers, with 50,000 members, organized in 12 unions. The Christian Federation is affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. The Austrian Federation of Intellectual Workers has a membership of 300,000. About 24 per cent of the trade unionists are women.

The revolution of 1918 gave the organized workers great power, which they have not lost, even under the regime of Prime Minister Seipel, the protégé of the League of Nations. In every district there is an Industrial Commission, to which employers must apply for permission to discharge workers. The labor councils in the shops must be consulted on all questions by the employers. The army is thoroughly organized as a labor union, the soldiers having the right to vote, to hold meetings, and to elect "shop stewards."

Labor opposed the Treaty of Geneva and the acceptance by the Austrian government of the conditions under which help was extended by the League of Nations.

Congress.—The General Federation of Trade Unions held

its second Congress in Vienna, June 25-28, 1923, with 358 delegates, including 18 women. Anton Hueber, secretary, presented a detailed survey of real wages and revealed that they were below the pre-war rates. The Congress after considerable discussion adopted a resolution in favor of large industrial unions, including non-manual and manual workers, and instructed the Executive to call trade union conferences and submit plans for the exact demarcation of industrial groups. In reference to the Seipel government, the Congress demanded fundamental modifications of the Geneva agreement so as to restore Austrian economic and financial freedom and foreign credits for the reconstruction of national industry. The delegates passed a resolution demanding immediate legislation on old age and invalidity insurance, extension of unemployment relief works, and the inclusion of agricultural workers in all labor laws. The Congress adopted unanimously a resolution calling for continued solidarity with and propaganda among the defense forces.

Representatives of the Federation met with committees of the unemployed on March 23, 1923, in Vienna, and it was agreed that there would be mutual representation, consultation, and cooperation between the branches of the trade union movement and the representatives of the unemployed, in all matters dealing with unemployment.

A number of amalgamations of trade unions have taken place. The sculptors and wood workers united, as did certain of the assistants' unions with the shop assistants and the printers. The attempt to amalgamate the unions in the printing industry failed. Central machinery for joint action of unions has been set up in increasing degree.

Labor Disputes.—About 140,000 railway, post office, telegraph, and telephone employees struck June 24-25, 1922, and secured a sliding scale based on the cost of living. In November and December, 1922, the wages of metal workers in Vienna were cut 12½ to 14 per cent. The cost of living had fallen only 6 to 8 per cent. The employers had demanded a 20 per cent cut. A compromise was effected.

On December 9, 28,000 postal and customs employees struck because a Christmas bonus of 140,000 kronen (\$2) per man had been refused them. The Seipel government talked of using the army to break the strike, but the troops quartered in Vienna announced their intention to support the strikers with every means in their power. On December 13 the workers accepted a compromise. The government gave a

bonus of 70,000 kronen and established a system of premiums for economies.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The National Constitutional Assembly, elected in 1920, is made up as follows: Christian Socialists 82, Social Democrats 66, German Nationalists 20, Peasant Party 6, Workers' Party 1.

In the 1923 elections both the Socialists and the Christian Socialists increased their strength. The Nationalists lost seats. The Christian Socialist Party, to which Prime Minister Seipel belongs, represents the middle-class elements. The Christian Socialists and the Pan-Germans form a bloc to get the necessary two-thirds majority to pass their measures.

Socialist Party.—The 1923 Congress of the Austrian Social Democratic Labor Party was held at Vienna, November 14-16. The report of the Executive gave the membership as of June 30, 1923, as 514,273, of whom 122,311 were women. The membership in Vienna was 199,115. The Socialist Youth movement had 232 groups and 34,632 members.

The Congress voted to give women greater representation in future Congresses; to refer fusion in elections with the Christian Socialists to the party Executive; to demand the reform of the laws governing organizations and assemblage; to demand liberalization of the marriage laws, and the reform of the penal code in such a way as to avoid the more serious results of compulsory motherhood; and to oppose all attempts to undermine the code of social laws. It voted to join the Labor and Socialist International.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party in Austria, affiliated with the Third International, claimed in 1922 a membership of 16,000. Its headquarters are in Vienna. The party opposed the Geneva agreement on the ground that it increased the strength of the reaction and put more power into the hands of the capitalists. The Communists have gained some confidential posts in the trade unions.

BELGIUM

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are two national labor federations: the Trade Union Commission (*Commission Syndicale de Belgique*) affiliated with the International Fed-

eration of Trade Unions, and the Federation of Christian Unions, affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

The Trade Union Committee embraces 29 national unions with a membership in 1923 of 618,871. During 1922, due to the depression and to strikes, there was a decrease of about 79,000, which has been partly made up since. These unions publish 40 papers in Flemish and French. The most important groups are the Building and Wood Workers with 137,500, the Metal Workers with 138,042, and the Miners with 103,273 members.

The Federation of Christian Unions is an organization of 22 national unions, with 200,969 members. There are 23 papers published by these unions, all in French. The largest of the Christian Unions are the Wood Workers with 19,750 members, the Railway and Postal Employees and Seamen with 17,900, the Commercial Travellers with 10,334 and the Seamstresses with 9,867.

Trade Union Congresses.—The twenty-second Congress of the Trade Union Commission met at Brussels July 27-28, 1923, with 388 delegates. The Congress by a large majority voted for amalgamation of craft into industrial unions. It instructed the Belgian representatives on the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions to support all steps of the latter toward unity of action in the international trade union movement. Discussion of workers' control of industry was postponed for a special Congress. Meanwhile a group of technicians was to study the problems of labor control in the industries and their final socialization. Family allowances and workers' vacations were urged. The Congress celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Trade Union Commission on July 4, 1898, and wound up with a parade of 150,000 unionists.

The congress of the Miners' Federation in Brussels, March, 1922, declared that state administration of the coal deposits should be urged as the first stage on the road to taking over all mining concessions by the state.

Amalgamation.—As shown by the vote in the trade union Congress, the amalgamation movement is strong. The most important organizations now are the departmentalized industrial unions. The unions of carpenters, painters, masons, plasterers, wood workers, stone cutters, upholsterers, and others, both skilled and unskilled, have combined to form the National Union of Building Trades Workers, Wood Workers,

and Sundry Industries, with a membership of 137,500. The agricultural workers, the employees in the food and drink trades, and the hotel employees have likewise combined to form one union. In order to offset organization by the employers which forced a wage reduction in the whole industry, the metal workers have united more closely. The National Union of Metal Workers has now a membership of 138,042, including skilled and unskilled men and women workers, in shipbuilding, motor car works, telephone factories, blast furnaces, rolling presses, foundries, and wire mills; also machinists, molders, plumbers, jewelers, clockmakers, blacksmiths, and workers in delicate mechanical trades.

Strikes.—On April 25, 1923, a dispute began between the Transport Workers' Union, a union of state employees, and the government, in regard to increases in the workers' traveling allowances for work outside their home towns. Forty telegraph workers refused to perform certain work which would take them outside of the city of Antwerp, unless they received the increased travelling allowance. They and 210 others who supported them were dismissed. The union called out 3,000 telegraph and telephone linemen, and these too were dismissed by the government. Then the National Union of Railwaymen and Postal Telegraph and Telephone Workers declared a general strike of the telegraph and telephone workers. At the same time it added to the original demand a demand for general revision of the wage scales. The railwaymen, also state employees, came to the help of the telephone and telegraph workers and crippled the freight and baggage service. The government called the workers to the colors. Thereupon the railwaymen stopped the Antwerp-Brussels passenger service. Middle class volunteers made a futile attempt to deliver the mail. Only a few military trains were run. The dockers refused to load from the military trains and declared that if a soldier appeared on the docks, they too would strike. In May the Antwerp postal workers decided to join the strike. By the 15th, 100,000 men were out. On June 1 the Minister of Public Works promised that if the men would resume work the dismissals would be revoked, and the workers' demands would be submitted to investigation.

During the strike the police arrested 14 leading members of the strike committee on the charge of treason for having formed an illegal combination while acting as state employees, and for usurpation of power. They were tried during July

and acquitted. Two Socialist senators, Renier and Fraiture, were charged with "interference with the circulation of railway trains" through their participation in the strike. The accusation was upheld in the Senate by a vote of 63 to 55.

Remans, the Ruhrort representative of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union, was sentenced to a fine and four months' imprisonment by court martial at Aix-la-Chapelle because he distributed a manifesto calling on the Dutch Rhine navigation workers to refuse to act as strike-breakers.

During 1922 a total of 169 strikes were settled in Belgium, affecting 613 concerns and 85,002 workers; also three lock-outs, affecting 31 concerns and 600 workers. The metal industry came first in the number of strikes, 34; textiles second with 29; the coal mines third with 20. The largest number of strikers in any one industry was 26,371, in the metal industry.

A royal order of September 1, 1923, provides that strikers, and those thrown out of work as a direct result of a strike, shall not be entitled to unemployment benefits.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Legislative power in Belgium is vested in a Parliament of two houses, a Senate of 120 members, and a House of Representatives of 186 members elected by direct male suffrage. The Senate is made up of Catholics 73, Socialists 52, Liberals 28. The complexion of the lower House is: Catholics 80, Socialists 68, Liberals 33, scattering 5. There are no Socialists in the present Cabinet.

Labor Party.—The Belgian Labor Party (*Parti Ouvriere Belge*), as the Socialist Party is named, is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. It had a membership of 632,000 in 1923. Since 1921 it has been the opposition party in Parliament, having to face a coalition of liberal, conservative and Catholic groups.

The program of the Labor Party in the 1921 elections included a demand for the reduction of military service to six months, nationalization of the mines, workers' control of industry, and a capital levy. At its Congress on April 15-17, 1922, it adopted a resolution protesting against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. The Labor Party report for 1922 stated that it considers all danger to it from the Communists a thing of the past. By a vote of 375,579 to 233,070, the Labor Party Congress of March 31-April 2, 1923, added to

the program a demand that the municipal suffrage be extended to women in the provinces. This was bitterly fought by a group who felt that to do this would be to strengthen the Clericals.

The Young Socialist Guard had in 1922 a membership of 13,000. Its program includes opposition to militarism and to alcoholic liquor.

The General Council of the party on January 11, 1923, declared that it was just and necessary that Germany should make reparations for the damage she had caused. At the same time it passed a resolution condemning military measures for the purpose of collecting reparations, and recommended that the matter be referred to the League of Nations for arbitration.

When King Alfonso of Spain visited Brussels in May, 1923, the party issued a manifesto addressed to Alfonso, protesting against the persecution and imprisonment of members of the Spanish trade unions by the Spanish government.

The Labor Party, in a manifesto on the telegraph, postal and railway strike pointed out that the government was facing a deficit of 2,000,000,000 francs. "Most of the deficit has been incurred through taking part in the crazy Ruhr adventure of M. Poincare."

Late in 1923 the National Council of the Belgian Labor Party adopted a resolution aimed to counteract the growth of Communist influence in the labor movement. The resolution asks the unions and cooperatives to take steps to put an end to boring from within, and to exclude Communists and Communist sympathizers from local political groups.

Communist Party.—In March, 1923, there was much agitation in Belgium over the Ruhr policy. Seventeen Communists were arrested on the charge of having endangered the safety of the state by collusion with the Germans. Vandervelde and other Socialist leaders appeared as witnesses for the defense in the preliminary hearings. The defendants were later released on bail. The Communist Party of Belgium, affiliated with the Third International, has 517 members.

BOLIVIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The main labor organization is the La Paz Labor Federation, a local federated body in

the capital of the country. It consists mostly of mutual benefit artisans' societies.

Political

Labor Parties.—Labor has no representation in the Bolivian Parliament. Neither the Socialist nor the Communist Party is organized.

BRAZIL

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are 17 labor organizations organized into a Confederation of Labor (*Confederacao Operaria Brasileira*). The membership of these unions and of the Confederation is not available. The unions include transport workers, shoe workers, quarrymen, the building trades, confectioners, printers, lithographers, and weavers. The Confederation is not affiliated with any international organization.

Brazil is in the main an agricultural country, although only a small part of its agricultural lands are under cultivation. It has large undeveloped mineral resources. Its industries are small, and are to be found only in the seaports. All its unions are located in Sao Paulo.

On November, 1923, after an abortive political revolution in which the unions had taken no part, the Congress adopted a law providing that "No union shall hold a meeting without the presence of a representative of the police."

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Legislative power is vested in a Senate of 63 members, and a Chamber of Deputies of 243 members. The present Congress contains no labor representatives.

Communist Party.—There is a Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International. It reported 500 members in 1922. In November, 1923, when the labor movement came under police supervision, the Communist Party was declared illegal. Seven active leaders were jailed, headquarters were raided and printing presses smashed.

BULGARIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are two trade union federations in Bulgaria, with practically the same names. The General Federation of Trade Unions (*Obsht Rabot-*

nitscheski Syndikalen Saius w Balgaria) had in 1922 a membership of 34,300 in 19 national unions with 481 branches. The Federation of Trade Unions in Bulgaria (*Obcht Rabotnicheski Syndikalen Saius v Balgaria*) had 18,000 in 9 unions. The former is controlled by the Communists, the latter by Socialists.

Compulsory Labor Law.—Every able-bodied Bulgarian must perform a certain amount of work for the state. The maximum period of service is eight months for men and four months for women. The state may claim this service at any age between 20 and 40 years for men and 16 and 30 years for women. For 1922 a schedule of work was laid out to the value of 961,000 leva, on roads, railways, harbors, canals, telephones and telegraphs, farms, mines and forests.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Sobranje, or National Assembly, has 227 members, elected for four-year terms by universal suffrage. The elections of 1920 returned an Assembly made up as follows: Agrarians 110, Communists 49, Socialists 8, Democrats 24, Liberals 6, Radicals 8, Progressives 8, Nationalists 14.

Stambolisky, the Prime Minister from 1920 to June, 1923, was the leader of the Agrarian Party. This party was originally the Peasant League; before the war it was a petty organization. In December, 1919, the general strike of the miners and transport workers (including telegraph, telephone and post office workers) was violently suppressed with the help of the peasants. In the following spring, Stambolisky was elected Prime Minister. The Stambolisky government, which gained its power by promises to the small landholders and farm laborers, quickly became a dictatorship of the peasant bourgeois. It abolished freedom of the press and the right of assemblage. It waged continual warfare against the city workers, especially against the Communists.

In 1923 there were only three parties in the field—the Agrarian Party, the Bourgeois bloc, and Communist Party.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party, with its headquarters at Sofia, was able to elect only eight members of the National Assembly in 1920. To some extent they supported the Agrarian candidates. The party is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International.

Communist Party.—In June, 1923, Stambolisky was over-

thrown by the city capitalist group and shot. The capitalist government under Zankoff initiated a reign of terror. The Communist Workers' Home and the Workers' Cooperative stores were closed by the police and looted by the mob. Many Communists were arrested on September 12, on the charge of corresponding with Moscow. There was a peasant uprising on September 21, in which the Communists joined. Pitched battles occurred between the peasants and Communists on one side, and the police on the other, in which the Communists were defeated. Soviets set up in 50 villages in North Bulgaria by the Communists were put down by force. Thousands of Communists and peasants were arrested. Four of the leaders were hanged, two were imprisoned for life, 78 others were given long prison terms. Total fines amounted to 250,000 leva. Since the September defeat the peasants have become more willing to work with the city Communists.

The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, claimed 40,000 members at the end of 1922.

CANADA

Industrial

Wages and Hours.—Money wages in Canada during 1923 varied in different trades from 57 to 88 per cent above 1913 rates.

Table 80—Index Numbers of Rates of Wages for Various Classes of Labor in Canada, 1921-1923¹

(Rates in 1913 equals 100)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Building Trades</i>	<i>Metal Trades</i>	<i>Printing Trades</i>	<i>Electric Railways</i>	<i>Steam Railways</i>	<i>Coal Mining</i>	<i>Factory Labor</i>	<i>Lumbering</i>
1921	186.1	170.5	186.8	193.3	192.1	165.3	208.3	190.6	152.6
1922	176.8	162.5	173.7	192.3	184.4	155.1	197.8	183.0	158.7
1923	178.4	166.4	174.0	188.9	186.2	157.4	197.8	181.7	170.4

Against these increases in money wage rates, must be set the following increases in the cost of living:

¹Canadian Department of Labor, *Labor Gazette*, Special Supplement, January, 1924.

Table 81—Index Numbers of Cost of Living in Canada, 1920-1923¹

(Average 1913 equals 110)

July, 1920	201	September, 1922	152
March, 1921	177	April, 1923	154
December, 1921	156	December, 1923	154

Actual money wage rates and hours of labor for certain occupations in Winnipeg and Montreal during the last three years were as follows:

Table 82—Wage Rates and Hours of Labor, Winnipeg and Montreal, 1921-23

Occupation	—Winnipeg—		—Montreal—	
	Wages per Hour	Hours per Week	Wages per Hour	Hours per Week
Building Trades—				
Bricklayers				
1921	\$1.15	44	\$.90-\$1.00	44-50
1922	1.15	44	.90	44-50
1923	1.10	44	1.00	44-50
Laborers				
1921 .....	.50-.55	44-60	.30-.40	44-60
1922 .....	.40-.50	44-60	.25-.40	50-60
1923 .....	.35-.50	44-60	.30-.50	50-60
Metal Trades—				
Machinists				
1921 .....	.65-.85	44-54	.55-.70	44-58
1922 .....	.60-.85	44-50	.50-.70	40-60
1923 .....	.61-.77	44-50	.50-.65	47-58
Printing Trades—				
Compositors (hand)	Wages per Week		Wages per Week	
1921	\$48.00	46	\$36.00	48
1922	47.50	46	36.00	48
1923	42.32	46	38.00	48
Factories—				
Common Labor				
1921	\$20.20	44	15.00	48
1922	17.30	54	16.00	48
1923	17.30	54	14.00	48

Labor Organization.—The international unions affiliated with or independent of the American Federation of Labor, with headquarters in the United States, have in nearly all instances branches in Canada. In 1922 the total membership of all such branches in the dominion was 206,150. The following organizations reported membership in 1922 of 5,000 or more:

Mine Workers	22,500	Machinists	8,400
Railroad Trainmen	14,500	Carpenters and Joiners	8,326
Railroad Employees, Canadian Brotherhood of	12,567	Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	7,595
Railroad Trainmen	14,093	Locomotive Engineers	7,509
Maintenance of Way Employees	10,000	Street & Electric Railway Employees	7,500
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated	9,750	Musicians	7,152
		Railroad Telegraphers	6,805

¹Canadian Department of Labor, *Labor Gazette*, January, 1924.

There are also non-international organizations, with headquarters in Canada. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada had in 1922 a directly affiliated membership of Canadian local unions, outside of the A. F. of L., of 5,926. The Canadian Federation of Labor had a directly affiliated membership of 3,930, besides unions not directly chartered with a membership of 2,587, making a total of 6,517. Independent unions, largely local in character, had a membership in 1922 of 9,063. The One Big Union claimed 16,000 members in 1922 and 1923. The National and Catholic Unions had a membership of 38,335 in 1922, centered almost exclusively in the province of Quebec. All organizations combined showed for 1922 a total of 291,521.

Trades and Labor Congress.—The latest annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was held in Vancouver, B. C., September 10-14, 1923. For the last seven years the membership of the Trades and Labor Congresses has been as follows:

Table 83—Membership of Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, 1917-1923

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1917	81,687	1921	173,778
1918	117,498	1922	132,071
1919	160,605	1923	121,842
1920	173,463		

The international unions of the A. F. of L. were represented by 42 delegates; affiliated local branches had 158 delegates, the trades and labor councils 16, and the Alberta Federation of Labor 1 delegate. The American Federation of Labor, the British Trades Union Congress, and the International Federation of Trade Unions, to the last-named of which the Congress is affiliated, were represented by fraternal delegates. The Congress concerns itself almost wholly with legislative matters in the dominion Parliament and the provincial legislatures. At the Vancouver Convention a prolonged debate took place on a resolution calling upon the A. F. of L. to set up Canadian departments with power to declare strikes. The Committee on Resolutions brought in a substitute which declared that only on a basis of the present arrangement, with power ultimately residing in the international unions having headquarters in the United States, would it be possible for the weaker unions in Canada to fight organized capital effectively. The substitute was adopted by a vote of 120 to 53.

The Congress, following its former action at the Ottawa Convention in 1917 which resulted in the creation of a dominion-wide Labor Party, decided at the 1923 gathering to urge all labor organizations to affiliate with the Labor Party, but held that the Trades and Labor Congress should "act as the legislative mouthpiece for organized labor in Canada, independent of any political organization." The Congress adopted a resolution calling for either work or relief at rate of full maintenance, to remedy unemployment. The Vancouver council introduced a resolution censuring President Lewis of the United Mine Workers for his acts in connection with the strike of the Nova Scotia miners, but the president ruled the matter out of order.

The Canadian Congress is affiliated with the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, the International Federation of Working Women, and the International Federation of Trade Unions. Tom Moore was elected president, but two Vancouver delegates defeated two of the former vice-presidents. P. M. Draper was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

Federation of Catholic Workers.—The second annual Convention of the Federation of Catholic Workers was held in Quebec, August 11-16, 1923, with 88 unions represented. The Catholic unions are exclusively national, and cooperate with the church. The Convention unanimously approved a law drawn up for the incorporation of professional syndicates. Inasmuch as the Catholic unions are concentrated in the province of Quebec, the resolutions dealt largely with provincial labor legislation.

Canadian Federation of Labor.—This organization was first known as the National Trades and Labor Congress, founded in 1902, following the action of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada in excluding Knights of Labor branches and national unions where internationals of the same craft already existed. In September, 1908, the name Canadian Federation of Labor was adopted. In 1922 the Canadian Electrical Trades Union (1,200), the Canadian Federation of Bricklayers (987), and the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of Canada (400), were affiliated. Directly affiliated branches with a membership of 3,930 gave the Canadian Federation of Labor a total membership of 6,517. At its fifteenth annual Convention, September 24-26, 1923, at Ottawa, it was decided to establish a western subsidiary council of the Federation.

Local unions were prohibited from striking without the consent of the Executive Board of the Federation.

One Big Union.—In 1919, following the Winnipeg strike, a secession movement from the American Federation of Labor resulted in the formation of the One Big Union, and swept the western district of Canada. In 1923, the O. B. U. was successful in organizing among the lumber-workers and pulp and paper makers, especially in Ontario. The organization claims 16,000 members, and publishes a weekly, *The Bulletin*, with a circulation of about 35,000. The O. B. U. is hostile to the Workers' Party and the Trade Union Educational League, and regards the latter as futile. It is sympathetic, however, to the Red International of Labor Unions.

Strikes and Lockouts.—Industrial disputes in Canada dropped in 1922 below the 1921 figure, but increased markedly in 1923.

Table 84—Labor Disputes in Canada, 1918-1923¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Disputes in Existence in the Year</i>	<i>Employees Involved</i>	<i>Time Lost in Working Days</i>
1918	196	68,489	763,341
1919.	298	138,988	3,942,189
1920	285	52,150	886,754
1921	145	22,930	956,461
1922	85	41,050	1,975,276
1923	230	52,217	825,747

On June 28, 1923, the steel workers at Sydney, Nova Scotia, struck, after negotiations with the subsidiary of the British Empire Steel Corporation had failed to give the men a 20 per cent increase in wages, an eight-hour day, and the check-off system of collecting dues. About 2,700 out of some 3,500 employed in the steel plant went out. The militia and the provincial police were immediately called in. On July 3 the coal miners employed by another subsidiary of the British Empire Steel Corporation went out in protest against the presence of the military. A strike had in the meantime been voted by these miners in District 26, Nova Scotia, for the restoration of the 1921 wage scale. Before the strike vote was ordered by District 26, President Lewis had declared that the agreement running until January 15, 1924, must be kept. On July 11 the board of District 26 informed Lewis that the

¹Canadian Department of Labor, *Labor Gazette*, February, 1923, January, 1924.

strike was not against the terms of the agreement but against the presence of the military in an industrial dispute. Lewis thereupon revoked the charter of the district. Prior to the strike, the provincial police had searched the homes of labor men for evidences of sedition, and had aroused the anger of the miners. The Nova Scotia district had applied for membership in the Red International of Labor Unions. The application was withdrawn by order of the Executive Council of the United Mine Workers of America.

On July 6 President MacLaughlin and Secretary Livingstone of District 26 were arrested for circulating alleged false information as to the action of the provincial police. The mine workers were ordered back to work by the provisional president, appointed by Lewis to replace MacLaughlin, who was sentenced to a two years' term in jail, and the steel workers on August 1 formally called the strike off. It was declared that the steel strikers had not permitted any maintenance men to bank the fires, and the district mine workers' officers had also called out the men operating pumps and fans. A proposed conference of organizations in Western Canada to help the strikers was called off by order of President Lewis, but the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress demanded that an investigation be made by the dominion government. The strikers at Sydney appealed to the railroad employees not to move troops or coal. The jailing of MacLaughlin and the revocation of the charter of District 26 caused much feeling among the United Mine Workers and promised to be an issue at the forthcoming Convention of the miners on January 22, 1924, in Indianapolis.

The strike of the printers for the 44-hour week, which started in May, 1921, was still being conducted at the end of 1923. On August 20, 1923, of the 2,106 still on strike 768 were in Canada. From June, 1921, to May, 1923, strike benefits to Canadian unions of the International Typographical Union amounted to \$3,847,797.91. Of the total receipts of \$15,810,503.81 from all unions in Canada and the United States, to fight the strike of the printers, collected from June, 1921, to August 20, 1923, 26 per cent was spent in Canada.

Political

Labor Parties—In 1906 the Trades and Labor Congress voted provincial autonomy in the formation of working class political organizations. With the exception of Prince Edward

Island, labor parties sprang up in all the provinces. Labor Parties in Canada now include:

Independent Labor Parties, in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba.

Labor Parties in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, Alberta, Edmonton.

Federated Labor Party in Saskatchewan, British Columbia.

Labor Representation League, Saskatchewan.

Socialist Party of Canada, organized in British Columbia, and elsewhere.

Workers' Party of Canada.

Canadian Labor Party.

The Canadian Labor Party was formally organized in Winnipeg, in August, 1921. At the second annual Convention in Montreal, August, 1922, a constitution was adopted which restricted membership to provincial sections to be constituted at provincial conventions. The party program states that "we have in view a complete change in our present economic and social system."

Parliamentary Representation.—At the end of 1923 the Canadian labor parties had 85 labor men in the various provincial Parliaments. In the federal House there were two labor representatives, J. S. Woodsworth from Center Winnipeg and William Irvine from Calgary. More of the provincial labor parties have affiliated with the Canadian Labor Party. The Independent Labor Party of Nova Scotia voted to affiliate in November, 1923.

Socialist Party.—The Socialist Party of Canada has functioned for some time. It is organized in British Columbia particularly. It publishes a weekly, *The Western Clarion*, at Vancouver.

Workers' Party.—The Workers' Party of Canada was organized at a conference in Toronto, December, 1921. At its second Convention in February, 1923, a membership of 4,808 was shown, composed of the Finnish section, 2,028, the Ukrainian 880, and the general section with 1,900. The Workers' Party cooperated with the sections of the Canadian Labor Party, and its program included a demand for autonomy within the American Federation of Labor for Canadian branches. Its members worked with and supported the Trade Union Educational League.

CHILE

Industrial

Trade Unions.—The Labor Federation of Chile, affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, included at the end of 1922 80 per cent of all the organized workers. Its main strength is in Santiago, though it is represented in

all cities by federal councils. It has 300 sections, organized industrially in six branches: foodstuffs, manufacturing, transportation, public service, building, and mines. The shoemakers and bakers have a small I. W. W. independent organization. Farm organization is just beginning.

Unemployment.—Unemployment has been very heavy, especially in the nitrate fields. Several hundred unemployed who gathered in the suburbs of Santiago to hold a meeting were attacked by the police and a number were killed and wounded. Many of the unemployed were kept in forced detention at Santiago. A general attack was made upon all the workers' organizations. Two attempts were made to burn the trade union building, and all public meetings were forbidden. Some efforts were made to send unemployed men south in small groups, but the southern landowners refused them employment because they feared "agitation." The dock workers formed "redondillas"—small cooperative groups—to undertake jobs, but under government pressure many ship captains refused to give them work on the ground that they were illegal societies.

Miners' Strike.—A strike of 15,000 coal miners to prevent the discharge of from 900 to 1,500 of their number failed and was called off on March 21, 1922, after 80 days' struggle. Those who were discharged were alleged surplus hands, or "undesirables." The strike leaders also lost their places.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—There are two Communists in the Chamber of Deputies out of a total of 118. Elections are held every three years. There are also several Communists in the municipal councils.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party was formed in 1912 under the name of Socialist Labor Party. In December, 1919, it changed its program to conform to the Third International. The January, 1922, convention ratified adhesion to Moscow. It has 2,000 members, divided into 30 sections.

The Labor Federation and the Communist Party together own ten print shops and several schools, libraries and co-operative stores.

CHINA

Industrial

Working Conditions.—Working conditions in China are primitive. Vast numbers of children are employed. In the Shanghai cotton mills, which employ 75,000, the majority of the workers are women and children under eight. The average daily wage is 9 cents for men and 7 cents for women. The best paid of the low grade workers receive from 24 to 30 cents a day. It is estimated that 40 per cent of the workers in China are living below the poverty line. Housing conditions are bad. Many workers sleep in the factories. Night work is common. Inspection and protection for the workers do not exist, and industrial safeguards are unknown. In the match factories, yellow phosphorus is used, a material which is forbidden in almost every other country. At the same time, the contract system relieves the employer entirely from responsibility for the safety of his workers.

Until very recently there has been no attempt at labor legislation in China. Recently labor sections have been created in the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, and Communications and the Interior. Provisional factory regulations have been made for the limitation of hours of work to 10 a day, prohibition of work for children under 12 years of age; limitation of work for girls under 18 and boys under 17 to eight hours a day; and granting of maternity benefits and rest periods of five weeks before and after child-birth to women workers.

Trade Union Organization.—The trade union membership is almost negligible. The peasants, the great mass of the population, are entirely unorganized. Only between 2 and 3 per cent of the population are wage-workers, chiefly unskilled. Of these only about 500,000 are organized, including 200,000 factory workers and 185,000 salt miners; the rest are seamen. The unions are formed along provincial and caste lines, with the women organized into separate unions. The work of organizing is not keeping pace with the industrialization of the country. There is as yet no really national trade union association.

The Metal Workers' Union of Canton had a membership, in 1923, of 156,000; this includes all the metal workers of Canton as well as those of other towns. The union is organized industrially, with ten sections: draughtsmen, mod-

ellers, founders, turners, molders, steel workers, copper workers, machinists, electrical workers, stokers. Its program includes the founding of schools for mechanics; publishing of a monthly journal for mechanics; publication of a weekly journal; building of a model factory for mechanics; erection of a hospital for workers; organization of a technical school; establishment of a savings bank for workers; setting up of a sanatorium for tuberculous workers; erection of a convalescent home for aged people; and organization of kindergartens. The most important strike of this union occurred in May, 1921, when the workers not only gained an increase in wages and a reduction in hours, but also compelled the employers to make good the earnings lost by the workers during the strike.

Industrial unionism is growing in China. The Peking-Hankow Railway Union includes all the workers in the shops, on the trains and tracks, and in the stations, and also all the apprentices. It was organized in 1922. Its one big strike, in 1923, was suppressed.

National Trade Union Conference.—The first national labor conference of China met in Canton, May 1-6, 1922. There were 162 delegates present, from 12 cities, representing 300,000 workers in 200 unions. Resolutions were passed calling for mutual financial support in strikes; the eight-hour day; establishment of unionism on an industrial rather than a craft basis; economic rather than political aims for the time being; formation of a permanent national federation of trade unions; and the holding of future national conferences. The leaders favor affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, but no definite action has yet been taken.

Strikes.—Early in 1922 occurred the Chinese seamen's strike. In November, 1921, the Chinese seamen of Hongkong and Canton had demanded an increase of 30 per cent for those earning over £6 a month and 40 per cent for those earning less. The Chinese shipowners granted the increases, the British owners refused, and on January 3, 1922, the seamen walked out. The British governor of Hongkong resorted to violence in the effort to protect the shipowners, and helped them import strike breakers. He also declared the Chinese Seamen's Union an illegal society and raided its offices, confiscated its documents, and closed its hall. The Hongkong seamen issued a manifesto declaring their reasons for striking and urging other workers of all classes to join

them. On January 30, 50,000 Hongkong workers of all classes and a variety of occupations joined the strike: printers, pattern makers, electricians, boilermakers, street car men, harbor men, shipyard workers—even domestic servants—walked out. The strike altogether made 120,000 workers idle and held up 170 steamers, chiefly British. Boat-loads of the strikers went to Canton, which was under Chinese control, and refused to return until the Seamen's Hall was reopened. The government then forbade Chinese citizens to leave Hongkong without permits, and efforts were made to prevent trains from running between Hongkong and Canton. The strike ended in a victory for labor. The Hongkong government, after four weeks of the strike, revoked its illegality order, and the employers gave increases of 20 to 40 per cent, dating as from January 1. The British authorities agreed to recognize and deal thereafter with the labor unions in Hongkong. They also removed the governor of Hongkong, and formed a board of arbitration to settle future difficulties.

The seamen's strike was followed in 1922 by a wave of strikes in private and government enterprises in the South. Together they amounted almost to a general strike. Cargo coolies, carpenters, boarding house employees, printers, steel workers, and more than 10,000 railroad employees, were out between April and September. The workers were generally victorious and the government was compelled to grant legal permission for the organizing of trade unions. In August a strike at the Hanyang arsenal, the largest in the country, was suppressed by troops, resulting in the destruction of the \$6,000,000 plant by the workers.

In February, 1923, a strike of the year-old Peking-Hankow Railway Union took place and was ruthlessly suppressed. The Minister of Railways had ordered the dissolution of various sections of the union and arrested its leaders. A general strike of the railway workers was called. The union demanded discharge of the railway manager, an indemnity of \$6,000 for the arbitrary dissolution of the union's branches, one day's rest weekly with pay, and removal of troops from the district. The Minister of Railways invited the union to send representatives for negotiation. All of these representatives, the founder of the union among them, were put

to death. The troops fired upon a peaceful meeting of the strikers, killing over 100. Fifteen hundred other workers were arrested, and the strikers were ordered back to work.

In June, 1923, the Peking police went out in an effort to force the resignation of President Li Yuan Hung. They were not successful.

Political

Socialist Activity.—The wage-workers have little class consciousness, the peasants practically none. There is, however, a small and active body of Socialists. In the South of China the strong Nationalist political party is collaborating with the workers in their conflicts with the employers. There is also a small group of intellectuals, chiefly students, who are helping in the work of organizing workers.

Three labor newspapers are published in Shanghai, also several in Canton, Hankow, and other cities.

Communist Party.—There is a Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International. It had 300 members in 1922.

COLOMBIA

Political

Trade Union Organization.—The National Socialist and Labor Directory (*Directorio Nacional Socialista y Obrero*) is a rather loosely organized delegate body. It is composed of trade unions, mutual benefit societies, and Socialist groups, with the mutual benefit tendency predominating. The Directory's headquarters are in Bogota. It is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Political

Labor Parties.—Labor is not represented in the federal Congress. There is no formal Socialist or Communist body.

CUBA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There is no central organization of labor in Cuba. There are 159 local organizations and a few trade federations. The strongest trade union organization on the island is one of these latter, the Tobacco Workers' Federation (*Federacion de Torcedores*), which has 8,000 members and local branches in several of the provinces.

Next in strength is the Railroad Workers' Brotherhood (*Hermandad de Ferrocarrileros Cubanos*), with 6,000 members. Headquarters of both federations are in Havana.

Strikes.—In the spring of 1922 there was a strike of the telegraphers. In July, 1923, there was a strike of scavengers at Havana, for an increase in pay. A railroad strike began on December 19, 1923, and was still in progress at the end of the year. The strikers were successful in tying up traffic. They were accused of violence in conducting the strike.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The republic of Cuba has a Parliament of two houses, a Senate of 24 and a House of Representatives of 115 members. None of these are Socialists, Communists, or outspoken Laborites.

Neither Socialists nor Communists have organized.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—On December 1, 1922, the Federation of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, which had a membership in 1921 of 650,601, reported 388,394 members, the Federation of German Trade Unions a total of 285,376, and the Federation of National-Social Trade Unions, 305,595. The Czechoslovak and German Christian Federations had about 95,000 in 1921, with probable losses in 1922. The Communists set up on October 27, 1922, the International Trade Union Federation, affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, and their organ claimed at that time a membership of 318,685, while the Social Democratic paper cut it down to 50,000. The Czechoslovak and German Federations work together. The country has suffered very severe unemployment, which, with the splits, accounts for the loss in membership from 1921 to 1922.

Congresses.—The seventh Congress of the Federation of Czechoslovak Trade Unions met at Prague, January 22-26, 1922, with over 600 delegates. The main subject of controversy was international affiliation. By a vote of 333,447 to 222,027 the Federation decided to continue affiliation with the Amsterdam International, instead of joining the Red International of Labor Unions. It elected an Executive Committee with only two Communists of the 15.

On April 7, 1922, 161 delegates representing 39 trade unions adopted resolutions declaring that the economic revival of the country depended on the solution of the national and international production problems. The meeting approved a levy of 2 to 6 kronen for a strike fund. The Czechoslovak Federation and the Federation of German Trade Unions expended for unemployment benefit in 1922 9,000,000 kronen each. A Conference of members of works committees took place at Prague October 14-15, 1922, and decided to set up a special statistical bureau and to publish handbooks. The Conference demanded certain amendments to the works councils law, by which the councils would be consulted on discharges, and a central arbitration committee would be set up to decide appeals.

Unemployment.—During 1922 more than 600,000 workers were unemployed, and 400,000 were working only part time, chiefly in mines, metal works, and textile and chemical factories. Many migrated to Germany, hoping to get work in the border districts. The Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation, the Federation of National Socialist Unions, and the Federation of German Trade Unions met to form a joint policy in the matter. A program was drawn up demanding stabilization of the currency; reduction in the interest rate on loans; execution of works of public utility with money obtained partly by a reduction in military expense. One recommendation was that the employers should be compelled to prove that they could not profitably keep their works and factories going. In cases where it was found that employers were arbitrarily dismissing men or unnecessarily putting them upon short time, the government should be empowered to compel them to keep the men at work. A bill for this purpose had been introduced in the House; the trade unions demanded that it be put in force. During 1923 unemployment greatly decreased.

Strikes and Lockouts.—During 1922 there were 262 strikes and 20 lockouts, affecting 114,909 workers in 979 establishments. About one-fifth of the workers involved were women. Most of the strikes were caused by wage reductions. Only 50 of the 282 disputes were settled in the workers' favor. On March 1, 1923, 115,000 miners struck against the owners' demands for eight instead of six hours' work on Saturday without extra pay. They also put up a counter-demand for 10 per cent increase in wages. On March 24 they accepted

the eight-hour Saturday and compromised on wages. The strike broke out again in August, when the owners demanded a 30 per cent reduction in wages. On October 8 the men accepted a cut of 18 per cent.

Dissension within the Federation.—There has been much internal struggle in the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation. The adherents of the Amsterdam International early in 1922 started to expel Communist and Labor Left wing members. Open trouble began when the Wood Workers' Union, with 30,000 members, proclaimed the principles of the Red International of Labor Unions, and was expelled from the Federation. Fourteen unions, including the Agricultural Workers and the Building Trades Workers, besides large minorities in other unions, protested against the expulsion. A number of the protesting unions and minorities were also expelled. The fourteen expelled or protesting unions and the revolutionary minorities in the Right wing unions met in Prague in August, 1922, and decided to link themselves together and cease paying contributions to the Federation of Czechoslovak Trade Unions. In October they formed the International Trade Union Federation.

In the summer of 1923, the Leather Workers' Union and the Shoemakers' Union withdrew from the Communist group and rejoined the Czechoslovak Federation.

Workers' Education.—The Workers' Educational Association is maintained by the trade unions. It conducted during 1922 50 courses, seven high, elementary, and evening schools, and a workers' college. The sum of 50,000 kronen was distributed for libraries.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Parliament is made up of a Senate of 150 and a Chamber of Deputies of 300 members. The deputies are elected by proportional representation. The present Chamber is made up as follows: Social Democrats 87, German Nationalists 41, Agrarians 40, People's Party (Clerical) 33, National Socialists 24, Communists 22, National Democrats 19, Traders' Party 6, Progressive Socialists 3, Magyars (non-Socialists) 6, unoccupied seats 19.

Socialist Parties.—The elections which should have been held in 1922 were postponed for a year. They were attended by terrorism sponsored by the government, so that only 9,000

out of 15,000 communes had opposition tickets. Nevertheless, the government kept its control of Parliament by a majority of only a few seats. The Social Democratic Party, which a few years ago was the leading party, lost heavily. The Socialist movement is divided into six groups: the Czech Social Democratic Party, the German Social Democratic Party, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the Polish Social Democratic Party, the Ruthenian Social Democratic Workers' Party, and the Socialist Union, all affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International.

The Hamburg Conference of the Labor and Socialist International instructed its Executive to appoint a commission to investigate the conflicts between these parties, and to report proposals for settling them.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, formed in 1921 of Czech, German, and Slovak sections, had in 1922 a membership of 170,000. Kolarov was deported after addressing the party Congress at Prague, on February 2, 1923, in behalf of the Third International, with which the party is affiliated. The party gained largely in the 1923 elections, and now has 22 deputies out of 300 in the Chamber, and five senators out of 150. The Young Communist Movement was dissolved in 1922 by the government on account of its anti-militarist propaganda.

DENMARK

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Danish Trade Union Federation celebrated at the beginning of 1923 the 25th anniversary of its founding. It recalled that in 1900 a Scandinavian Federation was formed by the organizations in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from which came the first move toward a Trade Union International. The Danish Trade Union Federation reported in June, 1923, a membership of 240,000 workers, organized in 52 national unions. Besides these, there are 74,000 organized workers not affiliated with the Federation. Thirty per cent of the workers in agriculture are organized, and 55 per cent of workers in fishing and other industries. The Federation is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Trade Union Congress.—On October 9-10, 1922, there was an extraordinary general meeting of the Executive Com-

mittees and of representatives of local trade union councils to consider the question of "competence." By "competence" was meant the extent to which the Federation Executive might commit acts or pass regulations binding the individual unions, and the extent to which the separate unions might act for themselves. Until recently the trade unions of Denmark have followed the old guild formation, according to which the Federation had the right to make agreements binding the individual unions. The individual unions might enter into no agreements without sanction of the Federation. All trade union Congresses of 1922 dealt with this question of competence. The decision finally reached was that the unions might enter into independent agreements with employers and make special arrangements for benefits affecting their own members. The Federation, on the other hand, might make agreements concerning wages and working conditions in behalf of its federated unions, provided only that representatives of the unions concerned participated in the negotiations.

The Trade Union Federation has protested against the system of coercion brought about by the Danish unemployment insurance act. The act specifies that any person refusing employment when it is offered through the labor bureaus is not entitled to the doles. This clause is interpreted in such a way that unemployed men who refuse to act as strikebreakers are thereby deprived of the unemployment benefit.

Lockouts.—In February, 1922, the Danish Employers' Federation and the Factory and General Workers' Union came to a deadlock in their dispute over hours and wages. The special points of contention were a proposed heavy reduction in general wages and in overtime pay, interference with the eight-hour day, and a demand that workers in such seasonal trades as building should work extra hours in the summer. A lockout was declared on February 14, and 100,000 men were thrown out of work. The Communist Party tried to persuade the unions to join in a general strike in answer to the lockout. On the motion of the Union of Shoe Factory Workers, 99 delegates from 33 trade unions and 3 cartels met in conference February 27 and passed a resolution calling on the committee of the Trade Union Federation to take steps at once for a general strike. Provincial unions also

sent delegates to the Committee demanding a general strike. The Trade Union Federation, meeting in March, expressed itself as opposed to a general strike at that time, and the Executive prepared a compromise proposal for submission to the employers.

The employers' committee rejected the compromise and declared a new lockout, affecting 100,000 more workers. On April 4 the employers made a final proposal—reduction of general wages 12 to 15 per cent; reduction of overtime excess pay from 50 per cent to 25 per cent for the first hour and 37½ per cent for the second hour; continuation of the eight-hour provision of 1919. The Factory and General Workers' Union refused to settle on these terms. Thereupon the Employers' Federation brought a petition before the Danish Arbitration Court demanding settlement on the April 4 terms, and also demanding that the Trade Union Federation be fined for conducting an illegal strike. At the same time the employers posted notice of a lockout for all workers whose agreements would expire on May 1. A settlement of the dispute was finally reached, on the April 4 terms, but with a withdrawal of the petition of the employers. The lockout had lasted two months; 66 per cent of all trade union members were involved. The chief industries affected were iron and metal, textile, shoe-making, brick and cement, building, soap and oil, clothing, paper, chocolate, and docking. This is the first big lockout since 1899, when the "September Agreement" was reached which has since regulated Danish labor conditions.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Rigsdag, or Parliament of two chambers, was composed since 1920 as follows: Landsting (Senate): Liberals 32, Socialists 22, Conservatives 13, Radicals 8. Folketing (House of Commons): Liberals 52, Radicals 18, Socialists 48, Conservatives 27, Free Party 3, German Party 1.

Social Democratic Party.—The Social Democratic Party, in its Congress of January 19, 1923, showed a membership of 128,000 in 950 branches. This is an increase of 18,000 members and 80 branches since 1919. The increase is probably due largely to the bigger enrollment of women. Woman suffrage was granted in 1918. The present immediate program of the party has as its main features the regulation of imports for the sake of improving the foreign exchange

rate and eliminating unemployment, adoption of certain social insurance laws, and imposing of a drastic income tax to meet the national debt. The party is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International.

Communist Party.—The present Communist Federation was formed in 1921 by the union of two bodies, the Syndicalist Trade Union Opposition and the Communist Party. The two original bodies maintained separate organizations within the Federation, but in October, 1923, combined their daily papers, *Solidarist* and *Arbejdet*, into one paper, *Arbejderbladet*. Disagreement existed in the Federation from the beginning. A group of the younger members continually reproached the Central Committee with lack of activity and tried to overthrow it. In February, 1922, a definite split occurred, and two parties of about equal size were formed. Both parties appealed to the Executive Committee of the Third International. The committee expelled Christensen, the leader of the Left group, and Hellberg, the leader of the Right, and deprived leading members of both groups of the right of assuming party functions for a year. The remainder of the members of both groups were instructed to hold a unity conference. The unity conference was harmonious. It accepted unanimously a program for increased energy in the work within the trade unions. Agreement between the two groups has now been reached. A provisional Executive was formed of representatives of both sides, to prepare an amalgamation conference to take place in January, 1924. The united party is, however, still small. It has 1,200 members.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The only national labor organization is the National Communal Brotherhood, with headquarters at Puerto Plata. It is loosely formed, consisting of 5,000 workers organized in ten guilds and unions. These include tobacco workers, chauffeurs, railway engineers, and day laborers. On instruction from the Pan-American Congress, with which it is affiliated, steps are being taken to organize a guild of teachers in public and private schools.

The Brotherhood is trying to end the importation of laborers from the Barloventine Islands. These laborers are imported because they will work for 50 cents a day, while Dominican workers demand 80 cents a day. The Brother-

hood has protested vigorously against the interference of the government of the United States in the affairs of the Dominican Republic.

Political

Organization Lacking.—Labor is not organized politically.

ECUADOR

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Trade unions in Ecuador developed late, because of the agricultural nature of the country. After the failure of several strikes in 1919 the need of effective organization became apparent, and a few strong unions have been formed. Most of the labor organizations, however, are artisans' mutual benefit societies. The two main trade union bodies are the Ecuador Labor Federation (*Federacion del Trabajo*) with headquarters at Guayaquil and a membership of 3,000, and the Ecuador Labor Confederation (*Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana*), with its center at Quito and 2,000 members.

Railroad Strike.—In February, 1923, the Quito-Guayaquil Railroad workers struck for more wages. They gained partial increases and requested the government to intervene for more. A workers' committee called on the government and secured the liberation of the men arrested during the strike. The workers marched to the barracks to greet the prisoners. A clash with the police occurred, 500 men were killed and 1,000 wounded.

Political

Labor in Parliament.—Though there is no independent political party of labor, a number of workers' representatives hold seats in Parliament and in the city governments. They have been influential in securing night schools, government savings funds, and state-controlled pawnshops.

EGYPT

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Trade unions began to develop about 1919. Before that time there were only a few benevolent associations. By the end of 1921 there were 21 unions in Cairo, and 17 in Alexandria. The General Federation of Labor was launched in 1921 with 60,000 members in 21 unions.

It has three periodicals printed in Arabian. In May, 1921, the first May Day demonstration in Egypt took place. It was successful in spite of government hindrances.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—There is a Parliament of two houses elected by male suffrage. It contains no labor representation at present.

Socialist Party.—In March, 1922, the Egyptian Socialist Party urged the proletariat to unite, and to organize the trade union forces and the peasants in international proletarian action, as a counter-move to the aggressions of Spanish imperialists. The Socialist Party no longer exists. It became the Communist Party in 1923.

Communist Party.—The former Socialist Party applied for admission to the Communist International, and at its Congress in January, 1923, unanimously accepted the 21 points. The Egyptian government, aided by British troops, suppressed the party paper. The party program includes the emancipation of Egypt and union with the Soudan, nationalization of the Suez Canal, cancellation of the public debt, separation of church and state, expropriation of large landowners, and compulsory education. The party made no membership report for 1922.

ESTHONIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—A second national Congress of trade unions was held on November 27, 1922, at Reval. Following the election of the credentials committee, which it is claimed represented Communist and Left wing elements, the delegates of the Central Union of State and Municipal employees, the Postal Workers' union, and the Printers' union, withdrew. The Congress adopted resolutions demanding new elections for Parliament and provincial legislatures. It designated the Communist journal *Tooline* as the official organ. It is reported that 73 delegates, representing 27 organizations, withdrew from the Congress, and adopted resolutions declaring that the teachers' and the railwaymen's unions were unable to send delegates to the Congress because of the date fixed, and also urging Esthonian workers to affiliate with the Amsterdam International.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Riigikogu, or Parliament, has 100 members, chosen by direct universal suffrage, with proportional representation, for three year terms. The elections of 1923 returned a house composed as follows: Labor and Socialist 27, Farmers 23, Communists 10, Churchmen 8, Independent Socialists 5, Liberals 4, Scattering 33.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party with headquarters at Reval is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, had 2,800 members at the end of 1922.

FINLAND

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Finnish Trade Union Federation membership decreased in 1922 from 59,000 to 49,000. Of these 7,600 were women. Before the movement was dissolved and its property destroyed or confiscated during the civil war the membership had reached 160,000. Finland is still in the grip of a strong reactionary movement.

In 1919 the Federation was reorganized under the presidency of Matti Paasivuori, an old-time leader. Shortly afterwards the Communists secured control of the Federation, and affiliated it with the Communist Party. Social Democratic members objected to the use of their dues in this way, and factional divisions arose.

In February, 1922, by a referendum vote of 12,881 to 5,813 the Federation voted to join the Red International of Labor Unions. The Right wing refused to accept the result of the referendum because of the small number of votes cast.

Trade Union Congress.—At the Sixth Finnish Trade Union Congress at Helsingfors, May 12-16, 1923, 11 delegates had Social Democratic sympathies, while 65 leaned toward the Red International of Labor Unions. Most of the delegates had spent over a year in jail under the White repression. To avoid a split, it was decided not to affiliate with the R. I. L. U. for the present. The resolution on relation to political parties stated:

1. The trade unions of Finland base themselves on the class struggle, and therefore fight side by side with that political organization of the workers which is actually waging the class struggle.

2. Common action, for special aims, with this party of class struggle is to be secured.

3. Subject to the foregoing, trade unionists are free to join which workers' political party they choose.

The Congress voted for a united front of the masses in any class struggle activities. A plan was agreed on for consolidating the existing 21 craft unions into 13 industrial unions. The new Executive consists of 18 adherents of the R. I. L. U., two Social Democrats, and 6 non-partisans.

Strikes and Lockouts.—During 1922, 53 disputes were reported, affecting 9,840 workers and 353 employers. The longest disputes were the lockout and strike in the timber yards at Sornas, which lasted 161 days, and the painters' strike at Abo, which lasted 94 days. The greatest number of disputes was in the sawmill industry. The largest numbers of workers affected were engaged in building and in the sawmills. Most of the disputes were over wages, and in most cases the employers won.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Finland is governed by a House of Representatives of 200 members. After the elections of 1922 the composition of this House is as follows: Social Democrats 53, Agrarians 45, Finnish Coalition Party 35, Socialist Labor Party (Communist) 27, Swedish Party 25, Finnish Progressive Party 15.

Social Democratic Party.—The Social Democratic Party has been reorganized. At the party Congress at Helsingfors in 1922 a special conference on trade unionism was held. A committee of Social Democratic trade unionists was formed to bring the union movement back toward its Socialist position. Preparations were made for forming a new trade union federation in case the Finnish Federation affiliated with Moscow. The party is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International

Communist Party.—The Socialist Labor Party, affiliated with the Third International, is illegal. At the end of 1922, it claimed a membership of 25,000. In August, 1923, 100 active members were in prison, and arrests of those suspected of belonging were continuous. The entire party Executive, the Parliamentary group, and many others were seized on charges of high treason.

FRANCE

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Since the beginning of 1922 the French labor movement has functioned principally through two bodies: the General Confederation of Labor (*Confederation General du Travail*) with 750,000 members, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the General Confederation of United Labor (*Confederation General du Travail Unitaire*) with 350,000 members, affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. At the close of the war the General Confederation of Labor alone counted 2,000,000 members. There are also the National Federation of Civil Servants, with a membership of about 100,000, and the Confederation of Christian Workers, with 125,000.

General Confederation of Labor.—The General Confederation of Labor, or C. G. T., has since the rupture with the Left wing elements in December, 1921, held one general Congress, January 29-February 2, 1923, in Paris. The Congress was attended by about 700 delegates, representing 1,423 unions, 25 federations, and 34 departmental unions, with Roland (Agricultural Workers), Ehlers (Seamen), Blanchard (Metal Workers), Imbs (Alsace-Lorraine), and Bidegaray (Railwaymen) as chairmen. Secretary Jouhaux reported on international labor relations, and upon his request the Congress, by an overwhelming vote, denounced the invasion of the Ruhr, and demanded that an appeal be taken to the League of Nations. The Paris Congress took action on procedure for calling strikes, representation in Congresses, powers of the National Committee, reconstruction of union policy, unity, workers' control, foreign workers, wages, hours, National Economic Council, state monopolies, union rights of civil servants, employment exchanges, family allowances, social insurance, trade chambers, and workmen's compensation.

The C. G. T., which has suffered much from general strikes, amended its constitution at this Congress so as to give the national federations and the Administrative Committee of the C. G. T. alone the authority to call industrial or general strikes. Preceding even a local trade strike the national federation, local association, and departmental federation must be kept informed during negotiations. In a contemplated industrial strike, the Administrative Committee of the C. G. T.

must be consulted, and confer with all other industrial federations likely to be affected. The practical results of the amendment are to make each union fight with its own resources before calling on others. It also limits the objectives of the strike to its original purposes. The C. G. T. practically reconstructed the point of view of French labor, by setting up unemployment insurance funds, raising dues, and adopting a social reform program. The Congress changed the system of voting, whereby the powerful organizations are given proportionate control, while the small unions are not rendered altogether helpless. The National Committee was given power to suspend unions, pending a decision of the Congress, and unions were instructed to affiliate with their industrial federation and departmental association.

On the question of unity with the General Confederation of United Labor, affiliated to the R. I. L. U., the answer of the C. G. T. Congress was decisive: the C. G. T. U. was taking orders, it was declared, from those outside the trade union movement, and real unity can only take place inside the local unions. When these are united, they can call on the C. G. T. for unity.

The Congress decided to increase dues up to the amount necessary to continue publication of the official daily, *Le Peuple*. It urged stoppages where extension of hours took place without conference with the workers. It opposed turning over state monopolies to private enterprise. Instead it demanded independent financial administration and management of the various public services. It called for unity of the manual and non-manual workers, in industry and in the civil service, in a common fight against the master class. It welcomed foreign workers into France, but under control of an international organization of workers, and under regulation by a government office which would safeguard their interests and that of the French working class. It likewise extended the hand of fellowship to technicians and intellectuals who seek to help the workers inside industries to solve common problems. It urged that steps be taken to draw up plans in each industry, distinguishing between the general and private interests, with representation of the producers, consumers, and public departments. On workers' control, as first steps, it demanded that the workers be consulted on discharge, social legislation, and on all their traditional rights. The Congress voted for extensive and thoroughly representative employment exchanges, with special industrial departments. The

delegates demanded that the social insurance bill be enacted into law. They opposed reductions in wages, the existing fiscal system, policy of loans, protectionism, and the methods of collecting the tax on wages. The French Confederation works in close contact and harmony with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labor Office.

The National Committee, made up of delegates from the industrial federations and departmental associations, held its latest quarterly meeting on October 8-9, 1923, in Paris. Representatives of 29 federations and 66 departmental federations attended. A debate ensued on reports of the representatives of the departmental federations of the Somme, Oise, Cote d'Or, and Indre and Loire which had joined in the united front with the C. G. T. U. organizations. By a vote of 88 to 6 the Committee adopted a resolution which warned the affiliated unions against the confusion of "partisan unity," and it condemned unauthorized groups working inside the unions. The meeting also decided upon peace demonstrations on November 11.

General Confederation of United Labor.—The December, 1921, split which led to the formation of the General Confederation of United Labor occurred at a Congress at Paris called by the Revolutionary Trade Union Committee (*Conseil Syndical Revolutionnaire*). Those in charge claimed that a majority of the unions in the Confederation were represented. The Congress charged the administration with violating its instructions and invading the autonomy of the unions by expelling Left wing members and organizations. It decided on a permanent organization and adopted the name General Confederation of United Labor as an expression of its purpose. Under the influence of the Syndicalists, affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions was rejected.

The C. G. T. U. held its first annual Conference at St. Etienne, June 25-30, 1922. Six hundred delegates attended, representing 350,000 members in 71 national unions and 44 district federations. Monmousseau was elected secretary. A break between the Syndicalists and the growing Communist element was avoided. Affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions was carried on condition that the R. I. L. U. repeal Article X of its constitution which provided for interchange of three members between the Executive Committee of that organization and the Third International. This re-

quest was met by the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. in November, 1922. Meanwhile Syndicalist and Anarchist elements in the C. G. T. U. had organized a Committee for the Defense of Trade Unionism, and had agreed to affiliate with the new International Workingmen's Association, or Syndicalist International, formed at Berlin. When the question of affiliation with Moscow came up again in the National Executive of the C. G. T. U. in March, 1923, it was ratified only after strong opposition by the Syndicalists, with a vote of 25 to 23. The Syndicalists in the C. G. T. U. later formed a new group known as Revolutionary Syndicalists, led by Lartigue, and subsequently reinforced by Frossard and his followers after his resignation from the Communist Party. At the July, 1923, session of the National Executive, Lartigue opposed Communist committees in the trade unions as a menace to the movement. Semard defended them. Semard's resolution won, 58 to 37.

A special Congress of the C. G. T. U. to settle these points was held at Bourges, November 12-18, 1923. Three main groups of opinion appeared. The Communist Syndicalist majority, led by Semard, favored continued unconditional affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, and denied that there was any danger in Communist nuclei inside the unions. The Revolutionary Syndicalist group, represented by Marie Guillot and Lartigue, approved affiliation with Moscow, but opposed the exercise of any influence by the Communist Party in the trade unions. The third group, composed of the United Building Workers' Federation, the Committee for the Defense of Trade Unionism, and the "pure" trade unionists, demanded complete autonomy for the French unions and withdrawal from the Red International. The vote was 978 for continued affiliation with Moscow, 147 for affiliation provided there were no Communist control over union affairs, 222 for withdrawal, and 16 not voting. Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U., addressed the convention before it voted. The decisive character of the vote was expected to put an end to the movement toward secession by supporters of the Berlin Syndicalist International. After an address by a delegate from the German works councils, the Congress voted solidarity in word and deed with the German revolution, and proposed to the C. G. T. joint action to this end, including a general strike.

Since the Bourges Congress the anti-Communist element

has organized a Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Minority. This Committee has its own rules, collects dues, and has outlined its aims and policy. To avoid expulsion of groups, only individual members are admitted. A new split may be in prospect.

Christian Workers.—One hundred and thirty delegates representing 240 unions attended the fourth national Congress of the French Confederation of Christian Workers on May 20-21, 1923. The Congress adopted resolutions on hours, wages, housing, Sunday rest, economic security, cost of living, vocational guidance and education, and profit sharing, in accord with Christian tenets.

Right to Organize.—The suit begun in 1920 to dissolve the General Confederation of Labor for calling a general strike on May Day of that year was still pending at the close of 1923. The prospect was that it would be dropped. In January, 1922, the Council of State decreed that civil service employees may not join trade unions.

Labor Disputes.—The metal workers at Havre struck in June, 1922. A 10 per cent reduction in wages, followed by an announcement of another similar cut, sent out 15,000 to 25,000 men, union and non-union. Public opinion was with the strikers, and sympathetic walk-outs began. The authorities, increasing their provocative measures, succeeded in injecting violence into the struggle. Meetings were broken up, headquarters seized, many persons injured, and some killed. The strike lasted four months and the workers lost.

After long negotiations for a wage increase 100,000 miners in Alsace-Lorraine, affiliated with the C. G. T. U. Miners' Federation, struck on February 5, 1923. After the strike had been made general, the owners offered an increase of 3.25 francs a day, which the men accepted on February 20. About the same time miners in the Saar struck against wage cuts of 7 francs a day made when French money was introduced into the district. They settled on May 15 for 3 to 5 francs' increase. A strike of miners at Carmaux won a wage increase in February. On April 5, 1923, after a losing struggle of eight weeks, 25,000 Moselle miners returned to work unconditionally. More than 300 were imprisoned and many deported. The number discharged was said to total 3,000.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The French Senate is composed of 314 members, and the Chamber of Deputies of 610.

The elections of 1920 divided the Senate among Radicals 120, Republicans of the Left 58, Progressives 23, Conservatives 20, Liberal Republicans 14, Socialist Republicans 2, United Socialists 2. The Chamber of Deputies as elected in 1919 consisted of Republicans of the Left 133, Progressives 130, Socialist Radicals 83, Action Libérale 72, Unified Socialists 68, Radicals 60, Conservatives 31, Republican Socialists 27, Dissident Socialists 6. New elections for both Senate and Chamber were due early in 1924.

Socialist Party.—The 19th Congress of the party held at Paris in October, 1921, was harmonious in tone. Blum and Longuet were made joint editors of the party daily, *Le Populaire*. At a special Congress in Paris, June 3-4, 1922, to consider questions of the paper Blum was made sole editor. The circulation was then about 7,000. When its 20th Congress met at Lille, February 3-6, 1923, the party had 50,000 members, a decrease of 5,000 during the year. Local sections attached to the party numbered 1,427, organized in 69 federations in 84 departments of the country. In the provincial and city elections in May, 1922, the party polled 578,466 votes, the Communists 321,444, and the Black Sea amnesty candidates 33,809. Socialist provincial councillors elected numbered 137, a gain of 59. City councillors were elected to the number of 196, making, with those who held over, a total of 298 in office.

The Lille congress rejected a proposal from the Communist Party for united action against occupation of the Ruhr and the danger of imperialist war.

On March 29-30, 1923, Socialist representatives of France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy met in Paris and urged the League of Nations as arbitrator in the Ruhr. The conference proposed a plan for settling the German reparation question, including (1) reparations based on actual needs of devastated areas of France; (2) use of German labor on reconstruction work; (3) adjustment of international debts; (4) Allies and the United States to guarantee France against future aggression; (5) impartial tribunal to judge Germany's ability to pay; and (6) evacuation of the Ruhr.

The party has stood against the Ruhr invasion, and denounced it as a political and financial failure. It was instrumental in bringing to light the misuse of funds by reconstruction committees in the devastated areas. It favored

recognition of Russia, and opposed loans which were made to Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia for military operations against that country.

On July 27, 1922, the party lost its aged leader, Jules Guesde.

Communist Party.—As a result of internal disagreements and expulsions, the membership of the Communist Party fell from an estimated 130,000 at its organizing Congress at Marseilles, 1921, to 60,000 in 1923. The Second Congress at Paris in October, 1922, adopted a resolution by Leon Frossard, then general secretary of the party, and Boris Souvarine, insisting on adherence to the 21 points of the Third International, stricter discipline, more effort to bring manual workers into the party and into official positions, and for a political bureau to direct the party organs and members. The Congress of the Third International in the following month decided on reorganization of the French Executive on the basis of 10 Centrists, nine Lefts, and six representing other groups. Marcel Cachin was to remain editor of *L'Humanite*, the party daily, and the editor of the *Bulletin Communiste* was to be chosen from the Left. *L'Humanite* is credited with a circulation of 100,000.

Frossard resigned from the secretaryship and from the party on January 1, 1923, over questions of discipline. L. Sellier succeeded him. On leaving the party Frossard organized "Groups of Resistance," known later as the "Unitarian Party" and still later as the "Socialist-Communist Union."

Early in 1923, Andre Marty, Communist hero of the Black Sea mutiny of 1919, was re-elected from two districts to the Parisian municipal council. Though in prison, Marty had been elected fifteen times in two years. He was released from Clairvaux July 17, 1923, after serving four years and three months of his 20-year sentence.

Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies under the leadership of Cachin and Vaillant-Couturier opposed the Ruhr invasion, French efforts to dismember Germany, and loans to Rumania and other countries which they feared would be used to equip troops against Russia.

Action on the Ruhr.—On January 6, 1923, when the Ruhr invasion was threatened, members of the General Confederation of United Labor and the French Communist Party went to Frankfort to confer with British, German, Italian,

Dutch, and Czech Communists. On the return trip several were arrested, charged with high treason. On January 10, the day before the troops moved, Monmousseau, Cachin, and other C. G. T. U. leaders, making 14 in all, were also seized. *L'Humanite* was raided. In a stormy session the Chamber of Deputies voted to suspend Cachin's parliamentary immunity so that he could be prosecuted. The Senate refused to try him, almost bringing about the resignation of Premier Poincare, and the case was later dropped by the courts.

With the actual invasion, Committees of Action sprang up in many places, under Communist inspiration. In September the C. G. T. U., the Communist Party, and the Association of Revolutionary Ex-Service Men (A. R. A. C.) organized by Henri Barbusse, formed a national Committee of Action. It

undertakes to fight for the evacuation of the Ruhr; for payment of reparations by capitalists and war profiteers of all countries; against the annexation policy of the French government; and against any intervention of the French army in the German workers' revolution.

Barbusse was summoned before the criminal court of Paris on a charge of inciting disobedience among military persons because of a speech calling on ex-service men not to march on Germany if ordered to. Reading *L'Humanite* in the French army is severely punished.

GERMANY

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Toward the end of 1923 nearly every union in Germany was in desperate straits. The collapse of industrial life, the depreciation of the mark, the occupation of the Ruhr, the shrinking of union treasuries, and internal dissension, brought on a crisis in which the very existence of the organized labor movement was at stake.

Germany's active working class consists of more than 29,000,000 men, women, and children. These are distributed as follows: agriculture, 8,500,000; manufacturing, 14,000,000; commerce, 4,500,000; personal service, 300,000; professionals, 2,000,000. The table below gives the names of the important national labor federations in Germany, the number of unions included, and their total affiliated membership.

Table 85—Trade Union Federations in Germany

Name	Unions	No. of Membership
General Federation of German Trade Unions (<i>Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschafts Bund</i>).....	49	7,874,000
Federation of Unions of Salaried Employees (<i>Allgemeiner Freier Angestelltenbund</i>)	13	640,000
Federation of Christian Trade Unions	20	1,028,000
Federation of Unions of Christian Salaried Employees	10	500,000
Federation of Hirsch-Dunker Unions (<i>Verband der Deutschen Hirsch-Dunker Gewerkvereine</i>).....	17	224,597
Federation of Civil Servants	41	1,500,000
Union of Hand and Brain Workers		320,000

Some of these figures have not been corrected since the end of 1919, but most of them date to 1921. The most important unions in the General Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, were these in 1922:

Principal Unions	Members	Principal Unions	Members
Metal Workers	1,629,325	Building Workers	489,185
Factory Workers	698,499	Miners	440,110
Textile Workers	679,840	Railroad Workers	435,850
Agricultural Workers	626,160	Wood Workers	410,699
Transport Workers	567,378		

The total membership of the General Federation of Trade Unions equals 7,874,005. Of this number 1,079,225 were women.

The Federation of Unions of Salaried Employees was formed in April, 1921, as an offshoot from the General Federation. The separation took place amicably because it was felt that office workers could best be organized if they were independent. This Federation is also affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Federation of Christian Trade Union is affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

The Federation of Hirsch-Dunker Unions consists of unions not based on the class-struggle, and devoted to the theory of identity of interests between employer and worker.

The Union of Hand and Brain Workers, affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, has a membership of 320,000.

Shop Councils.—During 1923 the shop councils gained much importance in the labor movement. The tendency toward the Left in the shop councils is indicated by the factory elections in Chemnitz. In 50 factories, 246 Communists and 182 Social Democrats were returned. The Berlin representatives of the shop councils voted unanimously to support the Frankfurt Conference against Fascism on January 6, 1923, and favored the formation of an armed proletarian guard.

Congresses.—In June, 1922, the General Federation of Trade Unions held its 11th Congress in Leipzig. There were 692 delegates, of which 460 were Majority Socialists, and 132 were members of the opposition, including 90 Communists. The resolution favoring industrial unionism as opposed to craft organization was adopted by a vote of 4,854,125 to 1,925,972. A resolution to stop sending delegates to the Central Joint Labor Association, or national association of works councils, was approved by a vote of 345 to 327. As, however, the delegates who voted against the resolution represented more members than those who voted for it, the Executive Council declared that it would continue to support existing councils. The delegates accepted this declaration. They rejected a proposal to withdraw the instructions dating from 1920 which prohibited strikes in essential industries. The Congress voted a resolution to liberate political prisoners, and to aid Soviet Russia; it defeated a motion to use every means to defeat the compulsory arbitration bill, and voted confidence in its old leaders. The International Federation of Trade Unions was called upon to do all in its power against militarism and war.

The Union of Hand and Brain Workers held its Second Congress at the end of 1922 in Essen. Besides deciding to affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions it passed resolutions of protest against the imprisoning of militant laborites in the United States.

There was a National Works' Councils Congress on November 23-25, 1922, in Berlin. The majority of the delegates were Communists.

Amalgamation.—Since the Congress of Leipzig seven-eighths of the members of the General Federation have joined the 12 largest unions. In February, 1923, 73 per cent of all members were in nine unions. The Congress aimed ultimately to reduce the number of unions to 15. There are still 48, many of them now relatively small. The most important industrial union is the Metal Workers' Union, which with its 1,629,000 members is the largest union in the world. It includes members of 35 crafts, which still retain their separate organizations within the union.

Unemployment.—There were 300,000 unemployed in January, 1922, and only 50,000 in June. After June the figures began to increase. Wages fell. On October 1, 1922, public employment exchanges were created. At the end of 1923 there were 1,030 local exchanges.

At the end of October, 1923, there were 2,000,000 out of work, and by the end of the year there were 3,000,000. Sixty per cent of the workers were employed only two or three days a week. All female government employees have been discharged to make room for men. Suicide is on the increase. In August the French blocked the payment of unemployment doles on the ground that there was plenty of work on the Franco-Belgian mines and railroads. The Belgian troops requisitioned German unemployment funds. The General Federation of Trade Unions appealed to the International Labor Office for relief.

Wages.—The social or family wage prevails in all national, state, or municipal offices and enterprises, in the mining industry, and in some other industries. Married workers get a bonus of from 5 to 15 per cent for the wife, and from 2 to 5 per cent for each child. The Hirsch-Dunker Unions oppose this bonus on the ground that it might lead to discrimination against married men. The General Federation and the other unions favor the plan.

At the end of 1923 real wages throughout Germany ranged from 20 to 25 per cent of pre-war standards.

Strikes.—In January, 1922, 30,000 textile workers at Muenchen-Gladbach won a 250 per cent wage increase after a two-day strike. In February the Saar miners struck for restoration of the 1921 wage rates. On February 1, 1922, 800,000 railroad officials and employees struck for higher wages, and as a protest against the dismissal of 30,000 men. The General Federation of Labor refused assistance, because the workers involved had previously held aloof from the trade unions. The union rank and file insisted that the General Federation use this situation to attach the salaried employees to the wage-workers. Communist members of the Reichstag and of the state Landtags introduced resolutions to give the strikers higher wages. The German Railwaymen's Federation declared sympathy but took no action. In spite of the opposition of the General Federation, the Berlin municipal workers began to organize a general strike. President Ebert suspended the constitutional right of the railway officials to strike, and sent police and troops against them. Strike funds were confiscated, and the strike leaders were arrested. Under this pressure and the use of the *Technische Nothilfe* as strike breakers the strike collapsed on February 7. The government promised that normal wages and hours would soon be restored.

On March 9, 1922, employers in the metal industry in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg began a campaign to increase the hours of work from 46 to 58, and to reduce wages; 120,000 men were involved. In spite of official opposition by the General Federation of Trade Unions, the workers began to organize a general strike. The General Federation failed to call a general strike, and the struggle was lost after 13 weeks. The men returned to a 48-hour week and lower wages. The General Federation stated that it had wished to prevent a general strike because it would have interfered with the expected granting of credits by America to the German government.

On the initiative of the Communists, negotiations were carried on with the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Socialist Party for joint political demonstrations. On April 20 and May 1 there were mass meetings that demanded the eight-hour day, a united political front of the three parties, closer relations with Soviet Russia, and employment. This action was in conformity with the demand of the General Federation that May 1 and November 9 (the anniversary of the German Revolution) be legal holidays. Several coal miners at Dortmund were dismissed for taking part in these demonstrations. On May 6, 25,000 coal miners struck to have these men reinstated. Again the General Federation refused to support the strike on the ground that it would interfere with American credits. It ordered the men back to work, and the strike was broken.

A strike of 70,000 textile workers for 30-40 per cent wage increases and the eight-hour day, beginning May 23, ended in a compromise.

In the spring and early summer of 1922 about 100,000 farm laborers went on strike for higher wages. The strike failed, and the membership of the Agricultural Union fell in consequence.

On January 21, 1923, a general strike began in the coal mines of the Ruhr, as a response to the French invasion. This strike was settled after 14 weeks. The workers gained a small wage increase and the reinstatement of men discharged for strike activity. On February 11, the strike spread to the railways in the Ruhr. The French expelled 10,000 strikers in an effort to break the walk-out. A strike of enormous proportions began in the Ruhr on May 24, involving 500,000 metal workers. The strike ended on May

30 with a victory for the men. They were promised a 50 per cent wage increase. On June 6 the metal workers throughout Germany struck against an increase in the working hours from 46 to 48 a week. On June 14, 150,000 coal miners in the Hartz mountains struck for a wage increase of 40 marks a shift. In June the strike movement spread over the whole Ruhr district. Hundreds (*Hundert-schaften*), a form of workers' militia, were formed, and began to police the district. By June 26 the Ruhr strike ended, unsatisfactorily for the workers.

A farm laborers' strike began in Silesia on June, 8, 1923. By July 21, 90,000 men and women were out. Their wages were one-third what they had been in 1922. Their struggle ended in a victory on August 7. The workers won substantial wage increases; part of these were to be paid in kind. A metal workers' strike in the Berlin district began on July 6 for an increase in wages to 12,000 marks an hour. The employers offered 9,800. The men refused to compromise, but the strike was lost.

On August 9 there was a strike of municipal electric light and power workers in Berlin. The printers struck on August 10. On August 24, 65 mines in the Ruhr were again closed down by a strike. Strikes were in progress throughout Germany. The street cars in Berlin were tied up, and in Luebeck, Berlin, and Hamburg, many factories were closed.

In October the Executive of the Miners' Union ordered all striking miners in the Ruhr to resume work, and to give up the passive resistance. On October 10 four miners' unions, the Socialist Union, the Christian Socialist Union, the Hirsch-Dunker Union, and the Polish Miners' Union refused to return unless the eight-hour day were retained. On October 13 an agreement was reached between the French and the miners' unions that provided for the reinstatement of all men expelled from the occupied areas; regulation of wages and conditions by the men's organizations; the German miners to have the same working hours as miners in unoccupied Germany; works councils and all labor laws to be recognized by the French.

Political

The Monarchist Drive.—Monarchist propaganda has become insolently open. In 1922 Hindenburg and Ludendorff openly organized their "putsch." The Communists demanded that

the government act against them, and when the government remained inactive they demanded action of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the two Socialist parties then existing. When Rathenau was shot on June 24, 1922, the Social Democrats became aroused. On June 27 a general protest strike was called which paralyzed all Germany. On the same day the Berlin compact was signed by the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Federation of Salaried Employees, the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Socialist Party, and the Communist Party. It demanded the expulsion of all anti-republicans from public office, drastic punishment for anti-republican utterances, and joint organization of the workers to protect the republic. The Socialists, however, were not ready to arm the workers against the reactionaries, and in a few days the coalition was dissolved. President Ebert proclaimed a law for the protection of the republic. In the hands of reactionary judges it became a protection to the reaction, while workers' papers were suppressed, their meetings forbidden and their leaders imprisoned and shot.

Invasion of the Ruhr.—The French army invaded the Ruhr on January 11, 1923. The Ruhr is the only good coke-producing district in central Europe, and coke is needed in the French steel industry. Control of the Ruhr means the control of Europe. The invasion was attended with much disturbance and bloodshed. The German capitalists organized the passive resistance in their effort to get, from the French, terms that would leave them in control of the Ruhr industries. The plan was to prove that France would never realize any advantage from the invasion. On February 11, in order to break the strikes and the passive resistance, the French declared the Ruhr in a state of siege. Clashes between German workers and the French troops were frequent, and on March 31 some French soldiers were shot.

The passive resistance involved closing the mines and factories and stopping the railroads. The government sent in vast sums of money, raised out of taxes on the workers and the middle class. Part of this money was used to pay the workers while thus unemployed, but much of it was appropriated by the large capitalists.

There were great differences between the workers' parties on the Ruhr question. The United Socialists held that the

Ruhr was the heart of the country, and the country must support Stinnes to retain it, although Stinnes was the enemy of the workers. The Communist Party argued that Stinnes would betray the workers, and that the workers must fight both Stinnes and the French. It opposed the passive character of the resistance, and kept up energetic propaganda against the invasion. The French garrisons had to be changed every month because they became infected with radicalism. French troops even contributed money for radical propaganda in the Ruhr. Many Communists were jailed. One Communist member of the Reichstag, Hoellein, was jailed in Paris for making a speech there against the occupation.

The Fascisti.—After the Ruhr was occupied Fascism became strong. Fascism is a movement of the middle-class which blamed Germany's troubles on the revolution of 1918 and on the working class movement. Fascism also drew in many workers who were disappointed with the results of the revolution. Fascism was supported by great industrialists, who later used the Fascist movement to establish the dictatorship which they needed to protect their profits.

During the May strikes Leo Schlageter, a Fascist workman, was executed by the French military authorities for sabotage. This led to the seizure of Bochum and Gelsenkirchen by the Communists. After Schlageter was executed, the Fascist movement grew enormously. Communist propaganda against the Fascisti began at the same time. The Communists pointed out that Schlageter had died for the profits of Stinnes. A conference of French, German, Czech, and British workers, held at Frankfort on January 6, 1923, had adopted ways and means to combat the Fascisti. Some Social Democrats attended this conference, without the authorization of their party. Plans were made to fight the armed Fascist bands, but the main emphasis was put on winning over the great mass of the Fascisti. The conference declared that the proletariat alone could meet the reparations question. An international committee, with Clara Zetkin as chairman, was formed to combat Fascism.

On August 11 there was a Convention of Works Council at Berlin; 12,000 delegates were present. They organized a general strike, demanding the immediate resignation of Chancellor Cuno, official recognition of the control committees¹, minimum wages in gold, abolition of the state of siege, and amnesty for political prisoners.

¹See p. 382.

The Cuno government fell on August 12, and the Social Democrats entered a new coalition government headed by Stresemann. Stinnes now began to denounce, as saboteurs and slackers, the passive resisters who had formerly been hailed as national heroes. On September 24 the Stresemann government officially ended the passive resistance. The Communists denounced this surrender as an alignment of the German capitalists and government with those of France against the German workers, and called on the masses to overthrow the government. A strike to protest against the government's action began on September 26 and 27. French troops were called in to help suppress the strike. Stinnes now began to press for the abolition of the eight-hour day, on the plea that the workers must assist in the reconstruction of the fatherland. On October 3 four Social Democratic members of the Stresemann cabinet resigned on the eight-hour issue, and the cabinet fell. Two days later the Socialists restored the coalition, without Hilferding, whose tax program had aroused strong opposition among capitalists.

Emergency Power Bill.—On October 14 the emergency power bill was introduced in the Reichstag, giving the government power to enact emergency legislation of an economic and social nature regardless of the constitution. This attempt to undermine the workers' rights, and the growing unemployment, resulted in a mass protest. The Communists took the leadership of the movement. There were bloody conflicts all through the autumn of 1923, the most important outbreak being in Hamburg on October 23. The workers lost, the Left wing of the Socialists not living up to their promises of joint action.

The emergency power bill became a law on December 8, by a vote of 313 to 18, with Social Democratic support.

Saxon and Thuringian Workers' Governments.—In Saxony and Thuringia the Social Democratic governments invited support from the Communists, and on October 8, 1923, workers, and farmers' governments were formed in these states. In these governments Social Democrats and Communists were about equally represented. Zeigner was premier of Saxony, and Froehlich premier in Thuringia, both being members of the United Socialist Party. These governments were largely under the guidance of the "control committees" and the works councils. The control committees became legal institutions, and the government officially recog-

nized the hundreds and the factory guards.¹ They hoped to erect a bloc of the workers' states in middle and north Germany, against the reactionary states in the South.

The Fascisti were in control of Bavaria. Only the fact that they were themselves split prevented them from throwing Bavaria into action against Saxony. The Bavarian Fascisti were divided into Separatists, a Hohenzollern pro-Reich group under Ludendorff, a Wittelsbach pro-Reich group under Rupprecht, an anti-monarchist group under Hittler and an ultramontane Catholic group under Cardinal Faulhaber. All of these groups were again divided into pro-Semitic and anti-Semitic factions. To compel the Reich to overthrow the workers' governments in Saxony and Thuringia they started a revolt in Munich on November 9, 1923. The division in their ranks prevented the Fascisti from taking power then, but preparations for the move gave the national government, at the command of Stinnes, a pretext for acting against Saxony and Thuringia. After a series of provocative notes demanding its resignation, the Saxon government was arrested by troops sent from Berlin on October 21 and 22. The government of Thuringia was suppressed on November 7. The entire Communist movement, its unions, and its papers, were suppressed; its offices were raided, and more than 1,000 were arrested. The French in 300 days in the Ruhr killed 62 persons, while in the occupation of Saxony the government troops in 10 days killed 48. President Ebert and the Social Democratic daily *Vorwaerts* supported the government in this action.

Ebert gave the Fascist General Van Seeckt complete power. The Van Seeckt dictatorship worked in the interests of Stinnes, and used force to suppress the workers. The official staff of the government was reduced by 25 per cent; 500,000 were dismissed in violation of the constitution. The working day for state employees was increased from 8 to 11 hours, and striking was prohibited on penalties ranging from five years in jail to death. On November 23 the Communist Party was declared illegal, and its papers were suppressed.

The Stresemann government was unable to survive the collapse of the mark, which in November dropped to practically no value. The government fell on November 23, and on November 29 Dr. Wilhelm Marx, of the Center, formed a

¹See p. 383.

new government in which Stresemann is Foreign Minister. Immediately after the emergency power bill became law the Thyssen and Krupp works installed the 10-hour day.

Parliamentary Representation.—The latest elections to the Reichstag, in November 22, 1922, resulted as follows:

<i>Party</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Vote</i>
Social Democrats	173	11,151,600
Center	68	3,844,648
German National People's	67	4,248,986
German People's	66	3,919,523
German Democratic	39	2,333,736
Bavarian People's	20	1,173,344
Communists	15	1,524,365
Minor Parties	11	

United Social Democratic Party.—On July 14, 1922, the Independent Socialist members of the Reichstag united with the Majority Socialist group. The same union took place in the Landtags of Bavaria and Brunswick. Union of the two parties was discussed at the Augsburg convention of the Social Democratic Party, on September 18-22, and at the Gera convention of the Independent Social Democratic Party, on September 20-23. The Unity Convention was held at Nuremberg on September 24, 1922. The united groups called themselves the United Social Democratic Party of Germany (*Vereinigte Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*). Not all of the 210,000 members of the Independent Social Democratic Party joined the United Socialists. The majority remained politically indifferent. One small group, under the leadership of Ledebour, maintained its identity for a time, but disappeared after many of its members joined the Communist Party.

The program of the united party makes the defense of the republic its chief aim. It calls for the ruthless suppression of monarchism, and advocates socialization laws, especially for mines, taxation of wealth and of the proceeds of speculation, favorable labor conditions, the right to strike, and a foreign policy that will prevent war.

In 1923 many former Independent Socialists, and many members of the United Social Democratic Party, joined the Communists. The Reichstag group of the Communist Working Union, who were expelled with Paul Levi in January, 1919, because they opposed the March uprising, joined the Reichstag group of the United Socialists. Some of Levi's followers, including Daeunig, Eichorn, and Geyer, rejoined the

Communist Party. These former Communists and Independents form the Left wing of the United Social Democratic Party. They openly oppose the party Executive, confer with the Communist Party, and edit a paper called *Der Kaempfer*. Their strongholds are in Saxony and Thuringia.

At the Congress of the Saxon Social Democratic Party, December 2 and 3, 1923, the failure of the Central Committee to act in conjunction with the Communists was censured, as was the party support of the emergency power bill. A special Congress of the party in Thuringia condemned the Reichstag group for participation in the capitalist coalition, and declared for a Social Democratic-Communist coalition. Similar action was taken by the Social Democratic Parties in the Rhineland, Westphalia, and Bavaria.

On March 31, 1923, the United Social Democratic Party had a membership of 1,267,983. This includes the 215,065 of the former Independent Socialist Party. The basis of organization is the district union divided into locals and sub-locals. There were, in the fall of 1923, about 50 district unions, and over 10,000 locals. The party has its headquarters in Berlin. It is affiliated with the Socialist and Labor International.

Young Socialists.—The annual Convention of the National Union of Socialist Young Workers was held at Gorkitz, in May, 1923. Its membership at the end of 1922 was reported as 105,000, covering 1,600 branches. The Convention decided to establish closer cooperation between this organization, composed of young Socialist members of trade unions, and the Young Socialists' League, composed of Socialists who do not work at trades represented by labor unions.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party held a Congress at Leipzig, beginning January 28, 1923. The Ruhr invasion was the main topic of discussion, the Congress deciding to appeal to the workers to carry on active opposition to the invasion, independent of the government and of the employers. The plan included approaching the members of the United Social Democratic Party for united action for a workers' government. The majority stood against rash or premature action. The resolution on tactics for the united front was carried by 118 votes to 59.

In 1923 the Communist Party reported a membership of 226,000. At the end of 1923 its membership was given as

300,000. In spite of the party's having been outlawed, Communist sentiment has been on the increase. Under the leadership of the Communists new means of fighting the high cost of living and the reaction were organized. In each city control committees (*Kontroll-Ausschuesse*) were formed, composed of members of all working-class parties. These worked with the shop councils, and the radical city councils. They were extra-legal, but effective. Many merchants were forced to reduce prices. The control committees established direct connections between the poor peasants and the industrial workers. At a congress called in Berlin by the radical works councils, the control committees and the works councils drafted programs of action for their future guidance in the struggle. They were apparently intended by the Communists to play the part the Soviets had played in the Russian revolution.

The control committees were especially strong in Saxony and Thuringia although subject to police persecution. The patriotic wave that swept the country when the Ruhr was invaded interfered with the spread of the committees.

The Communists also organized the hundreds (*Hundert-schaften*), bodies of armed workers, to protect meetings of workers of all labor parties and the offices of workers' organizations, and to safeguard the republic itself against a Monarchist or Fascist coup. Factory guards (*Betriebs-wehre*) were organized to protect the factories from attack and to support control by the workers if a Communist revolution should be realized. The United Social Democratic Party opposed these workers' defense troops.

Communist Women.—The Women's National Conference of the Communist Party met in Berlin on October 4, 1923, and adopted a program calling for mobilization of working class women for action in the movement.

Young Communist League.—The reorganization of the Young Communist League on the basis of shop nuclei is progressing. The League now has a membership of 30,000, all but 5 per cent under the age of 20. The League has taken active part in fighting Orgesch and Fascist organizations.

There was a national conference of Communist Children's Groups at Gotha in the summer of 1923, attended by 250 girls and boys.

GREAT BRITAIN

Industrial

Labor Conditions.—Unemployment was the main feature of the industrial situation in Great Britain in 1922 and 1923. Nearly 1,500,000 were continuously without jobs. Taking advantage of the weakened position of the workers, the employers cut wages, lengthened hours, abandoned national collective bargaining for local agreements, and scrapped joint representation in the Whitley Councils. In 1922 reductions amounting to £4,200,000 a week were enforced in the wages of nearly 7,600,000 workers, and in the first nine months of 1923 an additional £504,300 was taken from the weekly wages of 3,160,000 people.

In September, 1923, about 3,500,000 employees were reported working 48 hours or less. Prevailing weekly hours were: textile mills and railways, 48; engineering and metal work, 47; building, 45; and mines, 42.

Strikes and Lockouts.—The metal and machinery workers, including 500,000 men in the Amalgamated Engineering Union and in 47 related unions, were locked out from March 11 to June 13, 1922, for rejecting the employers' demands for sole control over overtime and over replacing of skilled by unskilled and low-paid workers. The men finally returned on practically the employers' terms. So did 125,000 shipbuilders who struck from March 29 to May 8, 1922, against a reduction of 16s. 6d. in the war bonus. Norfolk farm-owners, notorious for low wages, insisted in the spring of 1923 on a reduction from 6d. to 5½d. an hour, with an increase from 50 to 54 hours a week. A strike of 20,000 farm hands lasted from March 26 to April 29, when, through the intervention of J. Ramsay MacDonald, a settlement was reached on 25s. for a guaranteed 50-hour week and 6d. an hour for additional hours up to 54 a week. In April, 1923, 10,000 shipyard boilermakers in Scotland refused to accept an agreement negotiated by representatives of the Shipyard Workers' Federation. Their strike lasted more than seven months and kept 60,000 other workers unemployed. The most serious of many disputes between the Co-operative Wholesale Society or its affiliated enterprises and their employees arose in April, 1923, over the C. W. S.'s attempt to enforce wage cuts similar to those authorized by minimum

wage boards without consulting the unions. After nearly three weeks of strike and boycott, involving 10,000 distributive workers, the dispute was referred to a joint committee of trade unionists and co-operators, which awarded the C. W. S. practically all it asked for.

The largest unofficial British strike of recent years was an unsuccessful walkout of 60,000 dockers in the chief ports of England, from July 2 to August 21, 1923. The men struck, in defiance of an agreement, against a 1s. a day wage cut exacted by the employers on the ground that the cost of living index had fallen 10 points. Almost the entire influence of the trade union movement, including the convention of their own Transport and General Workers' Union, was used to discourage the strikers. In London they sacked the headquarters and elected a new strike committee, under which they carried on until forced to surrender. Friction with the old leaders resulted in a seceding Amalgamated Society of River Workers being formed.

Miners' wages steadily fell until in 1923 they were everywhere below the pre-war purchasing power, in spite of the 1921 agreement by which the surplus, after standard wages, profits, and other costs of production were met, was divided 83 per cent to the miners and 17 per cent to the owners. In spite of continued agitation by the miners for ending the agreement, such action was postponed in favor of revising it.

The Unemployed.—A conference of unemployed women, with 223 delegates, including weavers, chain makers, pottery and shoe workers, and actresses, met in London on March 6, 1922. They protested against government failure to provide work or training for them, but received no satisfaction. A "Hunger March" of 1,750 men from all parts of England, Scotland, and Wales to London occurred in November, 1922. Huge demonstrations were held in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park, but Premier Bonar Law refused to see the men. January 7, 1923, was Unemployed Sunday, with mass demonstrations throughout the country demanding the early opening of Parliament. A conference of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement was held at Coventry on April 9-11. Organized activity in strikes and lockouts, and affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, were decided on.

Trades Union Congresses.—Trades Union Congresses

showed a severe drop in membership, in spite of an active "Back to the Unions" campaign early in 1923. Recent figures are:

1914.....	2,866,077	1920.....	6,505,482
1915.....	2,682,367	1921.....	6,417,915
1918.....	4,532,086	1922.....	5,128,648
1919.....	5,283,676	1923.....	4,352,818

In addition, unions not attached to the Congress bring the total up to more than 5,000,000, or nearly 40 per cent of the wage-earners.

Women members rose from 442,000 or 10 per cent, in 1913, to 1,228,000 or 18 per cent in 1918, reached 1,362,000 but only 16 per cent in 1920, and fell to 1,033,000 or 15 per cent in 1921.

At the Cardiff Congress, September 5-10, 1921, unemployment and international affairs were the main topics. Resolutions urging completion of the government's housing program and extension of minimum wage boards were adopted, while one favoring machinery to prevent strikes was overwhelmingly defeated. The Congress endorsed the Washington Arms Conference, urged Labor representation there and in the League of Nations, and started a fund for Russian famine relief. The old Parliamentary Committee was replaced by a General Council of 32 members from 18 industrial sections to bring about more unified action.

The 1922 Congress was held at Southport, September 4-9. The General Council reported the establishment, in conjunction with the Labor Party, of a Labor Research Department. Its proposal to take over the London *Daily Herald* was carried and annual affiliation fees were raised from 1d. to 3d. a member to meet the expense. Owing to the reluctance of the large unions, like the miners, railwaymen, and general workers, to give up any of their autonomy, the General Council's request for power to levy strike funds and settle disputes was defeated. The Congress voted £150 each to Ruskin College, the Labor colleges, and the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, through which several large unions co-operate with the Workers' Education Association to arrange classes and lectures for members. The guild movement was approved as a means of developing capacity for administration in industry. A conference of unions whose members work for the co-operative movement was decided on, to devise a method of determining their working

conditions. Revision of the Versailles Treaty, abandonment of German occupation by France, and admission of Russia and Germany to the League of Nations, were demanded.

In 1923 the Congress held its 55th annual meeting at Plymouth, September 3-8, with 700 delegates. The proposal of giving more power to the General Council was again defeated. Support to the *Daily Herald* was continued to the end of 1923, provided £12,500 was raised by subscription. Admission of foremen, supervisors, and technicians to the unions was decided in preparation for democratic management, and a campaign was voted to bring women into the unions. Nationalization of railroads and the six-hour day were endorsed. The Congress condemned Italy's action in Corfu and the Ruhr occupation, and demanded immediate and complete political and trade recognition of Russia. Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, urged the Congress to "take care that, in their fear of a Red dictatorship, they do not accept a Yellow or Black dictatorship," and called for solidarity with the German workers in case of a revolution. F. Bramley was elected secretary to succeed C. W. Bowerman, retired. The General Council elected Margaret Bondfield as its first woman chairman.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress held a special session on December 9, 1922, attended by 156 delegates, representing over a quarter of a million trade unionists. It decided to replace its Parliamentary Committee by a General Council representing ten industrial sections somewhat on the English model. One important difference is that the city trades councils are represented.

General Federation of Trade Unions.—The membership of the General Federation of Trade Unions, organized in 1899, for financial aid in strikes, is also declining. In 1921 it reached its high point, with 1,583,058 adherents. In 1923 it had dropped to 1,056,131. Low wages, unemployment, and the absorption of insurance by the state are given as the reasons.

Amalgamations.—Amalgamations were accomplished between unions of textile workers, building trades workers, and between three general workers' and municipal employees' unions, which formed one General Labor Union with about 500,000 members. Conferences toward the same end are in progress in many other trades, including the metal and machinery workers. A plan to reorganize the Transport

Workers' Federation so as to include the three main railway unions may give the federation a strength of 1,100,000.

Trades Council Conferences.—A conference of 67 city trades councils in England, Scotland, and Wales, held at Birmingham October 14, 1922, declared that "an entire change in the objective and methods of organization of the trade unions of the country is imperative," and recommended—

That the existing unions shall be merged into one national organization for all classes of workers, with proper departments or sections for each industrial group, occupation, or craft, the whole to be subject to one National General Council.

The conference constituted itself into a National Federation of Trades Councils for the more intimate discussion of union affairs. The second national conference was held at Birmingham, November 17, 1923. Seventy-two city councils with a membership of 250,000 were represented by over 100 delegates, including fraternal delegates from the R. I. L. U. In the year contact had been established with practically every city trades council in the country, but the General Council of the Trades Union Congress held aloof. The conference demanded representation of trades councils in the Trades Union Congress and in the General Council, and urged that more power be given the General Council to co-ordinate trade union activities.

R. I. L. U. Section.—An active Left wing movement affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions has developed. Through International Propaganda Committees organized in the trade unions it carried on a campaign for amalgamation and more aggressive union policies. It publishes a monthly organ, *All Power*.

Guild Movement.—The year 1922 saw the culmination and decline of the guild movement. When the second annual conference of the National Building Guild was held at Birmingham, August 12, 150 local committees were operating and £2,500,000 worth of construction was in hand. About 1,200 houses were completed, and 6,000 workers were receiving an annual payroll of £750,000. The plan spread to house furnishings, tailoring, engineering, and other trades. In the previous April a provisional National Guilds Council was established to co-ordinate the work. In financial difficulties, due partly to severe competition and partly to poor management, and unable to obtain extension of credit from the Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank, the Building Guild went

into a receiver's hands in November, 1922, and was later dissolved. In May, 1923, the National Guilds League, which had been carrying on the educational work, was merged with the National Guilds Council and the monthly *Guild Socialist* was discontinued.

Political

Labor in Parliament.—In the general elections of November 15, 1922, the Labor Party achieved the position of second strongest party in Great Britain. On December 6, 1923, Labor was again forced to fight a national election, and still further increased its gains—so much so that at the close of the year it was freely predicted that the party would be called upon to take the reins of government shortly after the reopening of Parliament in January, 1924.¹ Complete returns for the 1923 election were:

Conservatives	5,359,690
Labor	4,348,379
Liberal	4,251,573
Others	226,796
Total	14,186,438

The make-up of the latest three Parliaments was:

Party	1918	1922	1923
Conservatives	360	347	258
Labor	61	142	191
National Liberals	146	58	157
Independent Liberals	27	59	...
Communists	0	1	0
Other	18	8	9
Total	612	615	615

The number of votes and of seats secured by the Labor Party in general elections since its foundation is:

Year	Seats	Votes
1900	2	62,698
1906	29	323,195
1910 (Jan.)	40	505,690
1910 (Dec.)	42	370,802
1918	57	2,244,945
1922	142	4,236,733
1923	191	4,348,379

In the 1918 Parliament, Labor Party leadership had been in the hands of conservative trade unionists such as Arthur Henderson, J. H. Thomas, and J. R. Clynes. In the 1922

¹The British Labor Party took office on January 22, 1924.

Parliamentary Labor Party, or Labor group in Parliament, J. Ramsay MacDonald was chosen chairman. He set a more militant standard for party tactics, but frequently found himself in opposition to the still more militant Scotch group. Thus severe differences of opinion arose over voting with the Liberals on international policy and over accepting invitations to dine with king and nobility. Four Scotch Labor members—James Maxton, J. Wheatley, Campbell Stephen, and L. Buchanan—were suspended from the House on June 27, 1923, for denouncing as murderers those who favored a reduced appropriation for child welfare in Scotland. They were re-admitted a month later.

Early in the session Philip Snowden of the Independent Labor Party introduced a motion for the first time in the history of Parliament challenging capitalism and urging Socialism as a substitute. The motion declared:

That, in view of the failure of the capitalist system to adequately utilize and organize natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for vast numbers of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative effort should be directed to the gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based on the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution.

In the debates on March 20 and July 16, 1923, Snowden declared for purchase as opposed to confiscation. The vote was 123 for the motion, 370 against. Other motions introduced by the Labor Party proposed amendment of the old age pension act, the workmen's compensation law, and the minimum wage act, establishment of mothers' pensions and a national minimum wage, improvement of mine safety legislation, more liberal provision for ex-service men, and revision of the economic clauses of the peace treaties.

Through the National Joint Council representing the Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the Trades Union Congress, effective protests were made against threatened war in the Near East in September, 1922; against French occupation of the Ruhr in January, 1923, and against the Curzon note threatening a break in trade relations with Russia in May, 1923.

Labor Party Organization.—In common with the trade unions which mainly constitute it, the Labor Party experienced a sharp decline in membership from the high point in 1920. Figures for the latest three years are:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade Unions</i>		<i>Trades Councils and Local Labor Parties</i>	<i>Socialist Societies, Etc.</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Membership</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>Membership</i>	
1920	122	4,317,537	492	5	42,270	4,359,807
1921	116	3,973,558	456	5	36,803	4,010,361
1922	102	3,279,276	482	5	31,760	3,311,036

The number of women's sections was over 1,000 and the woman membership was estimated at over 120,000. Membership of the five affiliated Socialist societies was, at the close of 1922: Independent Labor Party, 26,000; Social Democratic Federation, 2,000; Fabian Society, 1,760; Jewish Socialist Labor Party (Poale Zion), 1,500; Herald League, 500.

The 1922 conference of the party was held in Edinburgh, June 27-30. In view of the approaching elections, previous decisions against political alliances with either the Conservative or the Liberal Party were reaffirmed. The government was condemned for its neglect of unemployment. Immediate nationalization of land, mines, and other essential public services, with democratic control, was approved for the election program. Resolutions were also adopted for universal disarmament, protesting against the trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Russia¹, and permitting members to be King's privy councillors, as was J. H. Thomas of the railwaymen. Affiliation of the Communist Party was rejected, 3,086,000 votes to 261,000. Exclusion of Communists was further enforced by adopting, 342 to 161, the following amendment to the rules on eligibility of local or national delegates, proposed by Arthur Henderson, as secretary:

(a) Every person nominated as delegate shall individually accept the constitution and principles of the Labor Party.

(b) No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organization having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any local governing authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labor Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labor Party.

At the 23rd annual conference, held in London, June 26-29, 1923, Sidney Webb, as president, expressed the aim of the party as evolutionary and constitutional Socialism with the active consent of public opinion. A resolution affirming Socialism as the supreme object of the party was carried unanimously, as was one welcoming the new Labor and Socialist International, protesting against the Ruhr invasion, for revision of the peace treaties, and urging complete recognition of Russia. A statement for universal disarmament was adopted, but one calling on Labor Party representatives in

¹See p. 445.

Parliament to vote against all military expenditures was defeated. Affiliation of the Communist Party was again rejected, by 2,880,000 votes to 366,000, showing an increase of more than 100,000 in favor of admission over the previous year. Growing pressure from affiliated unions and trades councils which insisted on their right to elect whom they wished as delegates caused Clause (b) of the Edinburgh exclusion amendment to be withdrawn. A motion to make J. T. Walton Newbold, a Glasgow Communist, one of the Labor Party parliamentary whips was voted down 2,227,000 to 219,000.

Independent Labor Party.—The Independent Labor Party, at its April, 1922, conference, adopted a new program stressing democratic control of industry:

A central body representative of the people both as producers and consumers must decide the amount and character of communal production and service necessary. The internal management of each industry must be in the hands of the workers, administrative, technical and manual, engaged therein, operating in conjunction with the representatives of the organized consumers.

The sum of £12,000 was raised for an intensive campaign to popularize this program among the trade unions. Keir Hardie's old paper, the *Labor Leader*, remodeled as the *New Leader*, was moved from Manchester to London and put in charge of Henry Noel Brailsford. In the 1922 elections the I. L. P. officially put up on the Labor Party ticket 55 candidates, of whom 32 were elected. In 1923 it put up 91 candidates, of whom 45 were successful. About 75 other Labor M. P.'s in 1923 were also I. L. P. men. The 1923 conference was held in London, opening April 1. The conference welcomed the efforts then in progress toward uniting the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties with the Second International, from which the I. L. P. had withdrawn in 1920. An amendment to extend the unity movement to the Third International was voted down, 265 to 52. The Ruhr occupation was condemned, and withdrawal of British troops called for. By a majority of three votes the conference recommended that members of the Labor Party should not associate with political opponents in social functions. Early in 1923 the I. L. P. conducted a vigorous "Now for Socialism" campaign.

Social Democratic Federation.—The Social Democratic Federation remains the oldest Socialist organization in Great Britain. At its annual conference, London, August 5-6, the Federation sharply criticized Soviet Russia, but took a

stand against capitalist intervention in Russian affairs. A resolution was adopted declaring that the Cooperative Commonwealth could best be secured through the unity of the cooperative, trade union, and Socialist movements, inspired by the Socialist conception of society.

The Social Democratic Federation is affiliated with the Labor Party, and in the December, 1923, elections 12 of its members were returned to Parliament as Labor representatives. The Federation has been weakened by the death of H. M. Hyndman and his wife.

Communist Party.—The 1922 conference of the Communist Party was held at Battersea on October 7-8. The conference reaffirmed its belief in the tactics of the united front of all sections of workers against the employers. It declared its readiness to support the Labor Party in acts of resistance to capitalist oppression, and demanded affiliation as an integral part of the working-class movement, while maintaining its independent Communist view-point. The government's policy in the Near East was condemned, and the international labor movement was urged to consolidate its ranks against war. The activity of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee, in showing large numbers of unemployed the value of organization and in preventing strike-breaking, was endorsed, as was the slogan "Back to the Unions." In the November, 1922, elections two members of the party were sent to Parliament—J. T. Walton Newbold, of Glasgow, and S. Saklatvala, elected on the Labor Party ticket in London. On August 15, 1923, Newbold was temporarily suspended by a vote of 300 to 88 for declaring that the president of the Board of Trade was falsifying in the debate on government attitude toward Russia. Many Communists have been elected to represent their unions in the Labor Party. After the 1923 Labor Party Conference removed Clause (b) of the Edinburgh amendment,¹ officials of that party ruled that Communists might not take out individual membership, on the ground that they could not consistently sign the constitution.

The Communist Workers' Movement, led by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, with the *Workers' Dreadnaught* as its organ, adheres to its policy of direct agitation for a Soviet revolution. It criticizes the Communist Party, which it designates as "right wing Communists," for taking part in parliamentary action and for setting up immediate demands.

¹See p. 391.

GREECE

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Trade union activity is severely persecuted. The prisons are full of workers. The General Confederation of Labor had a membership of 170,000 at the end of 1921.

A strike which was almost general began August 18, 1923, and lasted ten days. The government proclaimed martial law, declared the trade unions illegal, and suppressed the strike by force. All the union offices were seized, their furniture and archives were removed, and their bank deposits confiscated. The strike leaders were all arrested and an extraordinary court-martial was created to try them.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Chamber of Deputies in 1920 was made up as follows: Gounaris Party 182, Stralos Party 31, Liberal (Venizelists) 89, Independents 52, Independent Mussulmans 15.

Socialist Party.—The Socialist Party, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, has 3,000 members. The party spends its energies in education of the masses. There are 10,000 Syndicalists in Greece. Since the split between Socialists and Communists in 1918, they have been bending their efforts toward a united front.

Communist Party.—The Third Congress of the Communist Party was to have been held in the spring of 1921, but was postponed because of the White Terror. In February, 1922, an illegal conference met and elected an Executive and laid down plans. The leaders were imprisoned for three months. Their loss weakened and disintegrated the party. A special conference was called in October, 1922. Petsopulos, chief editor of the party daily, *Risospastis*, was expelled for lack of discrimination and extreme Left-wingism. The Gounaris government forbade all collection of famine relief for Russia, and ordered the police to use severe means for the suppression of radicals. In December, 1923, 60 Communists were arrested on the charge of plotting against the government by fostering sedition among the troops. The party made no membership report for 1922.

HUNGARY

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Severe persecutions have hampered trade union activity. The unions gained greatly during the 1919 revolution, but have since lost members. Many leaders have been imprisoned and thousands of members have left the country in search of employment. In 1922, 40 per cent of the city proletariat was organized, but only a very small per cent of the rural population. The Union of Agricultural Workers had a membership in 1917 of 1,300; in 1919 under the Soviets, 580,000; in 1920, 1,241; in 1922, 3,400. The total number of workers organized in Hungary in 1917, under the monarchy, was 214,228; in 1918, under Karoly, 723,937; in 1919, under the Soviets, 1,663,189; in 1920, under Horthy, 153,822; in 1921, 184,172; in 1922, 202,956. The total number of women organized at the end of 1922 was 24,245. Railway workers, municipal employees, street car employees, government employees, and servants are by law forbidden to organize. During the last two years no trade unions have been allowed to meet except by police permission. All meetings have had to be under police control.

Trade Union Congresses.—The seventh Trade Union Congress, and the first since the war, was held in Budapest at the end of March, 1923. There were 217 delegates present, chiefly from Budapest itself; also 9 fraternal delegates, from the International Federation of Trade Unions and from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. The foreign delegates were allowed to speak only upon giving the police assurance that they would not refer to the existing situation in Hungary. The debates of the Congress showed that the craft form of organization is giving way to the industrial form. The Congress decided to set up a strike fund. The Central Committee was directed to arrange with the Labor Party for an increase of trade union educational facilities. A resolution was passed demanding that the trade unions dissolved by the police authorities be given the right of organization.

Strikes and Lockouts.—In August 19, 1922, there was a strike affecting 30,000 metal workers. On February 25, 1923, after a series of strikes, 60,000 metal workers in Budapest were locked out. By March 1 the number had increased to 80,000. Unemployment had already been extensive, so that the situation soon became most acute. The employers met

with the Executive of the Metal Workers' Union and stated their demands: the open shop; suspension of the eight-hour day; re-instatement of the locked out workers only at the discretion of the employers; settlement of wage matters by the employers, with a promised increase of 15 per cent for men and 20 per cent for women; postponement of the other questions in dispute until after the resumption of work, when they would be settled by the employers. After the conference the workers held mass demonstrations of protest against these proposals, and sharp conflicts with the police occurred.

On August 1, 1923, a railway strike occurred. It started by a demand for an increase of wages, with the slogan "Fifty per cent of peace wages." Within 24 hours almost all railroad traffic in Hungary had ceased. The government at once proclaimed martial law for the whole country. Emergency helpers were armed. Strike leaders were arrested and held as hostages; the most responsible of the workers were also arrested; funds were confiscated, and all meetings were broken up. The government declared that the railroad men, as civil servants, had not the right to strike, and ordered that the union be dissolved. The strikers who had been arrested were sentenced as criminals. Some were shot, others were put in irons. In three or four days the strike utterly collapsed and the strikers returned to work without imposing any conditions. They received no promise of better wages, and no security against punishment.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Hungarian Parliament has 245 members divided in 1922 as follows: Government Party (Horthy) 140, Ernész Group 15, Heinrich Group 2, Independents 9, Opposition 78. Of the Opposition 25 are Socialists.

Terrorism played a great part in the conduct of the election, and these figures do not truly represent the party division in the country. The government majority is composed of representatives of the agrarian and the land-holding groups.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. Its headquarters are in Budapest.

Communist Party.—The Budapest Court of Justice reports that a total of 70,000 Communists have been arrested and punished by the Horthy government as a result of the events

following upon the downfall of the Soviet government. The party is illegal, and made no membership report to the Third International in 1922.

INDIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The second annual meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress, at Jharia, in the Bengal mining district, November 30, 1922, represented considerably more than the estimated 500,000 members shown at the first Congress a year before. The address of the president stressed the political as well as the economic aims of labor. A deputation of coal owners appeared before the Congress and publicly repudiated the attacks of the Indian Mining Federation, which had tried to have the meeting suppressed. The Congress adopted a resolution calling for improved conditions in the Behar and Bengal coal mines, establishment of a Ministry of Labor, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, instructed the Executive Committee to create a strike insurance fund, and took action on a number of political questions. The third annual meeting was held at Lahore, March 21-26, 1923. It appointed a sub-committee to formulate a program on taxation from the worker's point of view. It adopted a number of resolutions on insurance for unemployment, old age, and sickness, and condemned the Legislature for postponing the prohibition of the employment of women in underground work in coal mines.

The Bombay Provincial Trades Unions held a Congress at Bombay on September 29-30, 1923. Its president reported a membership of 51,276. The Congress passed resolutions requesting the government to prohibit drugs and alcoholic drinks; to form national and local joint councils in all organized industries; to provide social legislation; and to improve the hours and wages of postmen and government clerks.

Strikes and Lockouts.—In 1921 there were about 400 important industrial conflicts, and in 1922 about 278. They were principally in jute-manufacturing, navy shops, cotton, machine building, iron and steel, shipyards, and jet. Bengal and Bombay provinces had most of the disputes.

Most of the 1922 strikes were defensive. They ended in defeat for the workers, and a consequent falling off in union membership. The East Indian Railway strike in February, 1922, involved 20,000 workers; the Tata Iron and Steel Works

strike, 26,000. Both of these ended in unconditional surrender of the strikers.

In 1923 there were up to June 72 struggles involving 68,759 workers; 33 were in cotton and jute industries. Of these disputes 43 were lost, 16 won, and eight compromised. One of the most important strikes ever called in India was conducted by 50,000 mill workers in Ahmedabad, from April 1 to June 6, 1923. It was the first strike definitely organized by a trade union, and was declared to prevent a 20 per cent wage cut. The struggle was lost, the workers finally accepting a 15 per cent cut at once, and the remaining 5 per cent six months later. In August, more than 10,000 laborers struck in the Burma oil fields and the Ahmedabad mines. They demanded wage increases and wage equality between American and Burman skilled workmen.

Labor Legislation.—Industrial legislation has just been started in India. In January, 1922, the factories act was amended to reduce the working hours of adults in factories with 20 or more workers from 70 to 60 a week, with a maximum of 11 hours a day. The minimum working age for children was raised from nine to 12 years, and working hours for them were fixed at six a day. In September, 1922, the first workmen's compensation act was passed. A bill was introduced in 1923 to limit the working hours of women and children in mines, but was violently opposed by the mine owners.

Political

Non-Cooperation.—The Gandhi Non-Cooperation movement against British rule has collapsed through Gandhi's repeated postponement of the date for beginning the campaign of civil disobedience. On March 18, 1923, Gandhi was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

Communist Activity.—There is so far no large labor political organization. A small Communist group issues a periodical abroad.

IRELAND

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—In Ireland the trade union and the political organizations of labor are combined in one body, the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress. The Congress had in February, 1922, 190,000 members, and in January, 1923, 183,000, organized in 43 unions. By far the most

important of these is the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, with 100,000 members. The Teachers' organization has 12,000 members, the Railwaymen 9,757 and the Distributive Workers and Clerks, 9,120.

Conditions.—There was a great deal of unemployment during 1922. In August of that year it was estimated that 130,000 men and women were out of work. By January, 1923, the number had dropped to 38,000. A government bill increasing employment benefits was introduced in the Dail on April 25. The general condition of the working class was grave. To meet the situation the National Executive of the Trade Union Congress put before President Griffith a labor program containing among others the following recommendations: a compulsory tillage order; a road-building program; continuance of the Waterford Meat Factory project; state ownership of the Drogheda Meat Factory; prohibition of flour importation, until the Irish mills had been studied; public housing; and trade with Russia.

Congresses.—The Labor Party and Trade Union Congress held its 28th annual meeting in Dublin in August, 1922. President Cathal O'Shannon reported some progress toward amalgamation especially in the distributive trades. Much of the time of the Congress was spent in discussing problems arising out of the civil war. A resolution calling on the Dail to end the fratricidal strife was passed, and in the event the Dail failed to act, the Labor members were called on to resign. The Congress also favored nationalization of railways; formation of a building guild; compulsory education for children to the age of 16, and coordination of lower with higher schools; revision of unemployment benefits to meet Irish conditions; and union labor on government work. The Executive Committee was asked to consider the establishment of cooperative printing works.

The 29th annual Congress was held in Dublin, August 6-9, 1923, with 241 delegates. The Congress demanded the release or immediate trial of all untried prisoners arrested in the civil war. May 1 was adopted as the national Labor Day. The future prosperity of Irish agriculture was declared to reside in

the cooperative administration and development of small holdings, and the planting of the larger farms and untenanted lands with the propertyless workers, on the basis of common ownership.

Left Wing Movement.—On his return from America in 1923, James Larkin became the leader in a movement to secure control of the trade union organization for revolu-

tionary republican purposes. He launched a weekly paper, *The Irish Worker*, which was temporarily suppressed. On June 12 Larkin seized Liberty Hall, the Trade Union Congress headquarters in Dublin, and was evicted by court proceedings. During the session of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress he was the central figure in hostile demonstrations against the leadership.

Strikes.—On September 10, 1922, there was a strike of 12,000 postal workers against a wage reduction. On September 28 the men accepted a wage reduction in two installments. On April 24-25 there was a 24-hour general strike as a protest against military rioting. In June, 1923, there was a strike of dock workers in Dublin. It originated in a refusal of Irish workers on cross-channel vessels to accept a wage reduction. An effort of President Cosgrove to persuade the men to accept the reduction failed. The government then used the militia and the police to force the men to go back to work, which they did at the end of November. On November 30 the farm laborers of Waterford lost a strike against a wage cut.

Politics

Parliamentary Representation.—The Irish Free State, established March, 1922, is governed by the Dail Eireann, a representative body of 153 members, elected by direct universal suffrage, with proportional representation. In September, 1923, the elections returned a Dail composed as follows: Government Party 63, Anti-Treaty 44, Farmers 15, Labor Party 14, Independent 17.

Of the independents two called themselves Labor members. The proportional representation plan did not work out fairly. The government members were returned with an average of 6,589 votes per member, Sinn Fein, 6,503 votes, Farmers, 9,064 votes, and Labor, 10,170 votes.

Labor Party.—The program of the Irish Labor Party in the general elections in 1922 included self-determination, national sovereignty, the abolition of militarism, the right to work, a living wage, safeguarding of children, tax reduction on articles consumed by workers, compulsory tillage, national housing, nationalization of railways and canals, state credit to Irish industries, mothers' pensions, and war pensions. In the 1922 elections the party nominated 18 candidates and elected 17. In the elections of 1923 the party lost three seats.

A special Congress of the Labor Party met in Dublin on February 21, 1922, to consider the advisability of taking part in elections. By a vote of 104 to 49 the party decided to undertake political activity on the program given above.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party is affiliated with the Third International. It made no membership report for 1922, but sent four delegates to the Fourth Congress of the International. The Communist Party cooperates with the Labor Party in elections. It favors the republic as opposed to the Free State. Roderick Connolly, son of James Connolly, is secretary.

ITALY

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—In spite of Fascist attempts to destroy or win over the Italian trade union movement, the General Confederation of Labor (*Confederazione Generale del Lavoro*) remains the most representative body of workers on the industrial field. Its membership is reduced from the 1,206,000 enrolled at the beginning of 1922 to about 400,000.

The General Confederation is led by the Right wing Socialists who followed Turati out of the Socialist Party in 1921. It is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

There are two syndicalist groups. The Italian Syndicalist Union (*Unione Sindicale Italiana*) has a membership of, approximately, 100,000, as against 300,000 in 1920, and is still further weakened by internal dissension arising from its anarchist minority. There is also the Italian Union of Labor (*Unione Italiana del Lavoro*). These have nearly identical programs, though the Syndicalist Union is internationalist in its trend while the Union of Labor is nationalistic.

The Seamen's and Port Workers' organizations are separate units, not affiliated with any federation.

The Italian League of Economic Trade Unions is a patriotic organization with a democratic conservative tendency. The League is composed chiefly of civil service and municipal employees.

The Confederation of Fascist Trade Union Corporations (*Confederazione delle Corporazioni Sindicali Fascisti*) is in no sense a substitute for trade unionism. At least four-fifths of its huge membership was gained by terrorism and compul-

sion of workers. It includes employers as well as wage-earners. One of the affiliated corporations is the League of Professional Trade Unions, with a membership of 200,000.

Fascist principles are opposed to trade union "monopoly," and are for "freedom of labor" and the open shop. Fascism advocates the "cooperation of categories" instead of the class struggle. It favors legislation in the interest of workers, as long as nationalistic principles are maintained and production is not disturbed. Conditions have, however, driven even Fascist unions to strike.

The Italian Confederation of Workers (*Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori*), affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, is an organization of Catholic workers, as much opposed to the Fascisti as is the General Confederation of Labor. In 1921 this organization had nearly 1,000,000 members. By the end of 1923 its membership had almost vanished. It was then limited to some women in the northern textile mills.

Labor Conditions.—Under the Fascist rule of Benito Mussolini, the former Socialist, the workers' standards of living and the freedom of their organizations are being violently attacked. Workers are not allowed to strike or to picket. Real wages are low, especially in northern Italy, and toward the end of 1923 the downward trend had not yet ceased. A 10 per cent tax was levied on wages, while bank shares and other securities have been exempted from taxation. Civil service immunity from discharge has been abolished, and all known Socialists and Communists have been driven out of the public service. Efforts to abolish the eight-hour day, however, have not succeeded.

In 1923 Mussolini made all trade union collective agreements legally enforceable. These agreements must be registered, and a sum of money placed in a bank by both the union and the employer to ensure that they be lived up to.

Labor Disputes.—There was a gradual cessation of disputes and strikes during 1922 and 1923, as a consequence of the Fascist terrorism. In 1921 there were 1,045 strikes involving 644,564 workers. In 1922 there were 552 strikes, involving 422,773 workers. Three of these were national in scope. In 1923 there were only a few dozen strikes.

A strike of dock workers for a 20 per cent wage increase began in September 21, 1921, with the coal heavers of Naples, and spread to all Italian ports on March 18, 1922.

A compromise settlement was dictated by the government on March 30. On June 26, 1922, there was a strike in the metal industry. The employers demanded a reduction of wages and abolition of the cost-of-living bonus. A meeting representing all sections of the General Confederation of Labor was held in Genoa on June 16. A resolution, supported by Communists, favoring a general strike of all workers was defeated. A general strike of metal workers was declared, but the settlement, on July 11, amounted to a defeat for the men.

After a three months' nation-wide strike beginning in the woolen industry late in 1921, a number of active workers were dismissed. The unions succeeded in having most of the workers reinstated. In discharges ordered for non-disciplinary reasons the unions secured payment of indemnities provided for in labor agreements. Two cases were taken before the courts, which ruled that the indemnities were legally due the workers, since "in the absence of criminal acts, participation in a strike can never involve a loss of the rights established under labor contracts."

Abrogation of agricultural agreements in the summer of 1922 amounted to a national problem. It was pointed out by Nino Mazzone, secretary of the Federation of Metayers, that farming families should be left in their present homes and occupations. If these families were turned out there would arise the double necessity of finding for them accommodations and employment.

Claiming that the eight-hour day on Italian railways was responsible for the hiring of 50,000 additional workers and for a deficit of 1,200,000 lire, capitalists started a drive for reduction of railroad staff and longer hours. The Minister of Public Works stated that there was considerable saving in a day of eight hours' actual work instead of eight hours' attendance. He intended to hand over repair shops, at present operated by the state, to private enterprise. On January 24, 1923, the Council of Ministers authorized dismissal of railway employees until the number should be reduced to the necessary minimum. Pensions and bonuses were provided for men so dismissed. About 36,000 men were dropped.

At Rome 20,000 workers in the building trades struck on July 27, 1923. The strike was throttled by the Fascist government in a week. No meetings were allowed, all demonstrations were put down by troops, and 300 were arrested in one day for refusing to work.

Labor Alliance.—Early in 1922 a joint conference was held between representatives of the General Confederation of Labor, the Railwaymen's Union, the Syndicalist Union, the Union of Labor, and the National Federation of Dock Workers. The result was the organization of the Labor Alliance to fight capitalism with every weapon, including the general strike. In August the Railwaymen seceded from the Alliance.

Trade Union Congresses.—A National Congress of the General Confederation of Labor was held at Genoa on July 3-15, 1922. D'Aragona moved that the Socialists in the Chamber collaborate with capitalist parties to form and support a government "which would guarantee the re-establishment of elementary liberties and offer a program containing the more immediate demands of the proletariat." The Maximalists led by Serrati, the Communists, and the Left wing Socialists (who are still in the party) each introduced resolutions in opposition to coalition. They were unable to agree on a joint resolution, or they might have defeated D'Aragona. The vote was as follows:

Federation	537,351	Left Wing Socialist	34,784
Communist	250,472	Centrist	43,533
Maximalist	249,519	Not voting	13,000

On March 23-24, 1923, a meeting of national trade unions and 20 city Chambers of Labor was held at Milan, to discuss the general situation and organization problems. One important decision restricted trade union activities to the economic sphere. Another was, in view of the critical condition of labor throughout Italy, not to hold a Congress of the General Confederation of Labor in 1923, but to convene instead smaller gatherings known as National Councils.

On June 30, 1923, the second Congress of the Fascist Trade Unions was held at Rome. It decided unanimously to establish technical departments to administer social welfare, medical relief, and emigration.

Another Conference of the General Confederation of Labor was held at Milan on August 23. This Conference followed one held between Mussolini and the trade union leaders, D'Aragona, secretary of the Confederation, Buozzi, Colombini, and Azzimante. Most of the leaders of the General Confederation favored collaboration with the Fascist government. The Milan conference, however, revealed considerable opposition to this plan. By a vote of 23 to 17 it adopted a resolution renouncing any association with Socialism or with the

aims of the Socialist Party, but taking no definite stand on collaboration with Mussolini. Complete separation from the Socialist Party was ratified by the Executive Committee of the Federation at its meeting at Rome on October 6.

The Administrative Council of the General Confederation of Labor met at Milan on November 3-5. Its delegate to the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions was instructed to emphasize the desirability of having a single trade union International, and a single national federation in each country. It also demanded that it be made compulsory for unions affiliated with the national central organization to join their respective trade internationals affiliated with the I. F. T. U. It was decided to discuss the emigration of Italian workers to France with the French unions, and if necessary, with the I. F. T. U. The next Congress was set for March, 1924.

Guild Movement.—The guild movement in Italy shows two tendencies. One is economic, originating in the combined trade union and cooperative movements. The other is political, evolving from the guild state idea put forth by D'Annunzio. Relationship between Italian cooperatives and trade unions is close, the two movements supplementing each other.

The National Federation of Marine Workers has organized the Garibaldi Cooperative Society, which includes all who work on board ship, from captain to cabin boy. The society under the leadership of Captain Giulietti operates seven vessels, one of which has made passages to the port of New York. The Metal Workers' combine owns ship-building yards, an electric plant, and workshops for the construction and repairing of machinery. A building guild engages in building construction, reclamation of waste lands, road-making, and water works.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Chamber of Deputies consists of 535 members, elected for three-year terms. The elections of 1921 provided a Chamber divided as follows: Constitutionalists 275, Socialists 122, Catholics 107, Communists 16, Republicans 7, Germans 4, Slavs 4.

A new election law has been promulgated by Mussolini, which provides that the party receiving the largest vote (not necessarily a majority) in the country, shall have two-thirds of all seats in the Chamber. This is intended to consolidate his power.

Fascism.—The Fascisti grew in power throughout 1922. They seized the city hall at Milan on August 4. All over the country Socialist and Communist newspapers were suppressed, unions and political clubs dispersed, labor leaders beaten up and killed. The Fascisti derived their strength from the middle class and the capitalists, on the plea that only a nationalist program could restore Italy's financial and industrial prosperity. On October 20, 1922, Premier Facta and his cabinet resigned, and on October 29 the king called on Mussolini to form a government. On November 24 the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 275 to 90 voted to give Mussolini full power until December 31, 1923, to enable him to complete his fiscal and civil service reforms.

Toward the end of 1922 the Fascist government announced a plan for the reorganization of unemployment insurance. In May, 1923, the governing bodies that administered the funds for compulsory unemployment insurance were dissolved by royal decree. This aroused great opposition among the workers.

Industrial conditions did not improve in spite of Mussolini's promises. There was a sort of civil peace, enforced by terrorism. The rent laws which to some extent protected the workers against the exactions of the landlords have been repealed. The Commission for the Control of War Supplies, which was favored by the workers, has been disbanded. Nevertheless, lack of raw materials seriously hampered industry. In November, 1923, Mussolini concluded a treaty with Soviet Russia and recommended full recognition.

On December 10, 1923, Mussolini asked the king to end the Parliamentary session. This was looked upon as a prelude to an election. He was at this time intriguing to get the Confederation of Labor to join his forces.

Socialist Party.—In 1921 the Socialist Party had considerable strength. In 1923 conflict with the Fascisti and internal dissension almost destroyed it. At the National Congress of the party, held in Rome, October 1-3, 1922, Turati and his reformist followers were expelled by a vote of 32,106 to 29,119. Serrati, who then dominated the party, held that quality counted for more than numbers. After the expulsions the party had a membership of 32,000. Serrati remained editor of the party's official organ, *Avanti*.

The Turati group, called the Concentrationalists, formed a new organization under the name United Socialist Party.

This party is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. Its official organ is *La Giustizia*.

On February 5 more than 1,000 Socialists and Communists were arrested. On March 1 Serrati was taken into custody.

Another Socialist Party Congress was held in Milan on April 23, 1923, in the midst of Fascist terrorism. Only 9,000 of the 32,000 members were represented. Of these, 40 per cent were for a united front with the Communist Party. The majority refused any combination with the Communists, and expelled the Young Communist League from the party. The Congress declared for affiliation with the Third International, but rejected the conditions laid down by that body.

On July 25 the Executive Committee of the party expelled Serrati and the group behind *Le Pagine Rosse*, a weekly paper favoring affiliation with the Third International. The Socialist Party had previously begun negotiations for affiliation with the Third International.

Socialists and the Government.—In the middle of 1922 the condition of labor became acute. The Socialist deputies asked for permission to abandon opposition to the government, and to support measures to protect the rights and property of trade unionists as citizens. They represented this move as necessary to save the trade union movement. The National Council of the Socialist Party voted against the proposal. In March, 1923, the Socialist Party issued a manifesto protesting against the Mussolini government.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party of Italy was formed immediately after the Leghorn Congress of the Socialist Party, in January, 1921. About 59,000 members of the Socialist Party seceded. The Second Congress of the Communist Party was held at Rome on March 20-25, 1922. At that time the membership was 40,000. There were also 3,189 candidates for admission. The Congress adopted a resolution calling by a vote of 31,089 to 4,151 for the united front in the trade unions, but not in political affairs. Bombacci, the leader of the Communist movement, was opposed to this measure. The Congress also decided to cooperate with the peasants. The Communist Party reported a membership of 24,638 at the end of 1922. It is affiliated with the Third International.

On February 4, 1923, hundreds of Communists were arrested in all parts of Italy. All Communist papers were sup-

pressed. In July the Communist Party issued a manifesto calling upon the peasants and the workers to form a united front against the reaction. On December 5 the Executive Committee of the Communist Party demanded that Bombacci resign his seat for having made favorable reference to the Mussolini revolution.

JAPAN

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The most important federations of workers in Japan include the General Federation of Labor (*Nihon Rodo Sodomei*), the two Federations of Trade Unions of Western and of Eastern Japan (*Kansai* and *Kanto Rodo Kumiai Domei Kai*), the Federation of Unions of Tokyo Engineering Workers, and the General Federation of Workers in State Undertakings. There are no figures available as to membership. In Osaka, however, at the end of 1922, there was reported a total membership of more or less active unionists of 122,297. The miners have finally come together in one federation numbering tens of thousands alone.

On September 30, 1922, there was a conference of representatives of all groups to establish a single federation. The General Federation of Japanese Labor favored a highly centralized organization, on industrial lines. The Western and Eastern Federations accepted industrial unionism, but favored localized autonomy. No unity was achieved. The Western and Eastern Federations met with the Federation of Tokyo Engineering Workers and decided upon a new Congress. The workers in the state undertakings came to an agreement with the General Federation.

Congresses.—The General Federation of Japanese Labor was formerly a friendly society, but at its 10th annual Congress, October 1-3, 1921, at Tokyo, changed its name, and at its 11th meeting, October, 1922, brought its tactics into line with European trade unionism. At the Congress in 1921 the General Federation eliminated from its program the demand for universal suffrage, rejected the principle of the general strike, and after considerable discussion took the question of the right of collective bargaining from the agenda. It passed a resolution favoring disarmament. The 1922 Congress put the body flatly in opposition to the capitalist class, with the demand for the emancipation of labor. It demanded the eight-hour day, and the six-hour day for miners, aboli-

tion of night work, a minimum wage, and the removal of all police restrictions on trade union activity. It condemned the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, and in particular its own government, for disregarding the wishes of organized labor in Japan in selecting non-representative labor men for the Conferences. It called for the recognition of Soviet Russia, industrial unionism, and declared that the Western and Eastern Federations were anarchical in their demand for local autonomy. The Congress passed the customary resolutions thanking and encouraging the 175 members of the Federation who had been imprisoned during the year's industrial conflicts.

The Western and the Eastern Federations of Labor have not given up the fight for universal manhood suffrage. They have held demonstrations to compel the government to concede this right.

In the early part of 1922 the International Seamen's Union of the United States announced that it would admit Japanese and Chinese seamen, and that it would launch an organization campaign and establish branch unions in the principal ports of China and Japan. This is the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor that Orientals were invited to join.

Conditions of labor have called forth vigorous protest from the Japanese federations. On June 30, 1919, there were 95,283 women at work in coal mines, 67,836 underground. Hours of labor are 10 or more. The government has introduced bills to suppress the unions, but has not dared adopt any of them. At a meeting of the western and eastern branches of the General Federation of Japanese Labor, April 2, 1922, at Osaka, representing 13,000 workers, a resolution was adopted which called for sabotage where the strikers could not get injustices remedied through strikes.

A general Parliament of Labor was planned for early in 1924, with delegates from unions, local councils, workers' committees, and directly from shops, for the reduction of armaments and action against war between capitalist countries.

The Eta (outcast remnants of the ancient slave class, who are compelled to slaughter animals, tan skins, and mend clogs, and are shut out from other occupations) held a national convention at Kyoto, March 3, 1922, with 2,500 delegates present. The Eta number 3,000,000. At this convention they organized the *Suihe Sha*, meaning Water Level, or Levelling Up Association, to fight along with the workers of the

world in the final class war against capitalism. At the second convention held March 2-3, 1923, at Kioto, 4,000 delegates were present. They demanded the formation of trade unions in manufacturing industries and among the farmers. They also started a monthly publication.

Strikes.—There were 277 labor disputes during 1922, with 221,379 workers involved. The most important strikes were those of the coal miners in Hokkaido in February; the Ashio copper miners in March; the Osaka electric-light workers in April; the Sumitona iron workers in May; the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi dock workers in July, and the Yokohama and Kobe shipyard workers in September and October. Many of the strikes were for the establishment of factory committees. During this year the workers, for the first time, organized to collect strike funds. In the Yokohama and Kobe shipyard strike 40,000 workers were involved for a month and a half. At least three persons were killed. About 260 leading strikers were imprisoned until the end of the walk-out, which was finally crushed by troops. In 1923 the women textile-workers of Asaka lost a 10-day strike.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Japan has a parliament of two houses, a House of Peers of 394 members, and a House of Representatives of 464 members. Only those males are eligible to vote who are over 25 years of age, and who pay a national tax of not less than 3 yen. There are in all 2,800,000 voters. The working class is wholly disfranchised. There is no labor representation in the Parliament.

Socialist Party.—There is no organized Socialist Party in Japan. In May, 1923, the government raided Socialist headquarters in Tokyo, suppressed the papers and jailed some of the leaders.

Communist Party.—There is a Communist Party affiliated with the Third International. It made no membership report for 1922.

Persecution of Radicals.—There is almost constant persecution of radicals by the government. On June 5, 1923, 200 Socialists and Communists were arrested because they had attended a dinner given to Joffe, the Soviet representative in China and Japan. On June 25 some 70 Communists were arrested on charges of "conspiracy to form a Communist Party."

Under cover of the martial law and press censorship set up after the earthquake in September, 1923, numbers of Socialists, Communists, and trade union leaders were arrested. Twenty-four, including Keishichi Hirazawa, president of the Laborers' Union and editor of the *Labor Weekly*, were bayoneted to death in prison. Sakae Osugi, the Anarchist leader, his wife, and his American born nephew aged seven, were strangled to death by a gendarmerie captain who was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for the crime.

JAVA

Industrial

Strikes.—A big railway strike broke out in July, 1922, when sugar shipments were heavy. Thousands of workers were dismissed. Those who favored the strike were arrested. Union offices were shut down. Men and women members of Sarakat Islam, a native religious organization with radical leanings, were threatened with imprisonment if the strike did not cease. The dispute ended in victory for the workers.

Political

Communist Party.—In 1923 there were about 1,300 in the Communist Party, organized in 32 sections, including those of Temate, Borneo, Semar, Caleb. Many of the party leaders were in prison. About 30,000 workers and peasants in Sarakat Islam were also under Communist influence. At the conference of the Central of Sarakat Islam, in September, the leaders put through a resolution providing that members could not belong to Sarakat Islam and to another political party at the same time. A split resulted, many going over entirely to the Communist Party.

LATVIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Latvian Federation of Trade Unions at the end of 1922 had about 12,000 members in 16 organizations. At least 16 other unions with a total membership of 14,000 were outside of the Federation. The headquarters of the Federation are in Riga. It is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Under the Latvian Soviet the trade unions were state organizations. At the overthrow of the Soviet regime the trade unions fell to pieces. The formation of new unions began in July, 1920. New military disturbances interfered and there was no conference of workers until July, 1921, at which 134 delegates were present, representing 25,000 workers.

In the 1921 Congress the Federation split over the question of international affiliation. The minority—about 70 out of 178 delegates—left the Congress because it refused to join the Red International of Labor Unions. Efforts have been made by this Communist minority to convene another congress and appeal to it for unity in the Federation.

The Federation of Agricultural Workers, with a membership of about 14,000, met for its third Congress at Riga, February 24-26, 1923. The Congress demanded that all cultivable land should be distributed without delay to landless agricultural workers, with long-term credits, free of interest, granted by the state.

Political

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party, with headquarters at Riga, was organized in 1919. It is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party had 1,500 members in 1922. It is affiliated with the Third International.

LUXEMBURG

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Trade Union Committee, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, had in 1923 a membership of 21,167, a drop of 5,000 since 1921. There are 11 unions affiliated with the Committee, among which by far the most important is the Miners' and Metal Workers' Union, with 8,000 members. The Committee supports a German and two French newspapers. Workers' education is provided for by an Educational Center under the direction of the Committee.

In addition to the Trade Union Committee, there is the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. This federation affects chiefly the railway workers.

The Employees' Union with 3,000 members is unaffiliated

with any national federation. It publishes a French paper called *L'Employe*.

Amalgamation is progressing. The Brewery and the Tobacco Workers, and two groups previously in other unions, have combined to form the Food and Drink Trades Workers' Union. A joint congress of building trades unions created one organization for the building trades workers and wood workers. The glove, leather, and textile workers also agreed upon amalgamation.

The Third Trade Union Congress, September 29-30, 1922, took up the question of its relation to the three Internationals and its attitude toward the United Front.

The Fourth Trade Union Congress at Esch-sur-Alzette, October 29-30, 1923, demanded works councils, a chamber of labor, the eight-hour day, labor exchanges, and social insurance reform.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The parliament consists of a Chamber of Deputies of 48 members, divided in 1922 as follows: Catholics 26, National Party 4, Liberals 9, Socialists 7, Popular Party 2.

Socialist Party.—The Socialist Party of Luxemburg, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, has its headquarters at Esch-sur-Alzette.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party of Luxemburg is affiliated with the Third International. It made no membership report for 1922.

MEXICO

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are three national organizations of labor in Mexico: the Mexican National Confederation of Labor (*Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana*); the General Confederation of Workers (*Confederacion General de Trabajadores*); and the National Confederation of Catholic Workers.

The National Confederation of Catholic Workers has its headquarters at Arzobispado. It claims a membership of 80 unions with 40,000 members.

The General Confederation of Workers has 20 affiliated unions with 16,000 members. The Vera Cruz Workers is the

most important group in the Confederation. It claims 12,000 adherents.

The most important federation is the National Confederation of Labor, with headquarters in Mexico City, organized in 1918, with an estimated membership in 1923 of 600,000. This represents a decrease of 400,000 since 1921. The National Confederation of Labor is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Fifty per cent of the members are agricultural workers. The textile workers are next in number, with a membership of 15,000 in Orizaba alone. There are strong organizations of textile workers in Puebla and in the Federal District. The third group is the coal miners of northern Mexico. Then come the stevedores and the maritime crafts at Vera Cruz, Salina Cruz, Guyamas, and other ports.

The workers in the Federal District, comprising the city of Mexico, Tacubaya, Tacula, San Angel, Mixcoac, and neighboring towns, are organized in the Federation of Workers' Syndicates. This federation is older than the national organization. It was closely identified with the revolutionary movement which culminated in 1910 in the overthrow of the Diaz regime. Its leaders were instrumental in having Articles 27 and 123 incorporated in the constitution of 1917. These articles have been the object of vehement attacks on the part of capitalists, both native and foreign, and especially on the part of American investors. Article 27 was attacked because it made mineral resources the property of the state, and Article 123 because of the rights it conferred on labor.

The National Confederation of Labor has been the only organization of importance that has consistently defended these articles. Article 123 provides for absolute freedom to organize and the right to strike; both these rights were denied under Diaz. Under the constitution of 1917 no employer can discharge an employee without sufficient reason and just cause, on penalty of paying three months' wages in advance. The National Congress, controlled by reactionaries, has never passed the necessary legislation to enforce these constitutional provisions.

Strikes.—There were 55 strikes during 1922, and 97 during the first 8 months of 1923. In June, 1922, there was a strike of hennequin workers in Yucatan, which later spread to Vera Cruz. The strikers demanded the eight-hour day

and free medical attendance. In all 40,000 workers were out. On June 15, 1922, the car men, bakers, telephone operators, and factory workers of Mexico City struck. In July there was a general strike involving 20,000 in support of demands made by the textile workers. The waterfront workers of Vera Cruz struck on July 11, and in December there was another general strike at Mexico City.

A strike of car men in Mexico City started on January 22, 1923. It came to a close on January 28, but on February 1 there was a clash between strike sympathizers and the troops. On August 31, 1923, a general strike began in Vera Cruz, tying up all industries and the railways. The strikers demanded a 50 per cent wage increase, and the employment of a switchman on every car. The railway workers on lines entering Puebla joined the strike on August 25. On August 28 the strike was called off after a conference between the Confederation of Railway Men's Societies and the Workers' League of the Vera Cruz Maritime Zone.

In June, 1923, there was a strike involving 10,000 textile workers in Orizaba. The strikers demanded free medical attention for workers suffering from vocational diseases. President Obregon supported the strikers, pointing out that not a "single important corporation using beasts of burden" fails to "employ expert veterinarians to care for them." Every employer in the state of Vera Cruz declared a 24-hour lock-out as a protest against Obregon's support of the strikers. Obregon called a special session of the legislature and secured passage of a temporary law compelling textile operators to give medical attention to their employees.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The National Congress consists of two houses, a Senate of 58 members and a Chamber of Deputies. Towards 1923 considerable headway was made in sending to the Chamber of Deputies revolutionary representatives, including trade unionists, Socialists, and agrarians.

De La Huerta Revolution.—The elections for president, senators, and deputies were set for July, 1924. Late in 1923 two prominent candidates came forward. The candidate of the workers, the farmers, and the progressives was General Plutarco Elias Calles. His opponent was Adolfo de la Huerta, who was backed by the reactionary forces, including

the large oil interests, the landowners, the industrialists, and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. Convinced that he would be defeated in the elections, de la Huerta began an armed rebellion against the Obregon government on December 6, 1923.

The fundamental issue in the de la Huerta revolt is economic and not political. The situation resolves itself into a question whether the Mexican government would continue along the progressive revolutionary path indicated by the constitution of 1917, or whether it would revert to the conditions existing in the Diaz period. The de la Huerta movement is thoroughly reactionary, despite the claims of its agents to the contrary. The revolt was still in progress at the close of 1923.

Labor Parties.—The foremost political revolutionary parties are the Mexican Labor Party, and the National Confederation of Agrarians. These are revolutionary in the sense that they represent the revolutionary movement initiated in 1910.

Communist Party.—There is a Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, with headquarters at Vera Cruz. It reported 1,500 members in 1922.

NETHERLANDS

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—On January 1, 1923, the five national organizations of labor in the Netherlands were reported to have the following membership:

Dutch Federation of Trade Unions	196,720
Roman Catholic Federation of Trade Unions	122,558
National Christian Federation of Trade Unions	62,541
General Federation of Trade Unions	45,759
National Labor Secretariat	21,758

449,336

There are a number of trade unions not affiliated with any of these, with a total membership of perhaps 100,000, making a country-wide membership of all trade unions of about 550,000.

Congresses.—The Dutch Federation of Trade Unions met on November 20, 1922, and again on September 11, 1923, both times at Amsterdam. At the 1922 Congress Stenhuis, as president, presented a report on workers' control, the major point in the agenda. The Congress declared

unanimously in favor of works councils and of joint industrial councils, in the interests of the emancipation of the workers and increased production. The resolution proposed that the candidates for membership in the councils be nominated by the trade unions and elected by the workers. It also demanded that the councils "participate in discussions on the management and organization of the undertaking," as well as on shut-downs, with a representative on the board of directors. The resolution also declared for joint industrial councils "for the purpose of ensuring technical improvements and the introduction of methods calculated to increase output and diminish productive costs," regulation of the distribution of raw materials, and the closing down of undertakings which do not keep pace with new developments. The 1923 Congress concerned itself largely with the eight-hour day, and adopted a drastic resolution to ensure the preservation of the 48-hour week. The resolution called for strikes and collaboration with all trade union centrals to protest the action of the government in extending hours. Protest meetings were suggested, which were later held.

The Roman Catholic Federation had on January 1, 1923, 28 unions, contributed 768,325 florins in 1922 to the support of strikes, and 3,857,836 florins in unemployment benefits, including the government grants. The Christian Federation received in 1921-22 the sum of 5,195,528 florins, and paid out in strike benefits 605,598 florins, and in unemployment benefit 2,826,742 florins.

The General Federation of Trade Unions met at Utrecht on October 13, 1922, with Appleton of Great Britain, Leeuwin of Germany, and de Kempnaer of Belgium present. Discussion on a suggestion of Leeuwin, to found a "neutral" international federation, was postponed to a future Congress.

The National Labor Secretariat met in Amsterdam, April 1-2, 1923, and adopted a resolution protesting against the shooting of workers in the Ruhr, and the imprisonment of Jacob Dolla in Pennsylvania. On the question of affiliation the vote was 99 for the Red International, and 84 for the Syndicalist International. It was decided to settle the matter by referendum. The referendum showed that the membership favored Moscow by a vote of 7,302 to 6,489. The two factions, by a vote of 9 to 7, agreed to compromise by affiliating with neither International before 1925, meanwhile endeavoring to unite the two Internationals.

Labor Disputes.—The number of disputes increased in 1923.

The chief causes of strikes were the efforts of employers to reduce wages, or to increase working hours without extra pay. The employers were in most cases successful. In February, 1923, the Netherlands Trade Union Federation put 150,000 florins at the disposal of the Ruhr workers.

Labor Conditions.—Unemployment increased during 1923 in many trades. Dutch labor has been in a difficult position during 1922 and 1923. There have been wage cuts from 10 to 30 per cent; increase of working hours from 48 to 55 or 57; and a falling off of dues paying members in the unions of more than 43 per cent.

The eight-hour law has a clause which permits exceptions to be made "in special circumstances." In September, 1923, the Labor Minister increased the number of working hours in engineering and naval establishments to 56½ hours a week, without increase of pay. The Metal Workers' Union called meetings of protest, and has taken the matter before Parliament.

In November, 1923, the textile unions refused to accept the 53-hour week. In retaliation some employers introduced a 10 per cent cut in piece rates. The unions have protested this, and the matter was still unsettled at the end of the year.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Dutch Parliament is composed of two houses: a Senate of 50 members and a Chamber of Deputies of 100. The composition of the Senate is: Catholic Party 17; Anti-Revolutionists 19, Protestant Party 4, Old Liberals 9, Liberal Union 6, Democrats 2, Socialists 3, others 13. The composition of the Chamber is: Catholics 32, Social Democrats 20, Anti-Revolutionists 16, Christian Historicals 11, Liberty Union 10, other parties 11.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party, with headquarters in Amsterdam, is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. Its parliamentary power is so great that its leader Troelstra, by defeating a government navy bill, was able to cause the resignation of the premier in October, 1923. The Social Democrats had no majority in Parliament at the time, and so did not assume power. They refused a Communist invitation to collaborate in calling an extraordinary session of Parliament to discuss the ministerial crisis.

The Social Democratic Labor Party of the Netherlands had a membership on January 1, 1923, of 42,047, of which 9,874

were women. In 1922, the first year when women voted, the party polled 567,772 votes out of a total of 2,928,587. The Young People's Movement had on February 1, 1923, about 8,000 members, and receives annual grants of 15,000 guilders from the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions and the party. Relations between the economic and political wings of the movement are cordial.

The trade unions and the Social Democratic Labor Party have been making a joint study of the Works' Councils.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, had at the end of 1922 a membership of 2,500. It held a Congress at Croningen on November 12 to 15, 1923.

NEWFOUNDLAND

Industrial

Fishermen's Protective Union.—Organized in 1908, the Fishermen's Protective Union had in November, 1923, about 30,000 members, with 300 councils or branches. The cooperative endeavors of the fishermen comprise the Fishermen's Union Trading Company with 48 branches, exporting fish, and doing about \$5,000,000 business a year; the Fishermen's Union Shipbuilding Company, which builds from 10 to a dozen fishing vessels and freighters a year for the coastwise trade; the Fishermen's Union Electric Company, and the Fishermen's Union Export Company. The Fishermen's union has practically built up Port Union, Newfoundland.

Political

Fishermen's Party.—The Fishermen's Party entered the elections of 1913 and elected five out of 36 in Parliament. In 1919, in coalition with the Liberals, it succeeded in electing 23, 12 of whom belonged directly to the Fishermen's Party. In May, 1923, the coalition returned the same number. The program of the party includes nationalization of the export branch of the codfish industry, a state bank, state education, elective road boards and the like.

NEW ZEALAND

Industrial

Trade Union Movement.—The leading trade union federation is the New Zealand Workers' Union with about 23,653 members. This organization is affiliated with the Australasian Workers' Union. The New Zealand Alliance of Labor

is an alliance of over 260 unions, and believes in the industrial and general strike, being organized on the One Big Union principle.

The miners struck in 1923. The dispute lasted three months. It was finally settled by the arbitration board with a compromise on wages and the upholding of the 44-hour week and the eight-hour day.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—New Zealand has a Legislative Council of 39, and a House of Representatives of 80 members, elected by popular suffrage. The make-up of the House of Representatives, after the 1922 elections, was: Reform Party, 38; Liberals and Independents, 25; Labor, 17.

Labor Party.—The New Zealand Labor Party has more than doubled its representation in Parliament. It is the second party in strength. At its conference, April 2-4, 1923, the party amended its constitution and platform. It now gives as its objective the socialization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The platform includes right to work or maintenance; a five-day week of 40 hours; full recognition of unionism as the basis of arbitration in industrial law, and the consequent membership of all workers engaged in various industries; equal pay of women and men for equal work; good housing accommodation and trade union wages and hours for all wage-workers; amendment of the workers' compensation act to provide for full payment of wages during the period of incapacity, and full medical expenses; repeal of the military service act and the defense act; and industrial and political unity of the workers of all countries.

Communist Party.—There is an active Communist group, but no party officially affiliated with the Third International.

NORWAY

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—Trade union membership in 1922 amounted to only 95,965, or about half the membership in 1919. The Norwegian National Federation of Trade Unions alone at the end of 1922 had 33 national unions affiliated, with 83,640 members, of whom 4,938 were women. This figure represented a decrease of over 12,000 during 1922, but by

July, 1923, the membership of the Federation had gone up to 87,189. All unions except the Paper Workers, the Municipal Workers, and the Stonecutters, lost members because of the severe depression. Twenty-nine of the unions, and the Federation itself, publish journals.

Trade Union Congresses.—The Norwegian trade union Executive in October, 1922, voted 65 to 15 to leave the International Federation of Trade Unions. No decision was reached at that time in regard to relations with the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Trade Union Congress on March 4, 1923, devoted its attention chiefly to the prevailing labor troubles, the matter of international affiliation, and the proposed reorganization plan. The Syndicalists, who urged affiliation with the Berlin International, received 37 votes out of 230; the Social Democrats, standing for Amsterdam, 32. The majority report, favoring the Red International of Labor Unions, was finally accepted with a vote of 151. The report provided for a study of the effect of affiliation with the R. I. L. U. upon the separate trade unions and upon the trade union movement as a whole. The Congress decided to substitute national industrial unions in place of the present national craft unions, to place additional powers in the hands of the local trade union councils, and to make the place of work the unit of union organization. The Congress decided to continue its representation on the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and to make contributions to the Communist press and propaganda. Ole O. Lian was reelected president, Aaroe appointed secretary, and two Social Democrats were placed on the Executive Committee, replacing Communists.

At a session of the Executive of the Trade Union Federation in June, 1923, it was proposed that the Federation break off its connection with the Labor Party on the ground that funds of the party, and therefore of the trade union members, were being used to assist propaganda of the Communists in the Labor Party in preference to that of the Social Democrats. The proposal was not accepted.

Strikes.—In July, 1923, there was a strike in the paper industry, affecting 14,000 workers. The strike was ended on July 10 by the intervention of the national conciliation officials. The employers abandoned plans for a lockout.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Legislative power is vested in the Storting, a house of 150 members elected for three year terms by direct universal suffrage. After the elections of 1922 the Storting had the following complexion: Conservatives 57, Liberals 37, Communists 29, Agrarians 17, Socialists 8, Democrats 2.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, has its headquarters in Christiania. In the 1922 elections it polled 80,000 votes.

Labor Party.—The Norwegian Labor Party was composed of many elements, controlled by the Communists. Its structure was unique among parties affiliated with the Third International, in that it was composed of the entire trade union membership as a body, plus various party sections. There was no provision for individual membership. The Communists functioned as the extreme Left wing of the Social Democratic section.

The Labor Party reported its membership in 1922 as 60,000, and in the 1922 elections it polled 190,000 votes. During the year there was much internal dissension, chiefly over the questions of the attitude toward the capitalist government, continuation of the arbitration law, and the United Front. In the 1922 congress a resolution was adopted calling for a reorganization of the party on an individual membership basis. This reorganization somewhat reduced the membership.

In November, 1923, the Labor Party split over the question of discipline within the Third International. The Moscow Executive sent a delegation to the party Congress, calling upon the party to uphold more loyally the decisions of the International, and especially to refrain from expelling and suspending Communist members without consent of the International. This communication was denounced by the Labor Party by a vote of 169 to 103. Tranmael, the leader, declared that the Labor Party was under the supreme authority of the Norwegian working people. The Russian delegates thereupon announced that the minority section would henceforth be regarded as the Norwegian section of the Third International.

Communist Party.—Upon the split in the Labor Party Congress in 1923, the minority led by Shefloe left the Congress

and proceeded to form the Communist Party. One of the first moves of the new party was to start a daily newspaper, called *Norway's Communist Post*, in Christiania. The party has also gained the support of a number of local journals in various parts of the country.

PALESTINE

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The General Federation of Jewish Trade Unions includes 8,394 of the 15,000 organized workers of Palestine. In 1920 there were only 4,443 members of the Federation. There are 160 organizations, the most important of which are the Agricultural Workers' with 2,663 members, and the Building Workers' with 2,196.

About 1,500 in the country are engaged in public works, 2,100 in the intellectual professions, and 10,900 in manual labor.

The Arabs, who constitute 90 per cent of the population, are not largely engaged in industry. The working class consists chiefly of Jewish immigrants, strongly tinged with the middle-class attitude. Partially successful efforts to organize the Arabs have been made.

The second congress of the General Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, held at Jaffa in April, 1923, decided in favor of the craft or trade basis of organization. It voted to start farming and manufacturing enterprises, credit unions, loan banks, colonization funds, and sickness, life, and unemployment insurance funds. It was decided to establish cordial relations with the Arab workers. By a large majority it voted to affiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The winter of 1922-1923 was marked by acute industrial depression. From 3,000 to 4,000 persons, constituting about one-fourth of the working population, were unemployed. They were given three days' wages as doles. Emergency work was promised but never started.

Before the forming of the Federation, at the end of 1920, there were 25 cooperative settlements with 692 workers and 25,000 dounam of land. By the end of 1922 there were 36 settlements, and 1,628 workers with 65,000 dounam of land.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Under English rule, Palestine has a Legislative Council of 22, 12 of whom are to be elected by direct suffrage. Two at least are to be Christians, and two Jews. The Arabs boycotted the first election in February, 1923, as a protest against the constitution. The election was therefore declared void.

Poale Zion.—The Poale Zion, or Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party, with headquarters in Vienna and affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, has a branch in Palestine. In 1923 a group within the organization demanded that it break with the international body. Two small and weak organizations resulted, one of which remained with Poale Zion.

Communist Party.—After the split in the Poale Zion the seceding group formed itself into the Communist Party, and affiliated itself with the Third International. The party had one delegate at the Fourth Congress of the Third International. The most active Communists were expelled from the country in 1921 after a May Day demonstration which was suppressed; 200 were injured.

PANAMA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Labor Federation of Panama (*Federacion Obrera de Panama*) was organized in 1922. It is a trade union federation, with 3,000 membership. Headquarters are in Panama City.

Political

Parties.—Labor has no representation in the Congress. Neither Socialist nor Communist parties are organized.

PERU

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The trade union character of labor organization in Peru is as yet not very prominent. There are three organizations of national scope; the International Labor Center of Latin-American Solidarity (*Centro-Internacional Obrero de Solidaridad Latino-Americano*), affil-

iated with the International Federation of Trade Unions and with the Pan-American Federation of Labor; the Grand Confederation of Trade Unions (*Gran Confederacion de Profesionales y Obreros*); and the National Federation of Trade Unions (*Federacion Obrera Regional Peruana*). There are in addition nine unions unaffiliated with these federations. The independent unions include carpenters, artists, firemen, millers, railway employees, textile workers and tailors. The Labor Center had, in 1922, 25,000 members.

The International Labor Center is a delegate body consisting largely of local benefit societies, and including the Confederation of Artisans, the largest artisans' organization in Lima.

Political

Parties.—Labor has no parliamentary representation. There is no organized Socialist Party or Communist Party.

POLAND

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Polish Federation of Trade Unions in 1922 had 620,000 members. The Central Trade Union Federation, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, had 411,056. The Christian Trade Unions had 160,000, and the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions 62,000, making a total trade union enrollment of about 1,250,000. In 1923 the Jewish Socialist Unions amalgamated with the Central Trade Union Federation.

On December 18, 1922, a conference of delegates from all the trade unions was held at Lodz. The conference called upon the government to dissolve the Fascist and other reactionary organizations, to remove reactionary officials, and to give the workers freedom of the press and of assembly. It also called upon all labor parties to unite in organizing a common fight against the employers. A two-hour protest strike on December 19 was carried through successfully. During 1922 there was a strong tendency toward the industrial form of organization.

The Polish Federation of Trade Unions held a special Congress at Poznan, July 29-30, 1923, to draw up new rules and a program of action. Among the points adopted were: legal recognition of the right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike; extension of the works council law to the whole coun-

try; extension of trade courts; the minimum wage, adjusted in accordance with the cost of living to equal pre-war value; strict observance of the hour laws; public employment offices; compulsory health, accident, invalidity, old age, and unemployment insurance under state control.

The Central Trade Union Federation met at Cracow, May 25-28, 1922, with 250 delegates from 40 trades. It approved the resolution on militarism of the Rome Congress of the Amsterdam International, and criticized the government for its tardiness in enacting labor legislation. It decided to institute unemployment and strike funds.

Strikes.—During 1923, there was a wave of strikes throughout Poland. The chief causes were the high cost of living and the long-continued political disturbances. The workers are much worse off than before the war. In February, 1923, the miner was earning 74 per cent of pre-war real wages, the textile worker 70 per cent, the metal worker less than 50 per cent. The strike movement began in July after the publication of the official cost of living figures. The demands were a general increase of 100 per cent above the June wage, an addition of 50 per cent of the June wages as compensation for the small wages received in that month, adjustment of wage rates every two weeks, and prompt publication of the cost of living index. By the middle of July most of the workers of Poland were out. The main exception was the miners, whose demands had been granted at once. The textile workers' strike was the largest, over 100,000 workers being involved. In Warsaw, Lodz, and other cities, the government mobilized the soldiers and the police. Peaceful demonstrations were fired upon and many were killed.

The majority of the strikes ended in victory for the workers. The Lodz textile workers secured a wage increase of 67 per cent. In Warsaw the metal workers won not only their wage demand, but the right to revise their agreement every three months, for which they had struggled for two years. In many cases fortnightly adjustment of wages on the basis of the cost of living index was secured. Leadership of the strike was largely in the hands of the Communists.

In October a second strike movement began on the railways. The government resorted to the tactics of calling the strikers up for military service. This failing, the strikers were placed under martial law and threatened with death. The Polish Federation of Trade Unions, declaring both of

these government acts unconstitutional, called a general strike in protest. About 1,000,000 went out. Troops fired upon assemblies of workers, killing 20 and wounding 100. The strike ended on November 8 in a complete victory for the workers.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Parliament has two houses, a Senate of 111 members, and a House of 444, elected by universal suffrage with proportional representation. After the 1922 elections the composition of the Senate was: National Christian Union 52, Moderate Peasant Party 14, Radical Peasant Party 9, Polish Socialist Party 7, National Labor Party 2, Bloc of National Minorities 21, Independents 6. The composition of the House (Sejm) was: National Christian Union 163, Center Party 6, Moderate Peasant Party 6, Radical Peasant Party 49, Polish Socialist Party 41, National Labor Party 18, Independent Peasant groups 7, Ruthenian Peasant Party 5, Bloc of National Minorities 83, Communists 2.

Socialist Parties.—There are three Socialist parties in Poland: the Polish Socialist Party, the Independent Socialist Party, and the German Social Democratic Party, all affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. The Polish Socialist Party held its latest Congress on December 31, 1923, at Cracow and adopted a resolution declaring that the unions should be freed from the destructive activity of the Communists and should work along Socialist lines.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, is an illegal organization. In 1922 it reported a membership of 10,000.

PORTO RICO

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are about 25,000 workers in the Free Federation of Workers, organized in some 150 local unions. The Free Federation is part of the American Federation of Labor. Most of the workers are engaged in sugar plantations.

Labor conditions are bad. Wages average 75 cents a day. The workers are employed about one-third of the time. The cost of living is high.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Legislative power is vested in a Senate of 19 members, and a House of Representatives of 39, elected by direct suffrage for four-year terms. One member of the Senate, and two representatives, are Socialists.

Socialist Party.—There is a large and active Socialist Party led by Santiago Iglesias. The party has 4,000 members, and polled 60,000 votes in the 1920 elections. The Socialist Party and organized labor are in favor of continued connection with the United States.

PORTUGAL

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The General Confederation of Labor has an affiliation of at least 16 central unions. Among the trades organized are tailors, leather workers, builders, postal and telegraph employees, railwaymen, metal workers, dock laborers and farm hands. It is not affiliated with any international organization. A law to establish the right of association has been introduced by the Minister of Labor. The law does not grant the right to strike.

A new organization, the "Labor Brotherhood" was organized in 1923 to unite the manual workers and technicians. Its program demands protection of maternity, free compulsory education, legal limitation of hours to eight a day, regulation of unhealthy occupations and night work, and housing reform.

Two general strikes took place in 1922, one of which was called to release certain workers arbitrarily arrested, and the other to protest against the increase in the price of bread. Other strikes in 1922 included that of the weavers at Covilha, the tramway workers at Lisbon and Oporto, workers in preserve factories in Setubal, and miners in Aljustrel.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Parliament consists of a National Council of 71, elected by the Municipal Councils, and the Chamber of Deputies of 164, elected for three year terms by direct suffrage. These Chambers are now made up as follows (incomplete): National Council—Democrats 33, Liberals 9, other parties 15; Chamber of Deputies—Democrats 73; Liberals 30, other parties 46.

Communist Party.—The Portuguese Communist Party was formed in 1920. In 1922 it had a membership of 2,900. Following a bomb attack in 1922 by two Anarchists on the judges of the Tribunal of Social Defense, the government arrested most of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth.

The Communist Party is affiliated with the Third International.

RUMANIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The trade union movement is slowly recovering from the persecution which by 1921 had cut its membership from 200,000 to 26,000. In 1923 the number of trade unionists rose to 52,000, organized in 33 unions. Less than 10 per cent of the workers are organized. The unions are required to secure special licenses, and to have no connection with the Communist Party. There is a rigid law against strikes.

Trade Union Congresses.—The Congress of the General Trade Union Commission on July 3, 1922, at Hermanstadt, was the first since the general strike of October, 1920, which was followed by destruction of the movement and the imprisonment of many of the leaders. At this Congress the trade unions were taken over by the Social Democrats, who began an energetic campaign for affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the exclusion of Communists.

A special Congress to consider the question of international affiliation was held at Klausenburg, September 16-18, 1923, while the town was under martial law. The initial number of delegates was 217. When the Congress rejected a recommendation to cancel 60 credentials held by Left wing delegates, the president closed the session and called a new session to which only those who favored affiliation with Amsterdam were admitted. After this division the roll-call at the Congress amounted to 28,423 votes, whereas at the beginning there had been 52,166. Affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions was then voted. The Council of the Commission was instructed to conduct a campaign for freedom of meeting and of association, and to continue the study of the government draft labor code.

The Council met on September 20, 1923, and fixed Bucharest as headquarters. It decided to exclude all workers who do not adhere to the International Federation of Trade Unions, to use all power to suppress Communist propaganda, and to recognize no strikes without the approval of the organization directly concerned and of the Council.

A General Council of United Labor was set up by those not in sympathy with the Amsterdam International. This body demands the annulment of the resolutions of the Klausenburg Congress, a provisional committee of the two councils, and the calling of a convention which would represent all groups, and whose decisions would be binding.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Rumania has a Parliament of two houses, a Senate of 170 members and a Chamber of Deputies with 347 members. The Chamber, after the 1920 elections, had the following make-up: People's Party 215, Federal Democrats 34, Bessarabian Peasants 25, Transylvanian Nationalists 21, Socialists 19, Independent Democrats 6, other parties 27.

Socialist Parties.—There is a Federation of Socialist Parties, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, with headquarters at Bucharest.

Communist Party.—During 1922 the Communists were violently persecuted. Wexler and Kogan, writers and speakers, were shot "while attempting to escape." Two other leaders were beaten to death in prison, and two became insane from the treatment they met while awaiting trial. Nearly 150 workers were killed by machine guns at a demonstration near the Theater Square, Bucharest; 300 more were placed under arrest for having recognized the Communist International at the previous party Congress. In 1922 the membership was about 2,000. The party is affiliated with the Third International.

The party met at Ploesti, October 3-4, 1922. It urged its members to join the legal trade unions and transform them in accordance with Communist tenets. The Congress also urged Communists to work for a Balkan trade federation, for agricultural unions to include peasants of small means, and for affiliation to the Red International. The party demanded the expropriation, without compensation, of large estates and of the necessary machinery, tools, and live stock on such estates for the working peasants.

RUSSIA

Industrial

New Economic Policy.—The last two years in Russia have been years of slow and painful progress, in spite of frightful obstacles, toward industrial and political stability. A leading factor in this progress has been the new economic policy, ratified at the Communist Party Congress in March, 1921, and officially announced on August 9 of that year.

In the months preceding the formulation of the new policy, farming had decreased to an alarming extent because of the resentment of the peasants against having their surplus produce above personal needs taken by the government, without their receiving the manufactured goods they required. Manufacture was breaking down because the workmen, unable to obtain food in the cities, were leaving their shops for the country. Raw materials were scarce. Outbreaks of discontent were increasing, that of Kronstadt in March, 1921, being the most menacing.

The new economic policy, proposed by Premier Lenin to correct these conditions, included the following points:

1. Permitting the peasants to trade in their farm produce above the tax of approximately 10 per cent taken by the government.
2. Encouraging the cooperatives to exchange the peasants' surplus produce for manufactured goods.
3. Leasing smaller industries to individuals for private exploitation, while maintaining government monopoly in large industry, the railroads, and export trade.
4. Formation of partnerships with private capitalists to secure working capital for government industries.
5. Introduction of efficient business methods in state enterprises.
6. Concessions to foreign capitalists.

All land, and all industrial enterprises and properties, remain legally the property of the state. The state still controls 4,000 of the largest plants, employing 1,000,000 workers; 4,000 of the smaller plants, employing 80,000 workers, have been leased to private enterprises. About half of these are in the hands of cooperative and workers' organizations. In private enterprises the labor laws of the Soviet republic must be lived up to.

All foreign trade is in the hands of the state. Of internal trade, at the end of 1922, 30 per cent was in private hands, 55 per cent was under state management, and 15 per cent was in the hands of the cooperatives.

Under the new economic policy, or NEP, the class of private business men has to some extent revived. Among these "nepmen" speculation, graft, and display became rife, leading to a drastic government campaign to curb their activity.

The Famine.—During the early months of 1922 Russia was undergoing intense suffering from the famine caused by the disorganization of her economic life incident upon several years of war, revolution, and counter-revolution, followed by the droughts of 1921. The population of European Russia and the western part of Asiatic Russia had suffered a net loss in population of 9,000,000 instead of a normal gain of 12,000,000 during the years 1914-1920. This territory during the famine years was subjected to an excess of deaths above normal, amounting to between 1,500,000 and 3,000,000.

The Soviet government expended on famine relief not less than \$100,000,000 exclusive of the cost of transportation and distribution of foreign relief supplies. The total amount contributed by various foreign relief agencies, the chief of which was the American Relief Administration, amounted to probably \$70,000,000. It would appear that on the whole the relief measures were carried through honestly and efficiently on both sides.

Agricultural Restoration.—Since the spring of 1922 agricultural restoration seems to have proceeded at an encouraging rate. Agricultural production is now at about 75 per cent of pre-war levels. The total sown area in Russia and the Ukraine, in dessiatins (dessiatin equals 2.7 acres) is:

Average 1909-13	81,200,000
1921	54,749,000
1922	49,476,000
1923	59,366,000

The total crop in million poods (pood equals 36 pounds) was:

Average 1909-13	4,079
1921	1,602
1922	2,240
1923	2,800

The figure for 1923 is a conservative estimate. The value of the 1922 crop of the principal cereals was 3,931,000,000 gold rubles (ruble equals 52 cents). The 1923 crop will be worth well over 4,000,000,000 gold rubles.

The Soviet authorities estimate that they will be able to export this year about 250,000,000 poods, the actual amount exported up to the end of November, 1923, being about 65,000,000 poods. Of this amount about 18,000,000 poods went to Germany, 14,000,000 to Finland and Norway, 10,000,000 to the Netherlands, and 8,500,000 to France.

The most important single government measure affecting

the agricultural population of Russia is the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of May 5, 1923, establishing the single agricultural tax. Under this law the peasant will pay a single agricultural tax, payable in grain, or in money, which will replace all other national taxes. He will be subject also to local taxes imposed by district executive committees and the village Soviets. A percentage of the tax is turned over to the local authorities.

Industry.—The showing for industry is not so good as for agriculture. Toward the close of 1923 big industry had achieved a production of 34.8 per cent of the pre-war levels, small industry 68.5 per cent, and all industry 40.3 per cent of the pre-war level. The total output of big industry for 1920-1921 was 511,000,000 gold rubles. For 1921-22 it was 829,000,000 rubles, and for 1922-23 it was 1,118,000,000 rubles.

Table 86—Russian Production, in Natural Units, 1913-1923

<i>Unit</i>	1913	1921-22	1922-23
<i>Fuel Industry</i>			
Coal—Poods	1,738,000,000	568,833,000	648,995,000
Oil—Poods	564,000,000	276,777,000	314,599,000
<i>Metal Industry</i>			
Cast Iron—Poods	256,337,000	10,428,000	18,360,000
Steel—Poods	259,368,000	19,366,000	36,009,000
Wrought iron—Poods	214,220,000	15,782,000	27,681,000
Electrical—Rubles	42,211,000	14,948,000	25,964,000
<i>Textiles</i>			
Cotton Yarn—Poods	16,000,000	3,104,000	4,355,000
Wool Yarn—Poods	2,400,000	637,000	874,000
Linon Yarn—Poods	2,693,000	1,006,000	1,756,000
Basic Chemical Industry—Poods ..	17,585,000	8,171,000	12,448,000
<i>Rubber Industry—Rubles</i>			
Rubber Shoes—Rubles	70,000,000	4,150,000	10,099,000
Ore Mining—Poods ..	638,400,000	12,744,000	29,280,000
<i>Gold, Platinum</i>			
Gold—Pounds	120,807	11,144	19,041
Platinum—Pounds	14,865	1,697	2,868
Glass Industry—Poods	11,200,000	1,563,000	3,767,000
<i>Leather Industry</i>			
Leather calculated in large hides			
—Pieces	16,500,000	4,055,000	5,376,000
Civilian shoes—Pairs	54,880,000	2,989,000	3,102,000
Paper Industry—Poods	9,100,000	1,698,432	3,904,800
Matches—Cases	3,803,000	718,602	1,255,394
Sugar—Poods	82,000,000	.....	18,000,000

Table 87—Workers Engaged in Russian Industry, 1923

<i>Branch of Industry</i>	<i>Number of Workers at End of Month, 1923</i>	
	<i>August</i>	<i>September</i>
Coal	157,698	165,976
Oil production	34,644	36,350
Oil refining	4,851	4,764
Total Fuel Industry.....	197,193	207,090
Gold and platinum	9,045	9,541
Ore	14,725	17,099
Salt	10,780	9,852
Total Mining Industry....	34,550	36,492
Silicates (glass, china)	33,111	38,589
Metal industry	254,200	257,589
Electrical industry	13,628	14,430
Electrical power stations	6,511	6,291
Textile industry	296,649	344,341
Clothing industry	14,355	14,561
Leather industry	26,295	25,997
Chemical industry	48,215	52,701
Foodstuffs industry	16,462	18,171
Paper industry	20,012	21,090
Total.....	961,181	1,037,501

The number of workers enrolled in these same industries on January, 1923, was 806,400; on June 1, 1923, 858,800, indicating a steady and substantial gain throughout the first nine months of the year.

The railroads of Russia employed in 1913, 815,000 persons; in 1921, 1,229,000; in 1923, 744,000. The drop in the number of persons employed from 1921 to 1923 does not indicate, however, a proportionate drop in efficiency. During September, 1923, there were indications of a revival of internal trade and of the renewing of trade contacts between city industries and the peasants. The All-Russian Agricultural Exposition held during that month in Moscow was a great success, and at the Nizhni-Novgorod Fair goods valued at 300,000,000 gold rubles, at the pre-war price level, were exchanged, as compared with a business of 220,000,000 gold rubles in 1913.

Difficulties are still encountered, particularly in the management of the state industries. The cost of the total production of nationalized industries for the fiscal year, 1922-23, was estimated at 1,505,000,000 gold rubles. It was estimated that gross receipts would exceed this amount by about 88,000,000. The industries will, however, probably close the

year with a deficit of 223,000,000 gold rubles. The Council of National Economy demanded a deficiency appropriation.

Wages.—During 1923 real wages were generally stabilized. There was a rise in wages throughout Russia, which was more marked in Petrograd and Moscow than elsewhere. Average earnings in Moscow in March, 1923, were 18 per cent higher than in December, 1922; in Petrograd, 22 per cent higher; and in Russia generally, 11 per cent higher. In some branches of industry wages have equalled, and even exceeded pre-war rates. In Moscow, all industries taken together have wages equalling 90 per cent of pre-war rates.

Table 88—Real Wages in Russia, March, 1923

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Percentage of Pre-War Rates</i>		
	<i>All Russia February</i>	<i>Petrograd</i>	<i>Moscow</i>
Metal workers	38.1	59.0	79.0
Textile workers	53.4	82.0	71.1
Chemical workers .....	...	82.0	108.2
Typographical workers .....	...	77.9	86.1
Foodstuff workers .....	...	100.0	117.4
All industries	54.3	72.0	90.0

Trade.—The figures of trade are less encouraging. Russian trade in 1921-22 had attained 9.6 per cent of the value of pre-war trade. Figures for 1922-23 are 12.3 per cent of the pre-war rate, in gold rubles. This includes both imports and exports. Though the total amount of Russian trade is slight compared to a pre-war rate, yet the relation between imports and exports has shown a decided improvement in the past two years:

Table 89—Russian Imports and Exports

<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>Gold Rubles</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Gold Rubles</i>
1921-22	282,300,000	1921-22	63,900,00
1922-23	144,000,000	1922-23	130,000,000

Table 90—Russian Trade with the United States

<i>Imports from United States</i>		<i>Exports to United States</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>Gold Rubles</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Gold Rubles</i>
1920-21	\$18,000,000	1920-21	\$4,500,000
1921-22	21,000,000	1921-22	400,000
1922-23	15,000,000	1922-23	1,200,000

A rapidly increasing number of trade agreements is being made between the economic agencies of the Soviet government and foreign groups. Among the most important of these agreements is that between the Russian Foreign Trade

Monopoly Bureau and the Allied-American Corporation, completed in Moscow on July 14, 1923. The agreement stipulated that the annual turnover of the Allied-American Corporation must not be less than \$2,400,000. This figure was passed within six months after the completion of the agreement and it is now estimated that the corporation will do a business of \$10,000,000 in its first year.

American cotton shipments have already exceeded in value \$1,000,000. Imports of American motor trucks, agricultural machinery, farm implements and accessories, tools, tractors, typewriters, automobiles and automobile parts, are increasing. The Ford Motor Company, American Tool Works, and the United States Rubber Company are among those making shipments through the Allied-American Corporation.

Concessions.—The policy of granting concessions to foreigners inaugurated in 1921 has met with considerable success. By a decree of April 12, 1923, each foreign company must submit to representatives of the government full details of its business and must, among other things, observe the labor laws of Soviet Russia. During the fiscal year 1922-23, 29 concessions were granted to foreign capitalists, 10 to Germans, six to Americans, five to English. The International Barnsdall Corporation was given a concession for the exploitation of some of the Baku oil fields, and the Sinclair Oil Company for exploitation of the Sakhalin fields. The Krupps were granted a concession to exploit 68,000 hitherto uncultivated acres in the Donetz basin.

Revenue.—During 1921-22 government revenues amounted to about 50 per cent of expenditures; during 1922-23 to about 75 per cent; during 1923-24 it is estimated that they will amount to about 88 per cent. The government expects to balance its budget during the fiscal year 1924-25. The sources of government revenue in the past two fiscal years were:

Source	Per Cent	
	1921-22	1922-23
Issue of currency	46.3	26.8
Taxes	24.4	29.3
State industry and trade	29.3	43.9

The budget for 1922-23 amounted to 1,132,000,000 gold rubles; that for 1923-24 to 1,250,000,000.

Banking.—The banking system has undergone a considerable reorganization. Special facilities are being granted to cooperative and land banks. During 1923 the state bank began the issue of the new bank notes known as chervontsi. The law requires that this new currency must be backed by a reserve in the state bank equal to the full amount outstanding. Fifty per cent of this reserve must be gold or sound foreign currency and the remaining 50 per cent may consist of commercial paper. The par value of the chervonetz is \$5.14, or ten gold rubles. Its actual value on exchange at the close of 1923 was about \$5, a percentage of par exceeding that of the British pound, and second only to the United States dollar. On December 1, 1923, there were 26,000,000 chervontsi outstanding, which was within 185,000 of the authorized limit. In the closing months of 1923 the government was preparing to issue paper currency of smaller denominations, also "guaranteed," though not in the same stringent fashion as the chervontsi. As confidence in the chervontsi grew, a tendency arose among the peasants to hoard them. As was to have been expected, the chervontsi were tending to drive the paper rubles out altogether. If the government attempted to balance the budget by the issue of chervontsi beyond the limit fixed by the law, the problem of financial inflation would be confronting it anew. During the closing months of the year the currency had been increased faster than the increase of manufactured products. The result of this was an increase in prices of the latter, which occasioned considerable hardships and further difficulties in adjusting relations between the peasants, who had a comparative abundance of food to sell but could not purchase manufactured goods at high prices with this food. Immediately after the harvest the peasants used their income to pay taxes. This temporarily cut down the demand for manufactured articles and led to the shutting down of a number of factories and the throwing out of employment of city workers.

Trade Unions.—The general status of the trade unions remains the same as during the closing months of 1921 after the promulgation of the new economic policy. The membership, which fell from 8,000,000 to about 5,000,000 after membership ceased to be compulsory, has remained at the latter figure.

Table 91—Trade Union Membership in Russia, 1923¹

<i>Agriculture</i>		<i>Transport and Post and Telegraphs</i>	
Agricultural and forest workers	245,500	River transport	129,200
<i>Industry</i>		Railroad	637,300
Paper workers	23,500	Sea	124,900
Miners	271,000	Posts and telegraphs	107,300
Wood workers	100,800	Total	998,700
Leather workers	84,400	<i>State and Public Institutions</i>	
Metal workers	466,300	Art workers	72,300
Printers	71,500	Medico-sanitary workers..	303,300
Food workers	271,100	Educational workers	423,300
Sugar workers	43,600	Soviet workers	526,300
Building workers	130,500	Total	1,325,200
Textile workers	454,300	<i>Others</i>	
Chemical workers	153,400	Soviet farms	142,000
Needle workers	50,000	Public feeding	50,600
Total	2,066,400	Total	192,600
		Not classified .....	.....
		Grand Total	4,828,500

The Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress met at Moscow September 15-21, 1922, with 970 delegates. The majority were Communists, 46 were non-party, 2 Social Democrats, and 1 Social Revolutionary.

The Congress declared that under the new economic policy the government should fix a minimum wage, but should keep hands off collective bargaining. Wages should be paid wholly in money, and should be calculated on the basis of an average unit, so as to stabilize them against fluctuations of prices. The piece work system should be introduced as far as possible, with a fixed rate of output guaranteed. Disputes should be adjusted by local commissions, and if necessary, by official conciliation bodies, with both workers and employers represented. Strikes may take place, with the sanction of the central committees of trade unions only, and must be limited in accordance with the interests of the national economy: a strike of railwaymen, e. g., is indefensible, while a less vital industry may presumably be struck.

In the first nine months of 1922 there were 8,085 disputes in Moscow and Petrograd, affecting a total of 123,537 workers. The number showed a jump from 9,526 in the first quarter to 34,428 in the second, and to 79,583 in the third quarter. Textile workers, miners, and metal workers were chiefly affected. Delay in payment and low wages were the chief causes. Most of the strikes were settled in less than 24 hours. The textile workers received full or partial satis-

¹ Central Bureau of Labor Statistics of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, and the People's Commissariat for Labor.

faction in 94 per cent of the disputes, miners in 61 per cent, and metal workers in 36 per cent.

On October 1, 1923, the number of periodicals published by the Central Committee of the Trade Unions was 29, of which five were newspapers, and 24 were magazines. The largest circulation of all the trade union papers is that of the *Signal*, 98,000 copies. The total circulation of all central union organs is 322,700.

The economic stress during the closing months of 1923 reflected itself in a series of strikes and considerable unrest among the trade unions. Zinoviev argued for granting to the workers in the shops more control over production and for a reconsideration of the relation between the shop committees and the Communist Party groups on one hand, and the shop committees and the trade unions on the other hand.

Political

New Constitution.—On July 4, 1923, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee approved, subject to ratification by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which was obtained in December, 1923, the new federal constitution for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The chief constituent members of the new union are the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic now including Siberia and the Far Eastern Republic, the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Republics (Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia), together with a number of autonomous republics, autonomous areas, labor communes, and dependencies.

Under the new constitution the Federal Congress of Soviets, which corresponds to an electoral college, meets annually at Moscow. The number of delegates to take part in the Second Federal Congress of Soviets is 1,441. Of this number 1,068 will represent the Russian Socialist Federated Socialist Republic (including 236 delegates from the various autonomous republics and dependencies), 295 the Ukraine, 17 White Russia, and 61 the Transcaucasian Federation. Delegates are elected to the Federated Congress of Soviets on the basis of one delegate for every 25,000 voters in the city Soviets and one for every 125,000 inhabitants in the provincial Soviets.

Supreme power under the new constitution rests in a Congress called the Central Executive Committee of the Union. This Congress consists of two houses. One is the Federal

Council of 371 members chosen on the basis of population. Members of this council are elected by the Federal Congress of Soviets. The other house is called the Council of Nationalities, chosen by each nation regardless of population, except that smaller independent communes have one member, while genuine nations such as Russia and the Ukraine will each have five. The Council of Nationalities will be chosen by the provincial Soviets.

Each of the two houses will name a managing committee of seven and the two houses jointly another seven, who will constitute the supreme authoritative body in the period between the triennial sessions of the Congress.

Five commissariats, those for Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Transportation, Post and Telegraphs, and Foreign Trade, will be wholly federal, with absolute authority throughout the union. In the case of other commissariats there will parallel commissars in the participating states chosen by the latter but approved by the federal commissars.

A supreme court is provided for, modeled to a great extent after that of the United States.

Table 92—Area and Population of Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

	<i>Square Miles</i>	<i>Population</i>
Soviet Russia Proper	1,290,440	65,751,989
Siberia	4,210,420	9,257,825
Far Eastern Republic	652,740	1,811,725
Ukraine	174,510	26,001,802
White Russia	23,290	1,634,223
Azerbaijan	33,970	2,096,973
Armenia	15,240	1,214,391
Georgia	25,760	2,372,403
<i>Autonomous Republics</i>		
Bashkir	40,420	1,268,132
Tartar	25,960	2,852,135
Crimea	15,060	761,600
Gorswaia (Mountain Republic)	17,420	808,480
Daghestan	13,730	798,181
Kirghis	843,640	5,058,553
Turkestan	577,400	7,201,551
<i>Autonomous Areas</i>		
Votiak	11,300	686,049
Zyrian	107,060	186,878
Kalmyk	38,440	126,256
Mari (Cheremiss)	6,040	300,069
Chuvash	6,720	758,161
<i>Labor Communes</i>		
Karelia	28,890	144,392
German Volga Commune	7,680	454,368
Total	8,166,130	131,546,045
<i>Dependencies</i>		
Khiva	24,000	646,000
Bokhara	83,000	1,250,000
Total	107,000	1,896,000

The United Governmental Political Department of the Union is established "to unite the revolutionary efforts of the Federated Republics in the struggle against the political and economic counter-revolutionaries and espionage and banditry."

The policy adopted under Lenin of giving the utmost possible consideration to the racial and national desires of the various groups within the Union is being continued. The same general policy continues to be pursued with regard to other Asiatic nations.

Religion.—Adherence to any form of religion is still considered incompatible with Communist Party membership, and members have been expelled for taking part in religious ceremonies. Campaigns for the breaking down of "superstition" have been continued by the League of Communist Youth. The general policy of the government toward various religious groups is growing more tolerant.

Insurgent elements in the Orthodox Russian Church inclined to be favorable to the Soviets have been encouraged, and on April 29, 1923, these elements held the first conclave of what is popularly known as the "Living Church." Something in the nature of a Protestant Reformation seems to be taking place in Russia. Negotiations are under way for the establishment of an understanding between the Soviet government and the Vatican. In the concordat to be framed, no interference with the internal policy of Roman Catholic churches in Russia will be attempted. The Communists seem to be attempting in their own way to minister to the needs of the masses for ritual and symbolism. In recent months there have been a growing number of Communist christenings, called "Octoberings," in which the children of Communist parents are ceremonially dedicated to the cause of the revolution.

In March, 1922, the government decided upon the confiscation of church treasures, proceeds to be devoted to famine relief. Considerable opposition was encountered and a number of priests were executed in May, 1922, for their opposition to the carrying out of the decree. On the whole, the people seemed to have supported the government in this move. The proceeds amounted to about \$500,000. During 1922-23 a number of Roman Catholic priests and officials were imprisoned for treasonable activities. The proceedings culminated

in March, 1923, in the execution of Monsignor Butchkavitch, Roman Catholic Vicar General for Russia, and the sentencing to 10 years' imprisonment of Monsignor Zepliak, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Petrograd. During the year the head of the orthodox church, Tikhon, was also arrested on charges of treason, and unfrocked but later released.

Cheka.—The right to carry out the death sentence was taken away from the Cheka by a decree of February 4, 1922, and that organization thereupon became a detective agency.

Army.—Military service in Russia is compulsory. The army has been reduced from a war footing of 5,500,000 to a peace footing of 600,000. Leon Trotzky continues as commander-in-chief. In recent months much attention has been given to the development of an aviation department.

Education.—The government has been compelled to withdraw many of the subsidies which it appropriated for educational enterprises in other years. At present there are about 40,000 primary schools in Russia, with approximately 3,000,000 pupils. During the fiscal year 1922-23 the appropriation for education was 48,000,000 gold rubles out of a total expenditure of about 1,500,000,000. Schools, classes, clubs, and libraries have been established in connection with the Red Army, the trade unions, and the Communist Party organizations. Through the trade unions facilities are provided for capable workmen nominated by their fellow workers to attend "workers' colleges" where preliminary training is given, after which they are sent to technical schools. The Communist Party maintains numerous active classes in which both the material and the methods of Communist propaganda are taught, this system heading up in four universities.

Press.—Since the inauguration of the new economic policy the government has ceased to subsidize the press. The number of papers fell after this change from 800 to 300, but rose again to 500 during 1923. The circulation fell from 4,000,000 to 1,000,000 and has risen again to 2,000,000, which compares with the total circulation of Russian papers before the war, of 2,550,000. While a remarkably free exchange of opinion and criticism of government and party measures goes on in the Russian press, the censorship over non-Communist publications and over foreign correspondence continues, to all appearances, to be very drastic.

Foreign Affairs.—The year 1922 opened with the Conference

of the Ambassadors of the Powers at Cannes in January. Before the breaking up of that conference, owing to the fall from power of Premier Briand of France, it had been decided to call a general economic conference, including Russia. Among the conditions laid down for this conference were the following:

(1) Nations can claim no right to dictate to each other regarding the principles on which they are to regulate their system of ownership, internal economy and government. It is for every nation to choose itself the system which it prefers in this respect.

(2) Before, however, foreign capital can be made available to assist a country, foreign investors must be assured that property and rights will be respected and the fruits of their enterprise secured.

(3) This sense of security cannot be reestablished unless the governments of countries desiring foreign credit freely undertake: (a) That they will recognize all public debts and obligations which have been or may be undertaken or guaranteed by the state, by cities and municipal bodies or by other public bodies, as well as obligations to restore and compensate all foreign interests for loss and damage caused when property has been confiscated or withheld. (b) That they will establish a legal and juridical system which sanctions and enforces commercial and other contracts with impartiality.

(5) All nations should undertake to refrain from propaganda subversive of order and the established political system of other countries than their own.

The conference was held at Genoa, April 10-May 19, 1922. It proved abortive. France and Great Britain could not agree about the revision of the peace treaty; the financial experts, who had met in London prior to the convening of the general conference, had laid down conditions relative to the extent of debts to be recognized by Russia and the safeguarding of foreigners in Russia, which seemed to indicate a desire on the part of the powers to inaugurate a policy of capitulations in Russia similar to that which had prevailed for years in Turkey. Under these conditions no agreement was possible.

On April 16, during the conference, Germany and Russia signed the treaty of Rapallo, which contained the following provisions:

Mutual renunciation of claims for war damages.

Renunciation of claims out of measures taken by respective governments affecting the nationals of each.

Resumption of diplomatic and consular relations.

Mutual commercial relations on the "most favored nation" basis.

Pledge of mutual good will in carrying out the treaty.

For this independent action Germany was penalized and excluded from further meetings of the Political Commission.

Russia admitted readiness to grant concessions to foreign powers and the expropriated owners of private property in

return for definite assistance. It was agreed, when the Genoa conference broke down, to call another conference at The Hague in June. As a basis for negotiations Russia made the suggestion to accept liability for damage to former property of foreign nationals on condition, first, that war debts and arrears of interest be reduced; second, that an immediate loan be granted; third, that Soviet Russia receive *de jure* recognition.

The Hague conference, which met on June 16, 1922, registered the failure of the Genoa attempt at reconstruction. In the meantime Russia was admitted on May 12, 1922, to the Court of International Justice under the League of Nations, and on May 24, 1922, signed a commercial treaty with Italy.

During subsequent months trade agreements have been signed with a considerable number of nations and improved trade relations entered upon with the nationals of practically all the powers.

On October 16, 1923, the president of the Russian State Bank proposed to France, (1) that Russia will recognize all her pre-war foreign debts; (2) that Russia is to be granted a 10-year moratorium; (3) credits are to be extended; (4) Russia is to restore the nationalized property of French citizens.

During May, 1923, a sharp note from Lord Curzon, Foreign Minister in the British Cabinet, on the execution of Butchkavitch, Communist propaganda in Asiatic countries, and alleged seizure of British vessels outside the three-mile limit and outrages in that connection upon British citizens, seemed to threaten the peace between the two nations. The Soviet reply was conciliatory and the incident passed. The victory of the British Labor Party in 1923, and its probable assumption of power at the beginning of 1924 raised the expectation that Great Britain would grant recognition to Soviet Russia as one of its first official acts.¹

On February 28, 1922, Boris Bakhmetieff, who had been appointed ambassador to the United States under the Kerensky regime, finally offered his resignation, which was accepted to take effect June 30. In May France asked the United States to join in an economic conference for the discussion of Russian affairs, but the invitation was declined. Several times during the following months the question of the recog-

¹This was done February 1, 1924.

nition of Soviet Russia was brought up. Each time Secretary of State Hughes, for the Harding-Coolidge administration, offered substantially the same reply: Russian recognition depended upon, (1) recognition by the Soviet government of the Russian national debt, specifically the loan made to the Kerensky government; (2) compensation for confiscated property; (3) cessation of revolutionary propaganda in the United States and its possessions; and (4) establishment of protection for life and for private property. Each time it was affirmed that these conditions had not been fulfilled.

Toward the close of 1923 a controversy was waged in the press between Hughes and Steklow, editor of *Izvestia*, the official Soviet daily, over the question of the relation between the Soviet government, the Russian Communist Party, and the Third International. Hughes charged that these three were to all intents and purposes one. The Soviet government denied that connection between the government and the Communist Party is more intimate than between the dominant party in any democratic country and its government. In 1922 the British government virtually admitted that the Soviet government was not responsible for propaganda carried on in Asia by the Third International.

Trial of Social Revolutionaries.—The Socialist Parties and trade unions of nearly all nations were much exercised during 1922 by the trial at Moscow of 34 members of the Social Revolutionary Party of Russia. They were charged with having forcibly resisted the Bolshevist *coup d'état* of October, 1917, of having tried to resist the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in January, 1918, of fighting against the power of the Soviets, of getting into touch with representatives of France and England in the period when the Allies were supporting Kolchak and other counter-revolutionary movements, of having in 1914 encouraged and instigated the murder of Volodarsky, a member of the Bolshevik Party, and of having encouraged and instigated more recently attempts against the life of Lenin and Trotzky. According to an agreement reached by representatives of the Second, Third, and Vienna Internationals at Berlin on April 5, 1922, Emil Vandervelde of Belgium and several other European Socialists were present at the trial to act as attorneys for the defense and to see that notes were taken of the proceedings. Shortly after the trial opened they withdrew,

stating that the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal was conducting the trial in a high-handed manner and refusing to abide by the Berlin agreement. They declared that their continued presence at Moscow would consequently be of no service to the defendants, but might on the contrary give countenance to what was no longer a trial but an obvious attempt to rush political opponents of the Bolshevik Party to death or imprisonment. The situation was complicated by the fact that testimony against the defendants came very largely from two former Social Revolutionaries, Semenoff and Konopleva, who had turned renegade to their party and had confessed implication in the murder of Volodarsky and the attempts against Lenin and Trotzky. The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party had publicly disowned all of these acts immediately after their occurrence. The trial ended on August 8. Three of the defendants were acquitted, several others were sentenced to imprisonment for from two to 10 years, and 14 were condemned to death. A tremendous outcry against the death sentence arose throughout the the labor and radical movements of the world and sentence was stayed on condition that the party cease acts of terrorism, spying, and insurrection.

In September, 1923, a decree of amnesty covering a large number of offenders, but not any accused of direct political offences against the Soviet government, was issued by the Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Communist Party.—Communist Party membership in Russia, which stood at about 25,000 on the eve of the October revolution in 1917, increased to 586,000 at the beginning of 1921, after the final defeat of various counter-revolutionary attacks on the Soviet regime. When the new economic policy was decided upon in the spring of 1921 the Communist Party also decided on a drastic house-cleaning in its own membership, in order to prevent the weakening of Communist principles and revolutionary ardor in the party with the adoption of the compromise economic policy. The membership of the party in 1923 accordingly stood at 410,000. In addition to this, there were in December of that year 117,924 candidates for admission, and 300,000 members in the League of Communist Youth. During 1924 none but industrial workers are, with few exceptions, to be admitted to membership. The membership of the Party is divided as follows:

government employees 22.2 per cent, peasants 26.7 per cent, workers 44.4 per cent, others 6.7 per cent.

Early in 1922 Lenin returned to the helm in the Communist Party and the Soviet government. He was unable, however, to carry the immense amount of work of which he had previously been capable. In the course of the following summer he suffered another stroke so that during the remainder of the period under consideration he was able to give only occasional advice on critical matter arising in the Party.¹

The Communist Party at the close of 1923 experienced considerable dissension, and apparently faced as serious a crisis as at any time since it came into power in Russia. Most important of the problems before the party was the question of how to deal with the economic crisis. The "scissors," or gap between low food prices and high prices for manufactured goods was growing and rendering more difficult a fruitful exchange between the peasants and the city. Attempts at stabilizing the currency were meeting with some difficulty. A number of factories were being compelled to close, unemployment was temporarily on the increase. Despite every effort, the large scale nationalized industries appeared not to be making profits. One group in the party, led by Trotzky, insisted that the Communist Party and the government had fallen under the domination of a bureaucracy incapable of adjusting itself to new conditions and of managing industry in a businesslike fashion. This group insisted upon the democratization of the party, rigid weeding out of all members and officials guilty of luxury and graft, and further concessions to the peasants and to small industry, balanced by a more businesslike administration of big industry, the management of which was to be taken still further out of the hands of the party and of the trade unions and concentrated in the hands of technical experts and managers.

There seems also to have been some difference of opinion as to the attitude to be taken toward events in Germany and elsewhere. Zinoviev, for example, asserted that the second great wave of world revolution was approaching, while Trotzky argued that a revolution in Germany would be inopportune and that what Russia needed was peace and an opportunity to continue the work of economic restoration.

¹Lenin died on January 21, 1924.

In December, 1923, the Politbureau, the inner ruling body of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, seems to have concluded that the discussion had proceeded to a point and was being carried on in a manner which threatened the unity of the party. On December 19, 10 members of the group known as "Laboring Truth" were imprisoned. On December 27, after a refusal on the part of the editors to submit articles to the censorship of Zinoviev, the official Communist daily *Pravda* was formally taken over by the Central Executive Committee of the party. Trotzky himself had in the meantime been compelled by illness to withdraw to the Caucasus.

SOUTH AFRICA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The chief white labor organization is the South African Industrial Federation. It has a membership of about 50,000 workers (1922). At its National Conference in January, 1921, it decided that all affiliated unions should decide independently whether or not to admit colored workers. In November, 1922, a second white organization, called the South African Workers' Union, was formed. The main aim of the latter is to unite in one union all the white workers in South Africa.

There are two native unions: the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Amalgamated Union of Africa in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Cape Colony; and the Independent and Commercial Union in Cape Elizabeth and South West Africa. The latter held its first Congress toward the end of 1921 with 50 delegates present. It demanded a repeal of the pass laws and a special commission to investigate the conditions under which natives are employed in the Transvaal mines.

The Cape Federation of Trades and Labor Unions held its fourth annual Congress April 15, 1923, in Cape Town, and appointed a committee to found a National Federation to include all workers, regardless of color, whilst safeguarding the standards of organized labor in South Africa.

Strikes.—On January 2, 1922, a strike began which involved 22,000 Rand coal and gold miners and with them the power station men. The chief reasons were a threatened wage cut of 7 shillings a shift, and the demand of the mine owners to increase the proportion of native workers from eight to

11 for every white worker. The native workers, being poorly organized, received 20 per cent of white pay. In the eighth week of the strike, Parliament endorsed the Smuts government policy of repression, and the mine owners declared that they would no longer negotiate with or recognize the Industrial Federation which was in charge of the strike. Thereupon a general walk-out was called, involving in all 200,000 workers. On March 10 martial law was proclaimed. The government called out commandos of troops, armed with heavy artillery, tanks, and aeroplanes. The Benoni Trades Hall was defended for a day before being blown up by an aerial bomb, with immense loss of life. The trade union leaders were rounded up, the Communist offices were raided, and their press was smashed. About 10,000 workers were arrested; 100 were killed in the conflicts; 500 were wounded. Many of those arrested were shot by court martial. The outcome was a victory for the employers. The rights of trade unions were curtailed, wages were reduced to the pre-war basis, and hours were increased from 48 to 54. The question of the ratio of colored workers to white was referred to a Mining Industry Board.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Parliament of the Union of South Africa is composed of a Senate of 40 members and a House of Assembly of 134. Party representation in the Senate is: South African Party 17, Nationalists 13, Labor 2. In the Assembly the representation is: South African Party 74, Nationalists 47, Labor Party 12, Independent 1.

Labor Party.—In the elections for a Provincial Council in Natal in October, 1923, the Labor Party stood for a tax on unimproved land values, restoration of the right of the Councils to borrow money for roads, schools, and other public improvements, extension of European and restriction of Asiatic suffrage, and restriction of Asiatic penetration into centers of European life.

The Labor Party of South Africa had an alliance with the Nationalists by which each agreed not to oppose the other's candidates in the next election. The pact was dissolved because the Labor Party leaders objected to the Nationalists' demand for a republic.

The Labor Party has a program that calls for state Socialism, membership in the British Empire, equal pay for equal

work, and the democratization of industry. It is not affiliated with any International.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, has 200 members.

SPAIN

Industrial

General Union of Workers.—The trade union movement is sharply divided. The General Union of Workers (*Union General de Trajabadores*), the Right wing organization, has its strength in the mining districts of Biscaya and the Asturias. Its center is in Madrid. The membership in 1920 was 300,000. At the end of 1921 it had 240,000, and at the end of 1922, 239,861.

The Union held its fifteenth congress at Madrid, November 18-24, 1922, with 160 delegates. The congress protested against the closing of trade union headquarters by the authorities, and affirmed the right of government employees to strike. It decided to remain affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to continue supporting the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. It gave its support to the cooperative movement. It voted for steps toward founding a Spanish-American Federation of Workers. Further discussion of international affiliation was prohibited for three years, except at the request of a majority of the members of the Union. Demands were made for the minimum wage, equal pay for men and women, unemployment insurance, rent restriction in towns, and allotment of land to workers' societies to be worked in common. Five of the organizations in the Union published papers in 1921.

The reformist policy of the Union has caused several organizations to leave it, including the Madrid Wood Workers' Union, which remained independent. Shortly before and after the 1922 congress, the Union expelled several unions for Communist views. The Miners, at their Congress in December, 1923, voted to join the International Federation of Miners.

National Confederation of Labor.—The National Confederation of Labor (*Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo*), the Left unionist federation, has its center in Barcelona. In 1923 the Confederation withdrew from the Red International of

Labor Unions and joined the Berlin Syndicalist International, the International Workingmen's Association. Its membership at the end of 1922 amounted to 28,170, or about 3,000 less than in 1920. Its organ is *Solidaridad Obrera*, a daily with a circulation of 30,000.

The leadership of the National Confederation of Labor has been Anarcho-Syndicalist. Its watchword was "direct action." As a result of repression by the employers, the Anarchists at the end of 1922 adopted the slogan of "cultural work" and turned toward education. A reorganization movement has started within the Federation and committees of Communists and Syndicalists have been formed to work for the class revolution.

The National Confederation of Labor has lost many members through the White Terror which has been going on since 1920. Segur, its leader, was murdered in Barcelona in the spring of 1923. Between November 8, 1921, and October 21, 1922, there were 200 murders of workers in streets or public places. Most of them were committed by the "Free Union" organized by Governor Anido for the purpose of eliminating the National Confederation of Labor. In Catalonia more than 400 workers were murdered by White Guards, and thousands were imprisoned.

Other Organizations.—The Federation of Catholic Trade Unions, affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, has 42,319 members. The government in the spring of 1923 passed a law declaring that trade union rules, minutes, accounts, and all other documents must be open to government inspection. The president of each union must report the names and addresses of all members joining or leaving the union.

Strikes.—On March 2, 1922, the miners of Pennaroya struck against a 25 per cent cut. On March 3 the miners at Garruchia struck for the same reason. There was a general strike at Granada on February 10-17. Fuerita, president of the Miners' union, and Joaquim Coneas and Jose Gugheri, liberal writers, were deported. Arrests of many trade unionists followed. In Barcelona about 18,000 persons were detained by the government without definite charges. About 500 of them were Syndicalists.

On May 2, 1923, the Barcelona carters and dockers, who are in one union, struck for the 10-hour day. They were

joined by the scavengers, food workers, and later by the tramwaymen and 'bus men, making about 100,000 men in all. After ineffective attempts to institute a general strike, the committee called off the movement on July 12. A great strike broke out also in the mining district of Biscaya in August, 1923. The whole working population joined in a sympathetic general strike. There was much bloodshed between Communists and the police and soldiers.

In July, 1923, the bank clerks at the Banco Espanol Credito went on strike. The strike was essentially an organization campaign, and a protest against the murder of the president and the secretary of the union. Twenty-eight banks permitted their employees to organize. Others held out. In many banks the clerks refused to handle checks and other papers coming from the Banco Credito. On July 30 the Spanish employees of the Westminster Bank joined the strike.

By royal decree of October 5, 1923, committees were to be set up in commercial, agricultural, industrial, mining, and transport undertakings for the settlement of labor disputes. They might have jurisdiction over an industry, a group of enterprises or a particular trade or occupation. Each committee was to consist of an equal number of employers and workers, with a non-partisan chairman chosen by the members. The decisions of the committees were to be binding. The Joint Labor Commission established at Barcelona in 1920 was not to be affected by this change.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Spanish Parliament has two houses, a Senate of 360 members, and a Congress of 417 Deputies. The present complexion of the lower house after the elections of 1920 was: Conservatives 223, Liberals 111, Republicans 16, Socialists 3, Reformists 8, Regionalists 20, Catholic-Jaimistas 8, Independents 11.

On September 16, 1923, the king, at the order of General Primo Rivera, dissolved the Cortes, and established a virtual dictatorship on the Fascist model. The aim of the Rivera dictatorship is to eliminate labor and radical influence from Spanish affairs, and to re-establish complete employers' control.

Socialist Party.—The Socialist Party of Spain, affiliated

with the Labor and Socialist International, has its headquarters in Madrid. At the elections in April, 1923, the Socialists gained 7 seats in Parliament. During the period of the White Terror, the Socialist Party preserved a strict neutrality. Pablo Iglesias is the chief exponent of Socialism in Spain, but his age has made him give up activity. The Socialist Party cooperates with the government in the institution of social reforms. It publishes a daily paper in Madrid, and seven or eight weekly papers. The party operates in the trade union movement through the General Union of Workers. About half of its members are peasants.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party was formed in 1921 by a split in the Socialist Party. At the time of the split the Socialist Party numbered about 40,000. The Communist Party now has a membership of 5,000. It is affiliated with the Third International. Solis, the leader of the party, was killed in the summer of 1923 in Bilbao. The Rivera coup on September 13, 1923, included the arrest of all the principal Communist leaders.

In December, 1923, three members of the Central Federation of the Communist Youth were arrested in Madrid on the charge of conspiring with Moscow for a revolution to take place simultaneously in Portugal and Spain. The secretary general of the Communist Youth fled to France with the federation's archives and funds.

Premier Dato, who introduced the White Terror, was shot on March 9, 1921, by Casavallas who went to Moscow. Fort and Concepcion, Spanish Communists, were accused of killing Dato. They fled to Germany. Their extradition was granted by Radbruch, the German Social Democratic Minister of Justice.

SWEDEN

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Federation of Trade Unions had in December, 1922, 293,000 members, a growth of 40,000 over 1921. Of these 25,000 were women. The members were organized into 33 unions with 3,207 branches. The large increase in 1922 was chiefly due to the accession of the Railwaymen's and Paper Workers' Unions. The Railwaymen brought in 38,000 members, the Paper Workers 13,000; otherwise there would have been a loss.

A number of unions, amounting to about 80,000 workers, in 1,000 branches, are still outside of the Federation. The Textile Workers with 15,000 members, and the Agricultural Workers with 11,000, are the most important of the unaffiliated unions. Counting all the unions, whether in or out of the Federation, about 86 per cent of the workers in Swedish industry are organized.

The Communists have set up a Trade Union Propaganda Federation to work within the unions. At the close of 1921 this Propaganda Federation had 41 trade unions and 38 clubs, with a membership of 5,450.

Trade Union Congress.—The Federation of Trade Unions held its eighth Congress August 28-September 4, 1922. There were 329 delegates, of whom 60 were Communists. The Congress, reaffirming its earlier decisions, voted that all its unions should be transformed into industrial unions. The engineers have voted to put their unions on an industrial basis by the end of 1925. The bakers, pastry cooks, and butchers have already amalgamated to form the Swedish Federation of the Food Industries. This movement of the Federation toward industrial unionism is one of the chief reasons given by many unions for remaining outside. A motion to secede from the International Federation of Trade Unions was defeated, 177 to 55. The Congress decided to raise the dues for men from 1.92 kronen a year to 4.80 kronen. Women and young members are expected to pay half this amount. A pension fund was instituted for members over 60, who have worked for 20 years or more. A number of proposals tending to a more radical or more aggressive attitude in the Federation were defeated. Chief among these were proposals that the unions carry on offensive as well as defensive strikes; that the local trade unions have a more centralized basis with control placed in the Trade Union Federation; that the Federation favor a general strike and ca' canny. A Communist motion that local unions be forbidden to affiliate with Socialist parties was not successful. At present there is no formal connection between the Federation and the Social Democratic Labor Party, but close cooperation exists.

The Swedish trade unionists in 1921 made an inquiry into the English trade guilds. In January, 1922, a building guild was formed in Halsingborg.

Strikes and Lockouts.—In 1922 there were 3,099 wage disputes involving 548 strikes, and 221 lockouts. About 76,000 workers were affected, and 1,260 employers. The number of stoppages and of workers involved was larger than in 1921. The greatest numbers of disputes were in the building, wood goods, and metal industries. Wage questions caused most of the stoppages. The workers won 91 disputes, lost 82, and compromised 199.

In February, 1923, a lockout began which affected 75,000, including 40,000 workers in saw mills and wood pulp factories, 15,000 cellulose workers, and 20,000 iron workers. The dispute was over wage reductions and attacks upon the eight-hour day. The iron workers' lockout lasted until August 15, the others were ended in May. During this lockout 35 per cent of the trade union members were unemployed. A number of the best skilled workers in the industries affected by the lockout emigrated to America. Serious consideration was given to the proposal of an organized migration of workers to Russia, but after some investigation of the Russian conditions the proposal was abandoned. The lockout ended with a complete victory for labor. The workers in some industries even gained increases in wages.

Throughout 1923 there was an increase in the number of small disputes. Dockers numbering 1,500 were on strike at Gothenburg from February 15 to May 22; 5,000 members of the building trades unions were locked out for a month.

The timber workers signed an agreement with the employers on February 20, but strong opposition to this agreement developed among them. About 15,500, of whom 8,000 were organized, were locked out until summer. There was also a lockout of 22,000 workers in the metal trades because of the workers' unwillingness to give up the 48-hour week.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Sweden is a constitutional monarchy, with a Parliament of two houses, an Upper House of 150 and a Lower House of 230 members. These houses are now composed as follows: Upper House—Moderates 41, Agrarians 18, Liberals 38, Socialists 50, Socialist Left 3. Lower House—Moderates 62, Agrarians 21, Liberals 41, Socialists 93, Socialist Left 13.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Labor Party is

affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. The big lockout in the spring of 1923 caused complications on the question of the distribution of the unemployment doles, and ultimately caused the resignation of the Branting Socialist government. At the beginning of the lockout all unemployed workers belonging to the industries affected were deprived of the public unemployment benefits by the Unemployment Commission, even though many of them had been out of work for some time before the lockout began. The government, which was an entirely Socialist administration, had not a majority in either house and therefore had always to frame its bills in such a way that part of the Liberals might be persuaded to support them. At the end of April the government proposed that benefits be paid to all workers who had been unemployed for six months or longer, and also arrears from February 1, the date the lockout began. The Liberals and Conservatives in the House joined to defeat the bill. The government therefore resigned. A new government was formed April 14. The new premier, Thyggar, is one of the directors of the Iggesund Company, a large lumber and saw mill firm.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party of Sweden, affiliated with the Third International, had 12,143 members in 1922.

SWITZERLAND

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated with the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, had a membership of 179,000 in 20 national unions at the end of 1921. The membership fell to 154,000 during 1922, largely because of unemployment. The Metal Workers, Building Trades and Leather Workers lost about a third of their members. The Railway-men, Municipal and State Employees, and Telephone and Telegraph Workers, gained. About 21,000 of the Federation's members were women. The Confederation of Christian Unions, affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, decreased from 16,000 in 1920 to 12,400 at the end of 1922, and the Federation of Unions of Salaried Employees had 53,000 workers at the end of 1922.

The Building Trades have amalgamated with the Wood Workers, and the Leather Workers with the Clothing Workers.

Attack on Eight-Hour Day.—The workers in 1919 secured legislation fixing the working week at 48 hours, but empowering the Federal Council to extend hours up to 52 in exceptional circumstances. In 1921 a bill was introduced proposing 54 hours as the regular week. The bill was defeated. Nevertheless the Council extended hours to 52 a week in several industries, including textiles, leather, and shoes. In April, 1922, the Federal Council proposed a new amendment increasing from 52 to 54 the number of hours which it might authorize in emergencies, after consulting employers' and workers' organizations. A special Trade Union Congress at Berne the following month determined to resist all attempts to lengthen the working week. The Executive made arrangements for giving help to any trade union which might be forced into a conflict on the subject. The Federation launched a campaign to gather the 30,000 signatures necessary to secure a referendum on the amendment. As a remedy for trade depression, the unions recommended that the frontiers be opened and import restrictions removed, that custom tariffs be lowered, that cheaper credits be granted for business undertakings and that profits on the sale of the necessities of life be controlled.

Trade Disputes.—In 1922 there were 100 strikes and 4 lockouts involving members of the Federation of Trade Unions. Over 12,000 members, in 1,680 establishments, were affected.

Trade Union Dissensions.—Swiss unions have been severely affected by disputes between Right and Left wings. In Zurich, the largest industrial center of Switzerland, the Metal Workers' local of 3,000 was dissolved for Communist activity. In 1922 the Communists were expelled from the Metal and Watch Workers' organizations, and those sections which opposed such expulsion were dissolved.

Trade Union Congress.—On May 27-28, 1922, there was an extraordinary Congress of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions at Berne. The Congress refused to consider a motion sponsored by Communists to permit the organization of groups within the union working toward Communist ends. It also refused to give representation to those metal workers who had been expelled from the Metal and Watch Workers' unions. The Congress adopted resolutions demanding unemployment relief through state employment and doles, continuance of the eight-hour day, and the maintenance of

wage standards. By a vote of 181 to 30 it refused to adopt a program of mass action to enforce its demands.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—Switzerland has a Parliament of two houses. The Nationalist, or Lower House, elected in 1922 for a term of three years, is made up as follows: Radicals 59, Catholics 44, Social Democrats 43, Agrarians 35, Liberal Democrats 10, scattering 7.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Party is the strongest workers' party in the republic. It is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. In the elections of December, 1922, the Socialist proposal of a capital levy was defeated by a vote of 730,000 to 108,000.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, had 5,200 members at the end of 1922. Vaslov Vorovsky, the Soviet envoy to the Second Lausanne Conference, was shot dead on May 10, 1923. One of the assassins pleaded just provocation on the ground that several members of his family had been killed by the Bolsheviks. Both assassins were acquitted. The Swiss government disclaimed responsibility for the death of Vorovsky on the ground that Russia was not a legal participant in the Congress and that Vorovsky had not asked for police protection.

TURKEY

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The first attempt at a comprehensive trade union was made by Hilmi Effendi, shortly after the Armistice. He lost much influence when the British suppressed a tramway strike. The Association of Turkish Workers and the International Union of Workers were established later. In December, 1922, these unions were dissolved by the government on the ground that they were conducting Communist propaganda. Since then the labor movement in Turkey has been in great confusion. An organization called the Federation of Trade Unions (*Coule Dibi Raghib*), with headquarters in Constantinople, is also reported.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The real governing power in Turkey is the Grand National Assembly at Angora, elected by universal suffrage. In the last elections the People's

Party, led by Kemal, retained control. The voters were often literally forced to vote for People's Party candidates. Many of the members (175) of the National Assembly are stockholders in the National Society of Turkey for Import and Export, which in conjunction with the Anglo-French Leslie-Urquhart group has a virtual monopoly of Turkish trade and industry.

Socialist Party.—There is a Socialist Party, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, with headquarters in Constantinople.

Communist Party.—There are two small illegal groups of Communists; one in Angora, which has 300 members, and one in Constantinople. The membership of this latter group is unknown. Both are affiliated with the Third International. The Kemalite government, in 1922, accused Communists of espionage in behalf of Soviet Russia and arrested over 200. Many non-Communists protested against the arrests and joined the party. Several people were arrested in April, 1923, on the charge of having plotted to hold a May Day demonstration. The Soviet delegation then in Turkey was accused of being involved.

VENEZUELA

Organization Prevented.—Under the despotic rule of Juan Vincente Gomez, the dictator of Venezuela, no trade union movement or Socialist organizations are allowed. There are a few mutual benefit societies, but they are completely dominated by partisans of Gomez.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—There are 2,000 organized workers in the Virgin Islands, but no central federation of labor. The largest unions are Federal Labor Union 17261 of St. Thomas, with 1,000 members, and Federal Labor Union 17515 of St. Croix, with 400. Among the smaller organizations are the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the National Longshoremen's Association, and the Coal Handlers. All these unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There is a woman's union affiliated with the Women's Trade Union League. These unions have carried on night classes in common school branches, civics, economics and politics. Nearly all the workers are Negroes.

The Virgin Islands were purchased by the United States from Denmark in 1917, chiefly because of their value in naval strategy. They are producers of sugar. Under Danish rule St. Thomas was an important port of call. Under American quarantine and prohibition regulations ships have largely ceased to touch at the islands. The result has been a gradual impoverishment of the islands, and a steady drift of the population to Jamaica and to the United States. A prolonged drought from 1916 to 1922 severely injured the sugar crop in St. Croix. This aggravated an already serious situation. The population has dropped from 26,000 in 1917 to 16,000 in 1923. If it were not for the abundance of tropical fruit the population would starve.

Wages are low, the government offering from 12 to 15 cents an hour for work on a salt-water flushing system for St. Thomas.

Lockouts.—The longshoremen were locked out in 1922, and when the carpenters expressed sympathy with their demands they too were locked out. After a futile effort to employ strike-breakers, the employers called the carpenters back.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—There is a Council of 33 members elected for four-year terms. Voting is limited to those holding a fixed amount of property, or to those having an annual income of \$300. Prior to 1919 there were only 231 voters in St. Thomas, in 1922 there were 931, and in 1923 less than 400. On St. Croix, with its agricultural population, there were in 1923 only 127 votes. In spite of the undemocratic franchise there are two Labor members in the St. Thomas section of the Council.

Socialist Party.—Labor is largely under the influence of a Socialist group, whose most important leader is Rothschild Francis. The Socialist group is unaffiliated with any international. Its program is modelled on that of the Socialist Party of the United States, and includes, in addition, a demand for universal suffrage based on a literacy qualification, and for a civil government.

YUGOSLAVIA

Industrial

Trade Union Organization.—The chief labor organization is the General Federation of Labor, which has a membership of 71,410. It is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions. Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Slovenia have district committees under the Federation likewise. The Federation of Christian Trade Unions has 9,990 members.

The Trade Union Congress of December, 1922, put forward a demand for labor representation on the income tax commission.

Labor Disputes.—On June 7, 1923, the miners made demands for a substantial wage increase, and a supplementary payment for the purchase of clothes for each member of each workman's family. The employers did not grant the demands.

The railwaymen voted for a one-hour test strike on May 5, although strikes were illegal, one-fourth of the workers were unorganized, and the movement was fragmentary. The plan was given up at the last moment.

Political

Parliamentary Representation.—The Constituent Assembly, elected in 1923, amidst terroristic conditions, has the following make-up: Radicals 120, Democrats 50, Socialists 3, Agrarians (Croats) 70, Serbian Agrarians 9, Mohammedans 18, Catholic People's Party 22, other parties, 43.

Socialist Party.—On August 1, 1921, the Yugoslav Parliament by a vote of 190 to 54 passed a law declaring all Socialist organizations and propaganda illegal. Strikes were also forbidden on penalty of 10 to 10,000 dinars fine, and imprisonment from two to 20 years. These laws have been rigidly enforced. There is, however, a Socialist Party, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, with headquarters at Belgrade.

Communist Party.—The Executive Board of the Yugoslav Communist Party was put on trial, ending February 28, 1922. In January, 1923, the Communists organized the Independent Labor Party, to evade the anti-Communist laws. In the 1923 elections this party polled 17,000 votes in 15 districts. The Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International, claimed a membership of 80,000 at the end of 1922.

XIII. COOPERATION ABROAD

INTERNATIONAL

General Situation.—The cooperative movement has continued to develop and expand in countries which are enjoying an improvement in economic conditions. But, what is more significant, it has shown continued development in those countries also which have suffered the greatest economic depression. In countries in which unemployment and reduction of the purchasing and consuming power of the people have been marked, profit business has shown a greater proportionate decrease than has cooperative business.

Types of Societies.—The cooperative movement is predominantly agricultural in Denmark, Russia, and the United States. Credit societies predominate in Austria, Bulgaria, India, and Rumania, while in Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Lithuania the consumers' movement is the most highly developed. In Latvia the consumers' and agricultural societies are about equally important; while in Finland, credit, consumers' and agricultural societies are fairly equal in numbers. In Great Britain, though agricultural societies are almost equal in number to the consumers' societies, the latter are very much more important economically.

The consumers' societies include societies in various lines of business. Grocery stores are predominant in most countries. In Belgium and France, bakeries form an important part of the consumers' movement. Housing societies are becoming increasingly numerous in Europe generally. Some consumers' societies operate a savings or banking department, but more often there is either a banking department in the cooperative wholesale society or a separate central cooperative bank. Only in Esthonia do cooperative insurance societies form a considerable part of the movement. Cooperative insurance bulks large in many countries, but these societies are often included among the agricultural societies, or cooperative insurance may be one function of societies of other types.

Workers' societies, known as "self-governing workshops," in which workers own stock, perform work, and receive the savings as dividends or wages, are also a small part of the movement as a whole, though found in considerable num-

bers in most countries. This type of society is especially prevalent in Italy.

Consumers' societies have increased in influence and importance as the result of the war. In some countries the cooperatives were utilized by the government in the distribution of food and other supplies to the people. Since the war, the handicaps of widespread unemployment, and discriminatory tax legislation in many countries, have severely affected the consumers' movement, as is shown in the decreases of sales, often with an increased membership.

Table 93—Types of Cooperative Societies, by Countries

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Consumers'</i>	<i>Banking and Credit</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Workers' Productive</i>	<i>Other Types</i>	<i>Total</i>
Argentina	1921	47	29	...	...	27	263
Australia	1922	102	...	...	...	11	113
Austria	1922	536	2,000	1,068	764	28	4,396
Belgium	1922	204	...	...	...	...	204
Brazil	1922	309	...	...	...	...	309
Bulgaria	1922	15	631	11	...	...	657
Canada	1922	14	...	17,977	...	...	17,991
Czechoslovakia	1920	2,650	...	1,796	1,551	...	5,997
Denmark	1920	1,805	...	1,335	...	...	3,240
Estonia	1922	273	107	920	...	500	1,800
Finland	1922	790	949	1,201	...	794	3,734
France	1921	4,790	...	1,100	529	...	6,419
Germany	1922	5,790	20,931	16,580	4,377	...	47,628
Georgia	1922	...	...	...	...	...	900
Great Britain	1922	1,472	...	1,218	102	...	2,792
Hungary	1922	1,970	...	...	...	...	1,970
Iceland	1922	40	...	...	...	...	40
India	1922	...	...	42,763	...	5,077	47,828
Italy	1922	2,000	3,550	...	2,500	...	8,050
Japan	1922	816	2,535	483	282	9,654	13,770
Latvia	1922	563	171	530	...	827	2,091
Lithuania	1922	366	121	56	41	...	584
Netherlands	1922	512	...	...	...	...	512
Norway	1921	404	...	...	71	...	475
New South Wales	1921	64	...	...	...	...	64
Poland	1922	4,196	5,338	1,288	...	1,436	12,258
Rumania	1922	1,802	4,480	914	408	63	7,667
Russia	1922	29,370	600	17,000	19,132	...	66,102
South Africa	1922	...	...	52	...	...	52
Spain	1922	35	...	...	...	...	35
Sweden	1922	901	...	...	...	...	901
Switzerland	1922	519	266	7,274	...	1,359	9,428
Ukraine	1922	...	...	15,000	...	1,125	16,225
United States	1922	3,000 ¹	536 ¹	15,000	...	...	18,536
Yugoslavia	1921	88	...	871	...	...	2,795

¹Estimated.

Table 94—Membership of Consumers' Societies, 1921-1922

<i>Country</i>	<i>Societies Reporting</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Societies Reporting</i>	<i>Members</i>
Argentina	47	29,311	Iceland	40	17,405
Australia	102	212,000	Italy	1,846	348,270
Austria	173	511,019	Latvia	256	96,414
Belgium	204	303,580	Lithuania	336	.....
Brazil	309	.....	Netherlands	512	250,000
Bulgaria	69	42,968	Norway	404	93,089
Canada	14	5,919	Poland ¹	4,196	593,104
Czechoslovakia ..	1,597	867,195	Rumania	1,802	102,805
Denmark	1,805	337,535	Russia	32,040	3,500,000
Estonia	254	100,000	Spain	35	14,253
Finland	622	350,846	Sweden	901	259,388
France	4,043	2,498,449	Switzerland	519	363,478
Germany	1,350	3,162,000	United States ...	3,000 ¹	810,000
Great Britain ...	1,489	4,531,577	Yugoslavia	88	21,447
Hungary	1,970	800,000			

International Trade.—Never before in the history of cooperation have the cooperative groups in the various countries carried on so large an international trade. The international exchange of goods through cooperative societies in 1922 amounted to \$150,000,000. Fourteen national wholesale societies in England, Belgium, France, Germany, Russia, the Netherlands and other countries conducted these extensive operations in international trade. The purchases of the English and Scottish Cooperative Wholesales amounted to \$117,038,276, or 62 per cent of the total.

Almost half, or 47 per cent of all the goods circulating in international cooperative exchange came from America, and the value exceeded \$63,950,000. European countries produced the next largest amount, or 29.9 per cent of the total; goods to the value of \$38,486,000, or 28 per cent of the total, were purchased through agencies and depots established by the cooperative wholesales in the different countries. Direct transactions between the wholesale societies of various countries amounted to \$892,000.

International Cooperative Alliance.—The International Cooperative Alliance, founded in 1892, is a union of the cooperative societies of all countries. It has the following aims: (1) to collect information concerning cooperative principles and methods in all countries and to promote education and propaganda; (2) to maintain friendly relations between the members of the Alliance; (3) to collect cooperative statistics; (4) to provide information and to encourage the study of cooperation; and (5) to promote trading relations between the cooperative organizations of all countries. Co-

¹ Estimated.

operative societies in 36 countries are federated in the International Alliance.

Its Central Committee, representing 24 countries, meets at regular intervals, while its smaller Executive Committee holds still more frequent meetings. The executive offices of the Alliance are in London.

The most recent congress of the International Cooperative Alliance was held at Basle in 1921, the first since that held at Glasgow in 1913. Four hundred delegates from 24 countries were present, representing a total society membership of 25,000,000. The delegates were elected by voluntary associations of people in the 24 countries, including Germany, Austria, and Russia. One of its most fruitful results was the appointment of an investigating commission to visit Russia. The outcome of this visit was the whole-hearted support by the International Alliance of the cooperative movement in Russia, which "occupies a unique position of influence, power, and extent of operations." Trade with Russia through the cooperatives was recommended and has been carried out.

Another significant move on the part of the Basle Congress was the negotiation to foster trade between the various cooperative wholesales. The plan is ultimately to establish an international cooperative wholesale.

Since 1919 an international wholesale has been in existence, the Nordisk Andelsforbund, a federation of the national wholesale societies of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. It does a business of 12,000,000 crowns a year. The English and Scottish Wholesales may also be regarded as an international wholesale because of their large common ownership of property producing raw materials in foreign lands.

Three important committees were appointed and they have presented constructive reports—one on international banking, one on international insurance, and one on international wholesale. These committees hope to evolve organizations to carry on these three functions.

The Cooperative League of America was appointed the official representative of the International Alliance in the United States and its president, James P. Warbasse, was elected to the Central Committee.

The International Cooperative Bulletin.—The *International Cooperative Bulletin*, the official organ of the Alliance, is published monthly in three languages since 1908.

International Cooperative School.—The International Cooperative School begun at Basle, in 1921, with lecturers from England, Switzerland, Russia, and the United States, has been very successful and has done much to promote international understanding. A cooperative summer school was held in Brussels in the summer of 1922. It was organized under the joint auspices of the British and Belgian Cooperative Unions, the People's House at Brussels, the Belgian Labor College, and the International Cooperative Alliance. Lectures were given on the various aspects of cooperation by well-known cooperative teachers from England, Belgium, France, Germany, and Austria.

Next International Cooperative Congress.—The next congress of the International Cooperative Alliance will be held at Ghent, Belgium, the first week of September, 1924.

ARGENTINA

Government Aid.—The rapid growth of the cooperative movement in Argentina has been chiefly due to the wholehearted support it has obtained from the government. Both the Minister of Agriculture and the Argentine Social Institute (Labor Department) have fostered the movement by official propaganda and by aiding in the actual organization work.

The membership has grown from 47,192, in 1913, to 105,007 in 1922. The capital of the consumers' cooperatives was \$527,986 in 1922, that of the cooperative banks \$8,184,300.

Four types of cooperatives flourish in rural communities. The most numerous are the "mixed agricultural cooperatives," so called not only because they include land-owners, tenant farmers, and farm laborers, but chiefly because they undertake a great variety of cooperative enterprises. One such cooperative may undertake the sale of foodstuffs and clothing machinery to its members; or be a banker extending credit; or act as an insurance cooperative; or manage a model dairy or cattle ranch. In 1922 there were 124 mixed cooperatives with a membership of 23,319.

"Specialized" cooperatives are also at work among the farming communities. In January, 1922, there were 23 societies of this kind, including flour mills, one fruit-growing

society, two tobacco-growing societies, and five societies for the maintenance of roads. The total sales of 18 of these societies with a membership of 3,049 amounted to \$1,874,000. Thirteen rural credit societies were in existence in 1922. These act not only as savings banks, but as cooperative societies for purchase and sale. Seventeen rural mutual benefit cooperatives are thriving.

Efforts are being made to stimulate the progress of the movement by educational work and pamphleteering. The Social Institute is helping the cooperatives draft a model cooperative law.

AUSTRALIA

Growth of Movement.—The struggle for the organization of cooperative consumers' societies in Australia reflects the economic condition of the country, but shows a hopeful growth.

There are more than 100 Rochdale cooperatives, with an annual turnover of £4,500,000. The total number of co-operators in Australia is in excess of 200,000.

The New South Wales Cooperative Wholesale Society has a membership of 26 societies. Its capital is £31,781, reserve £1,473, and its turnover £317,612. The Balmain Cooperative Society of New South Wales is the largest consumers' co-operative society in Australia. It has a membership of 14,000, a capital of £84,000, a reserve of £4,560, and a turnover of £425,000. The other small cooperative consumers' societies reporting, 14 in all, have a total membership of 18,569, a capital of £45,927, reserves of £9,214, and a turnover of £288,547.

Agricultural Societies.—The agricultural cooperative societies are run on business lines and are well up to date. They are in Australia the largest and most powerful expressions of cooperation. The present membership of the South Australian Farmers' Union is 14,300, paid-up capital £424,000, and turnover £10,000,000. The basis of membership is a minimum of 10 shares and a maximum of 1,000.

The Australian Producers' Wholesale Federation, started in 1920, is a federation of 11 cooperative producers' societies whose annual turnover is £30,000,000. The objects of the Federation are collective purchasing, on behalf of all the societies, of the merchandise required by the producers, and

the establishment of a large center in London for the more direct distribution of wool, meats, wheat, dairy produce, and fruits. A unique cooperative feature of the Eudunda Farmers' Cooperative Society is a river steamer which supplies its membership scattered along the River Murray. The steamer touches at towns where cooperators to the number of 10,047 reside and provides them with household and agricultural supplies. This store is one of 28 branches of the Eudunda Society, which sold in the first half of 1923 £290,000 worth of goods, distributing £27,000 as patronage rebate.

Insurance and Banking.—The Cooperative Insurance Company of Australia, organized in 1920, has already 330 agencies in three Australian states. It insures products in transit from the producers to consumers in Australia and Europe, thus reducing insurance charges to the minimum for the grower and consumer.

The one cooperative bank in Australia is located in Melbourne. It has a capital of £5,000 and 1,369 shareholders. The total amount loaned in 1921 was £42,189. The dividend rate is 5 per cent.

AUSTRIA

Cooperative Movement Recovering.—The loans which have been made to the Austrian government by the Allied bankers have tended to stabilize economic conditions and release the cooperative movement from the general depression that was affecting the country. There has been a strengthening of cooperation in all its aspects. The number of cooperative societies in 1921 was 4,396. The sales turnover in 1921 was 10,388,278,304 crowns with a savings deposit and reserve fund of 483,411,607 crowns.

Banking credit and agricultural societies predominate, the former numbering 2,000 and the latter 1,068. The 2,000,000 members of Austrian cooperative societies represent fully half of the population of the country. In Vienna more than half of the population is supplied with necessary commodities by the cooperatives. Austria shows some interesting examples of harmonious combinations of cooperation with governmental bodies. Thus the Cooperative Society of Vienna has united with the municipality to form a joint fuel distributing organization which is the largest distributor of coal in Austria. The Vienna society has 150 distributive stores and many industries.

The Austrian Cooperative Wholesale Society in 1921 sold goods to the value of 10,063,182,027 crowns and has savings deposits of 39,000,000 crowns.

Labor and Cooperative Unity.—The consolidation of the forces of labor and cooperation is now practically a reality. The unity of the two movements is not only moral but economic. The Workingmen's Bank, recently established jointly by the cooperative and trade union movements, freed the cooperatives completely from private banks and from state credits.

A recent congress of the cooperative societies of Austria unanimously resolved:

The cooperative societies are an excellent weapon in the fight of the working class for emancipation. . . . In order effectively to wield this weapon, the cooperative movement rejects internal political and party strife and demands that the economic character, the methods and autonomy of the movement remain intact.

BELGIUM

Rapid Gains.—At the annual congress of the Belgian Cooperative Union, held at Mons in June, 1923, steady progress was shown. The Wholesale has made decided gains. In 1922 there were 71 distributive societies, with a membership of 170,000, affiliated with the Union. Besides this, there are 80 Socialist cooperatives with 56,000 members. There are also 53 societies of public employees with 79,000 members.

The sales of the Belgian Cooperative Wholesale Society increased 44 per cent in 1922 over the sales of 1921, and amounted to 72,403,234 francs.

The average patronage of the cooperative stores per family among the members is 1,200 francs. The average income is 5,700 francs. This means that each cooperative family spends approximately 4,500 with capitalist business.

The trade unions and the cooperatives together started a cooperative bank in 1921—the Deposit and Loan Bank at Ghent. It now has a credit business of over 7,000,000 francs. The bank is managed by representatives of the Belgian Cooperative Wholesale Society, the Belgian Cooperative Union, the Bank of the Producers' Cooperatives in Ghent, the Belgian Labor Party, and the Belgian Cooperative Insurance Society. One-third of the total deposits were made by 26 cooperative societies; the remainder by trade unions of the country.

The Belgian government established in 1921 a section on

cooperation in the Office of Trades and Commerce. The new office is called the Office of Commerce and Cooperation.

Fishermen's Cooperative.—A fishermen's cooperative was established in Belgium in 1921. The capital was furnished by the cooperative society "Vooruit," the Socialist fishermen of Ostend, the Syndicalist trade unions of Antwerp, the chief cooperative societies, and the Belgian Labor Bank. Two steam trawlers, purchased from the English admiralty for \$34,066 each, operate on the North Sea. Crews consist of men belonging to the Socialist Union of Fishermen at Ostend. The fish are sold through the cooperative retail stores of the Vooruit, of which there are several in Ghent.

At the Belgian annual convention in 1922 the Belgian Women's Cooperative Guild was formed to carry on propaganda, especially among women. The convention also voted in favor of establishing branches in the country for the sale of special goods needed by the farmers.

BRAZIL

Fishermen's Colonies.—A unique instance of cooperation is the establishment of fishermen's cooperative colonies at different points along the seacoast of Brazil with the aid of the government. There are now 309 of these colonies, affiliated to the General Confederation of Fishermen. The Confederation has opened a credit department for the benefit of fishermen belonging to the cooperative colonies and of its other members.

BULGARIA

Set Back by Upheaval.—There were 1,862 cooperative associations in Bulgaria at the end of 1921. Of these, 1,077 were credit societies and people's banks; 212 were production societies; 512 were consumers' societies; and 61 were agricultural unions. About 34 per cent of the towns and villages have cooperative societies. There is one credit society for every 4,520 persons, one consumers' society for every 9,500 persons, and one productive society for every 23,000 persons.

Owing to the chaos in Bulgaria during 1922-1923 full reports as to the condition of the cooperatives are not forthcoming. The scant 657 societies listed give some indications of the upheaval which has been taking place in Bulgaria during the past years.

CANADA

Incomplete Returns Show Advance.—The Cooperative Union of Canada, the federation of consumers' cooperatives, shows advance in spite of the hard times of 1922. The statistics are incomplete owing to the failure of hundreds of societies working in isolation to report. Only one provincial government, that of Saskatchewan, collects data concerning cooperation.

In the 12 societies reporting, the membership grew from 5,919 in 1921 to 6,552 in 1922. To this is added the membership of the United Grain Growers, making a total of 42,300 members affiliated with the Canadian Union. The total sales of the 12 retail societies amounted to \$2,166,196, as against \$1,990,764 for 14 societies in 1921. The distributive turnover of the United Grain Growers brings the total sales figures up to more than \$5,000,000 for 1922.

The cooperatives sell a great variety of goods, including bakery products, groceries, meats, hardware, fuel, lumber, feed, oil, gasoline, twine, crockery, boots and shoes, hogs, machinery, hides, paints, and fencing.

Nine of the 12 retail cooperatives reported the payment of savings returns. One paid 10 per cent, one 6 per cent, and the other a lower rate. Most of these societies paid in addition 6 per cent on capital. The net surplus earnings of 10 of these societies amounted to 58.6 per cent of their capital for the year.

Agricultural Associations.—Shareholders in agricultural associations in the province of Saskatchewan for the year ending April, 1922, numbered 17,977. The paid-up capital increased from \$466,009 to \$500,485. During the year 41 associations marketing live stock shipped 564 carloads, the receipts amounting to \$607,877. The value of farm products marketed through the associations amounted to \$12,885, while the total value of supplies handled amounted to \$4,405,947. The aggregate turnover of the associations, including live stock, amounted to \$5,026,709, the net profit being \$135,405.

Other promising returns of cooperation are those of the British Canadian Cooperative Society of Cape Breton, the Guelph Cooperative Association, and the Industrial Cooperative Society of Valleyfield. The first reports a turnover of \$622,674 in the first half of 1922. As the share capital amounts to \$134,564, the surplus of \$73,351 represents 54.5

per cent return to the members on the capital investment, or 109 per cent per annum. These savings were returned to members in the form of cash at the rate of 11 per cent on purchases of clothing, men's wear, groceries, meats, and dry goods.

The Guelph Cooperative Association during the first part of 1922 had sales of \$122,995. Though this represented a loss in trade, nevertheless the society was able to distribute to the members a 3 per cent savings return.

The Industrial Cooperative Society of Valleyfield, the oldest affiliated with the Canadian Union, paid a 5 per cent savings return to members.

Chain Stores.—Chain stores organized and operated by the United Farmers' Cooperative Company at Toronto and other points had to be abandoned. The company is convinced that cooperation cannot be practiced successfully by chain-store methods. The chain stores were started about 1914 and developed an immense business. But results were unsatisfactory, mostly due to weak management and centralized control. The financial loss for 1921 was \$300,000 and for 1922, \$56,222.

CHINA

Spread of Cooperation.—The Chinese cooperative movement was initiated in the latter part of 1922 in Fu Tang University at Shanghai, where professors, students, and townspeople combined to organize a cooperative bank, a cooperative weekly paper called *The People*, and a group of cooperative stores.

From Shanghai the movement has spread during the past year to other cities. It is now especially well established in Canton, where thousands of families have joined together to buy the necessities of life cooperatively at cost. There are also flourishing cooperatives in many smaller cities where progressive students and workers have combined to work out the principles of cooperative production as well as consumption. These societies are in close touch with the Cooperative League of America and are benefitting by American education and experience.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Nationalities Uniting.—Czechoslovakia is rapidly becoming one of the strongholds of cooperation. The attempts of the French to keep alive hostility between the Czechs and the

Germans have not proved altogether successful. Although each nationality has its own cooperative societies, union, and wholesale, there are signs that these two strong organizations may unite. Last year, in the face of active French propaganda to promote hatred between the two groups, the Czechs and Germans held a joint congress and showed a spirit of fraternity.

The Central Union of Cooperative Societies has 1,597 branches with a total membership of 867,535. In 1921 the sales turnover was 1,500,000,000 crowns. The Cooperative Wholesale Society sold goods valued at 980,355,322 crowns. It manufactures spices, underclothing, foodstuffs, malt, breadstuffs, brick, coffee, and has established a printing works.

Miners' Cooperatives Flourish.—In the coal basin of Moravian Ostrau, the Consumers' Cooperative Society is putting strong pressure on profit business. At the close of 1921 the society had 65,000 members and served 320,000 consumers. The society came into existence through the merging of 14 independent societies at the end of the war. In spite of the opposition of hundreds of private traders, the cooperatives have been growing until they have captured the entire business of many districts. At the end of 1922 they had more than 200 stores and the turnover during 1921 was 250,000,000 crowns. A large wholesale society exists which has grown so rapidly that four branch departments have been opened. A cooperative bakery and flour mill are also being opened. The society employs 800 workers.

The strong German organization in Czechoslovakia is called the Union of German Economic Societies and has over 305,000 members with sales in 1921 valued at 712,625,447 crowns. Its savings deposits are 48,211,352 crowns. The Union makes foodstuffs, ribbon, knit goods, and linen goods.

Despite the bitter political fights going on in the new republic the cooperatives are strictly non-political. Members of all parties sink their differences in their support of the cooperatives.

The Czech Parliament in 1922 passed a law granting credits to the cooperative agricultural societies, the societies of artisans, and labor societies. The societies of consumers received no loans.

DENMARK

Wide Spread of Cooperatives.—Most of the population of Denmark is connected in some way with the cooperatives. Most of the needs of the people are met through some form of cooperation. The Danish Wholesale continues to be one of the soundest financial institutions in Denmark. It employs 2,000 people, and is composed of 1,800 affiliated societies with a membership of 335,104. Its yearly business amounts to 203,000,000 crowns and its surplus-savings to 6,200,000 crowns. New enterprises of the Wholesale include a boot factory, tannery, wooden shoe factory, and saddlery.

The Danish Cooperative Bank has a yearly turnover of 13,000,000,000 crowns. This is a bank with 470 employees, and is the backbone of the cooperative movement

Denmark is going far with cooperative housing. The societies are highly successful. They manufacture their own brick, piping, woodwork, and paints.

Cooperative Farming.—Another important aspect of Danish cooperation is cooperative farming. As a result of these activities, out of 200,000 farmers, 167,000 are organized in producers' cooperative organizations and enjoy a high standard of living. There are 1,335 cooperative dairies, producing 110,000 tons of butter and 35,000 tons of cheese every year. There are 46 cooperative bacon-curing factories. Of the exports of Denmark, 88 per cent are the products of these cooperative organizations. To Britain alone the annual export in eggs was 64,800,000.

There is also great demand for technical education connected with cooperative enterprises. In the college outside Odensee peasants come for instruction in agriculture, stock-raising, bookkeeping, history, drawing, and general literature. For women there are classes in household management.

ESTHONIA

Growth Since War.—The growth of the cooperative movement is proof of the economic recovery of Esthonia since the war and is one of the main causes of the recovery. Cooperative societies have developed especially since the fall of the Czarist government in March, 1917. An important innovation was the right, which had been previously refused, of forming federations of cooperative societies and of establishing joint organizations for economic or other purposes.

The total number of cooperative societies in Esthonia is 1,800. Banking and credit societies number 107, consumers' 273, and agricultural societies 920. The two wholesale societies are the Agricultural Wholesale Society (Esthonia) and the Esthonia Cooperative Wholesale Society (E. T. K.). The former is the oldest central cooperative society in Esthonia. At first it consisted of dairy societies. Gradually it took in the marketing of agricultural products, accepted individuals as well as societies as members. On September 1, 1922, membership included 171 societies and 183 individuals. Its sales for the first eight months were 351,000,000 Esthonian marks. The society owns a model farm, a sausage factory and a dry-salting factory. It exports butter, cheese, eggs, bacon, and cereals, especially to Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden.

Large Export Trade.—The E. T. K. was the first central organization to be formed after the war and is a joint consumers' and agriculturalists' wholesale. The proportion of purchases of affiliated societies obtained from the E. T. K. increased from 5.1 per cent in 1917 to 41.17 per cent in 1921. In 1921 only 54.55 per cent of sales were made to members. Of the total turnover of 863,708,600 marks in 1921, about 246,000,000 represented exports. The chief country to which the Esthonian cooperatives export is Russia which received 84 per cent of the total. Next in order are Great Britain, Germany, Lithuania, and Finland. The chief exports are rye seed (Russia), and flax (Great Britain and Germany).

Influenced by the geographical situation of Esthonia as a country of transit between eastern and western Europe, the E. T. K. at the beginning of 1922 set up a special transport department which undertakes loading and unloading of ships, discharge of customs formalities, insurance of goods and their transport through the country. The E. T. K. has also production undertakings of its own, possesses five fish-curing factories, a saw-mill, and a potato-drying factory with a distillery.

FINLAND

Independence of Cooperatives.—Finland continues to be more than half cooperative. There are two sets of cooperative societies, two national unions, and two national wholesales. These are known as the Left and Right wing groups. The Left wing (K. K.) is commonly known as the Socialist

union. The Right wing (S. O. K.) is known as the "White Guard" union. The Left wing cooperative organization has recently declared itself independent of all political and religious movements. It voted that:

The administrative organs as well as the officials are to be elected on account of their ability, and not from a party point of view.

No part is to be taken in any political or financial activities outside the cooperative movement, unless they concern the poorest classes from the consumers' point of view, as is the case with the customs, taxes, and similar questions.

The property of a society must not be handed over to any political party in the shape of donations or the like.

Increase in Societies.—Registered cooperative societies in Finland in 1922 increased to 3,734 from 3,422 in 1921. Seven hundred and ninety of these were consumers' societies; 949 were banking and credit societies, and 1,201 were agricultural societies. The other 794 are machinery societies, peat societies, egg selling, telephone, electricity, and miscellaneous.

During 1922, the wholesale society of the Central Co-operative Union of Finland (O. T. K.) had sales amounting to 318,401,410 Finnish marks, exceeding those of the previous year by 124,507,776 Finnish marks. In 1922, 113 retail societies, with combined membership of 160,846, were affiliated to the wholesale as compared with 116 societies, membership of 157,705, in 1921. Sales of affiliated societies for 1922 amounted to 735,700,000 marks.

The Central Union of Consumers' Societies, the Left wing organization, has almost 158,000 members, with savings totalling 26,900,000 marks and in 1921 a sales turnover of 672,965,598 marks.

Education by Films.—The Finnish cooperators are appearing in the films. The Socialist Union (K. K.) has arranged a film of the "Elanto" Society in Helsingfors, the largest distributive society in northern Europe. The film pictures Elanto's various productive establishments, showing the interior and exterior of numerous stores, as well as the life in the cafes and restaurants belonging to the society. The film is being shown not only throughout Finland but also in Sweden and other northern countries.

FRANCE

Expansion.—The cooperative movement in France continues to prosper and expand. On the whole the cooperators are opposed to the policy of the government in its invasion of Germany and protest has been voiced by their officials.

The total 4,790 societies report a sales increase of about 4 per cent during 1922. In place of a turnover of 152,600,500 francs in 1921, the French Cooperative Wholesale Society reports a turnover of 217,947,518 francs. This great wholesale (*Magasin de Gros*) is composed of 1,600 affiliated societies and owns two large shoe factories. Over 4,000 cooperative stores, restaurants, and bakeries are managed by the member societies and serve more than 1,000,000 individuals. Other societies produce chocolate, canned food, roasted coffee, underclothing, and lumber.

Agricultural Cooperation.—Agricultural, productive, and sales associations in France number 1,100, representing nearly 60,000 members. The Union of Agricultural Associations of the Central Plateau is the central body, which carries on research work, furnishes instruction in agriculture, and supplies plans and instructions to farmers desirous of building. The movement has its own bi-monthly magazine, writes its own fire, cattle, and accident insurance, and has its own agricultural credit association. It has also a retirement fund which has paid out 739,815 francs in pensions since its establishment, a cooperative creamery, a cooperative truck service, and a consumers' cooperative service established in 1918 which did a business of 12,000,000 francs in 1921.

A cooperative week in December, 1922, increased the membership of French cooperatives by 15,419, their share capital by 1,874,796 francs, and members' deposits by 2,667,109 francs. The cooperative bank received additional deposits from all parts of France amounting to 6,700,000 francs. The bank records an increase of its capital during 1922 and 1923 from 11,000,000 to 15,000,000 francs and its resources now amount to over 86,000,000 francs. Previous to 1922 the Wholesale Society, through its banking department, performed the function of a central cooperative bank. It was not until 1922 that it was thought wise to form a separate Bank of Cooperative Societies.

GEORGIA

Centralized Administration.—The cooperative movement is flourishing under a strong centralized administration in Georgia. All societies are represented in the Central Cooperative Union. This union embraces 18 regional federations with an approximate total of 900 societies, which do a yearly business of over 500,000,000 rubles. All branches of

the movement—distributive societies, productive societies, housing societies, loan and savings societies, and agricultural credit associations—are concentrated in the Central Union.

The Central Union is a wholesale as well, and carries on various productive undertakings such as the manufacture of sausages, preserves, and dried fruits. It also has a soap works and a printing establishment.

The Georgian Cooperative Bank is the chief stronghold of the movement. It was established with an initial capital of 20,000,000 rubles.

GERMANY

Cooperatives Lighten Distress.—The cooperative consumers' societies of Germany have over 5,000,000 members enrolled in 1,800 societies, representing nearly half the families of the country. These societies have served tremendously to lighten the distress of the people since the war. The societies are suffering for lack of commodities and funds with which to buy raw materials. The societies owning farms are now most fortunate. The Wholesale is having much trouble to get raw materials for its factories. Hard-hit as are the cooperatives, they are in no worse plight than profit business, and they have the advantage of having behind them an organized mass of supporters.

Sales of the Cooperative Wholesale Society in 1922 amounted to 35,708,000 marks. The Wholesale produces a variety of products—cigars, tobacco, matches, soap, edible paste, mustard, spices, sweetmeats, chocolates, boxes, brushes. It also has a bank and does printing and publishing.

The agricultural cooperative movement also made considerable progress during 1922 and 1923. The central societies number now 97, supply and sale societies 4,600, cooperative dairies 3,410, savings and loan banks 19,418, other societies 19,692, making a total of 37,217 in 1923, against a total of 35,011 in 1922.

Towns Joining Societies.—A new phase of cooperative development began in April, 1923, when three large towns of north-western Germany—Geestemünde, Lehe, and Rustringen—joined the local cooperative consumers' societies as civic units. Lehe has transferred its municipal insurance policies amounting to 250,000,000 marks to the insurance department of the cooperative society. A number of other towns are re-

ported to have voted as political organizations to join their local cooperative societies.

A unique combination of interests has been created in Saxony by the formation of the Saxon Clothing Works. This enterprise started with a capital of 10,000,000 marks, 8,000,000 of which were put in by the Wholesale of the German Consumers' Societies. The Tailors' Union has put in 1,000,000 marks and the state bank of Saxony 1,000,000 marks. The factory formerly supplied clothing, uniforms, and shoes to the Saxon department of the German army. This adds another instance of the organized consumers taking over the factories of a political government.

Cooperative Theater.—Berlin has a cooperative theater organization known as Die Volksbühne (People's Theater) with a membership of 260,000. It has grown to such large proportions that the largest theater in Berlin has been added to its list. Two-thirds of the theater are reserved for members, and one-third of the seats may be bought by the general public. An unusual feature of the People's Theater is that the cooperators elect the board of directors from their own membership, naming some of the best dramatic critics and producers in Berlin. The technical committees on repertories are appointed by the directors who carefully select the best experts.

The Hamburg "Produktion."—One of the most flourishing cooperative units in Germany is the Hamburg consumers' enterprise called "Produktion." At the close of 1922 the turnover was 5,000,000,000 marks, the membership 137,000, the number of employees 2,800, and the number of stores 270. Started as a protective measure for relief of strikers in 1896 in the great longshoremen's and seamen's strike, it has now become one of the mainstays of the German cooperative movement. Equipped with meat-packing plant, a bakery, a chemical technical laboratory, a cereal mill, as well as a variety of other industries such as blacksmithing, tinsmithing, carpentry and joining, an electrical plant, it supplies most of the necessities of the workers in the vicinity. It has a furniture factory, two coal depots, has undertaken cooperative housing as well as farming. Its bank has the deposits of most of the working population of Hamburg. Out of its surplus savings "Produktion" has erected and maintains a children's vacation home where over 1,000 children are accommodated for a month each without charge. Education and

propaganda for enlarging the field of cooperation are carried on by the society.

Schools.—Cooperative schools are also a strong feature of the cooperative movement in Germany. In 1921, four schools were held with 109 pupils. Similar courses were held in 1922 in four sections of Germany, as well as a course for secretaries of societies. A six-months' cooperative school was opened in Hamburg in 1920 to train employees and officials of cooperative societies for their professional duties. The course includes practical instruction in formation of cooperative societies, banking, accounting, taxes, insurance, and cooperative propaganda. Theoretical subjects are also included, such as history of the cooperative movement in Germany and in foreign countries, political economy, and ethics.

Similar schools are founded by the National Agricultural Cooperative Union. Other societies have organized a large number of short periods of instruction which are well attended by members and officials of local societies.

GREAT BRITAIN

Societies Strong in Depression.—The cooperative movement in Great Britain has been especially hard hit by the general depression and unemployment of the past two years. Still the societies have held strong.

The Cooperative Union of the United Kingdom consists of 1,472 societies, of which 1,352 are distributive societies, five are distributive federations, four are supply associations, six are special societies, and three are wholesale societies.

The total membership of the Union is 4,598,737. The capital of the cooperatives is £118,503,763. Sales in 1921 totaled £334,483,138. The output of the productive factories of the cooperatives amounts to over £40,000,000. These factories and distributive societies employ 132,000 workers.

The total trade of the retail cooperative distributive societies in Great Britain was less in 1922 than in 1921—£169,582,357 against £218,780,384. The figures for 1923 are not yet available, but they are smaller than in 1922. This decline is chiefly due to business depression and unemployment of the members; but it is partly due also to a decline in prices of some commodities. When we see that in 1920 the turnover amounted to £254,158,144 we see a picture

of the steadily declining purchasing power of the British working man. A similar decline is seen in the value of products distributed by the three cooperative wholesales of England, Scotland, and Ireland—£136,670,058 in 1920, £105,101,558 in 1921, and £83,600,549 in 1922. Despite this pronounced decline, there has been but a very slight reduction in the amount of share capital. What is most noteworthy, the amount of loan capital has steadily increased during each of these hungry years.

Production.—The latest *Review of Cooperative Statistics*, published by the Cooperative Union, shows in Great Britain 105 so-called "productive cooperative societies," that is, industrial societies not started by the consumers to supply their wants but by the workers to give themselves employment. These producers' societies have 38,138 members and employ 10,779 workers. The average wage is £125 per year. The value of their output per worker is £493. The number of workers engaged shows a decrease for the four years since 1918. As a matter of fact, although these are called producers' societies, the producers have not been able to finance them, and it will be found that on the average their stock is divided in three main classes: one-third is owned by the workers in the industry, one-third by sympathetic consumers' cooperative societies, and one-third by philanthropists, individuals, and other organizations.

The workers engaged in the productive factories and industries entirely owned by the consumers' societies number 71,393. Of these 40,746 are employed in the industries of the Cooperative Wholesale Society. The average wages of workers employed in production by retail distributive societies is £147 a year; by the wholesale societies, £130. The average wages of all classes of employees of the wholesale societies is £142 a year. The value of output per worker in the English Wholesale is £765 per year.

In 1921 the Cooperative Wholesale Society lost £2,937,750 or more than \$10,000,000. The gain in 1922 was more than \$500,000.

The productive activities of the Union's wholesale societies included crackers, preserves, soap, flour, tobacco, margarine, lard, rope and twine, printing, coal mining, hosiery, blankets, skirts, underclothing, woolen goods, clothing, creameries, boots and shoes, furniture, brushes, buckets, iron

mills, tin plate, paint, varnish, and pottery. Profit was reported in the manufacture of crackers, soap, flour, lard, margarine, coal mining, iron, paint and varnish, and pottery. All the rest showed "losses." These terms are purely comparative.

Acquiring Land.—The British cooperators are also steadily acquiring land. Up to the present their holdings in England alone amount to over 40,000 acres of farms. This is the result of the purchase of farms by distributive societies and by the Cooperative Wholesales. Old estates of the British aristocracy with adjacent farms are now being used as vacation houses and sanatoriums. Besides this, the English and Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Societies own 29,109 acres of tea plantations in Ceylon and India.

Cooperators in Politics.—The Cooperative Party, which is affiliated with the Labor Party, had four representatives in the Parliament of 1922-23, and has six in the new Parliament. In addition, all of the Labor Party representatives in both Parliaments were and are cooperators. This Cooperative group fought the tariff and showed it means higher prices to the consumers without commensurate advantages to the workers. The group has been active in preventing taxes on food. It has prevented the government from confiscating the savings of the societies as "profits." It has secured the enactment of laws making it possible for cooperative societies to get loans from local governments for house-building purposes on the same terms as are granted to other public utility societies.

GREECE

Beginnings of a Movement.—Cooperation in Greece has begun in the workers' guilds and copartnership production societies and in agricultural societies. A law passed in 1915 grants the cooperative societies exemption from state and local taxes. The government also gives rewards to persons who successfully organize and manage cooperative societies. Special state aid is given to those who work in the cooperative movement. Courses in cooperation are given in the public schools.

The consumers' movement is taking form from these beginnings.

HUNGARY

Moving Steadily Forward.—Hungary is steadily moving forward in its cooperative development. The farmers are almost wholly organized cooperatively. The Hangya, the central cooperative union of Hungary, celebrated its 25th anniversary in January, 1923. Up to the end of the war the Hangya had 3,300 retail societies, but of these 1,327 were in the territory lost to Hungary by the peace treaty. There are now 1,970 societies operating in Hungary with a combined membership of 900,000. Practically every village and town has its cooperative societies.

Besides its organization and educational activities, the Hangya carries on a wholesale business for its member societies. The trade done by the wholesale department and its branches in 1922 exceeded 6,700,000 kronen. Nearly 330,000,000 kronen were distributed to member societies in savings-returns.

Large Production Enterprises.—The Union organized in 1916 the Hangya Industrial Cooperative for purposes of production. The company now operates 12 factories, producing soap, chemicals, tooth paste, shoe polish, starch, matches, brooms, brushes, rope, cord, knives and forks, mustard, candy, and liquors.

Recently the Hangya in cooperation with the National Central Union of Credit Societies established the Futura Goods Co. The company, because of its extended organization and the help given by the affiliated societies of the two central organizations, not only purchases the agricultural products of its rural membership and sells them either at home or abroad. It also undertakes large orders for the state, as for instance the collection of corn and wool for state distribution. The Futura is the leading corn firm of the country and controls the inland corn market. It has established also a branch company (Nostra Trading Co.) for sale of agricultural produce abroad and the import of industrial requisites.

The only working-class consumers' organization in Hungary is the General Distributive Society which is making steady advances in spite of conditions. It has a membership of 165,000 and over 100 distributive stores.

A cooperative factory for the manufacture of surgical instruments established by the National Union of Hungarian

Physicians did a flourishing business in 1921 and 1922. In connection with this a smithy and locksmith's work-shop were built where hospital furniture and laboratory requisites are manufactured. Orthopedic appliances and surgical instruments are the main output.

ICELAND

Half the Population Supplied.—The little country of Iceland has over 40 societies, in some cases with a membership of 2,000 or 3,000. These societies are federated in a Central Wholesale Association. Half the population of Iceland is supplied by the cooperatives.

INDIA

Banks and Credit Societies.—Agricultural credit societies constitute 90 per cent of all the Indian cooperatives. In 1922 there were 47,828 societies with 1,752,904 total membership. There were 42,763 agricultural societies, 1,159 supervising unions, 3,423 non-agricultural societies, and 495 central societies. This growth has taken place within the last 15 years. The total paid-in share capital for 1922 was 40,525,099 rupees and the surplus-saving for the year was 6,606,159 rupees.

Consumers' Societies.—Consumers' societies have remained undeveloped and in more than one province the membership has comprised only the professional and clerical classes. But with the recent beginning of trade union organization among the workers employed in large scale industries, store cooperation is now under way, and consumers' distributive societies are spreading. Propaganda is being carried on in the industrial regions to spread this form of cooperation.

ITALY

Strength in 1922.—At the beginning of 1922 the most powerful organizations in Italy were the farmers' and laborers' cooperatives. The 2,500 labor societies included groups of masons, bricklayers, cement workers, dockers, carpenters, day-laborers, carters, and many other manual workers. They took contracts to build roads, hospitals, factories, town halls, and even railways.

Cooperative farms had developed in two directions. The

Catholics organized the individualist type of community in which each farmer cultivates his own plot, paying rent to the society. The Socialists organized collectively, working the land in common and pooling their crops. There were over 700 of these farm organizations.

Italy had also, in 1922, 2,750 cooperative village banks, 800 urban people's banks, 1,500 creameries, 1,000 supply societies, and 6,000 stores.

Results of Fascism.—The movement, however, has been too much divided by political and religious prejudice to attain great stability. This is shown by the calamity to the cooperatives as a result of the Fascist movement. In no country in the world has the cooperative movement ever been so severely shattered as it has been in Italy by the Fascisti. Stores have been burned, cooperators have been imprisoned, assaulted, and murdered, banks have been looted, and every sort of violence and intimidation has been practiced to destroy the movement. These attacks have not wholly originated among the Fascisti. Private tradesmen, wholesalers, and business men in general have used Fascism as a tool to get rid of a movement that was interfering with their exploitation of the consumers. Of the more than 8,000 thriving cooperative societies prior to the Fascist dictatorship, scarcely 2,000 remain. As a result the National Wholesale has had to go out of business.

A section of the cooperative movement has passed under Fascist control, and the Fascisti have founded upon it the "Sindicato Italiano del Cooperative," with 1,846 affiliated societies and 348,270 members.

Just now the signs point to a rebirth of Italian cooperation. The societies have been quietly reestablishing their stores and industries during 1923, and Fascism as a matter of expediency is becoming less ruthless.

JAPAN

Number of Societies.—Almost 14,000 societies include credit societies of all types, 12,689; sales societies, 251; purchase societies, 436; productive societies, 107; sales and purchase societies, 380; sales and production, 38; sales, purchase, and production, 194. The total membership of these societies is 3,500,000, grouped in 178 federations; 45,000 belong to consumers' cooperatives.

Government Aid.—The government plays a large part in the cooperative movement and encourages the societies in many ways. They are exempt from taxation. They are granted preference in making purchases. They are supplied with funds at low interest and can borrow from banks without security.

At the cooperative congress in April, 1922, attended by representatives from all parts of the country, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce supported a resolution declaring absolutely necessary the establishment of a central credit institution for the development of cooperative societies.

Aid after Earthquake.—Shortly after the earthquake in September, 1923, Japan applied through its national union for admission to the International Cooperative Alliance. Many of the well-organized federations have been wiped out in the general havoc and ruin. Latest reports show the surviving societies in the front ranks of those working for the reconstruction of Japan.

LATVIA

Post-War Growth.—Latvian cooperatives before the war numbered 1,087. In 1923 there were 2,091, including 563 consumers' cooperatives, 530 agricultural cooperatives, 171 banking and credit societies, 122 insurance societies, and 705 of other types. The total membership is more than 96,000, and a yearly business of over 700,000,000 Latvian rubles is carried on. The department for the purchase of flax, linseed, and cereals, alone had sales amounting to 110,909,799 rubles, while sales of exports reached the sum of 40,409,537 rubles. Eighty agricultural cooperatives for the joint use of agricultural machinery, 50 dairies, and 100 other different farmers' groups have helped to finance this remarkable development.

Two central organizations combine the strength of these scattered cooperatives and help to develop their work. Half the consumers' societies are federated in the Consumers' Union, which has ten wholesale branches in different parts of the country. In 1921 the total sales made by the Union amounted to 350,000,000 Latvian rubles, part of which was made up of exports and part of the manufactures carried on in the Union's large factories. These productive establishments make implements and farm machinery and mill

flour grown in cooperative fields. The Union sells farm machinery, leather, iron, seeds, drugs, and fabrics. Besides it operates a sawmill and factory. Net profits for the year were 85,102 rubles. The Union also runs an employment exchange, acts as an information bureau, gives legal advice to the smaller societies, helps in their organizations, trains managers for the stores, conducts lectures on cooperation throughout the country, and publishes a weekly newspaper.

Agricultural Cooperation.—Several hundred big agricultural cooperatives have been formed for the sale of farm products, stock breeding, and dairying. Their business for 1922 amounted to 145,000,000 rubles. They also own the largest warehouse for grains in Riga, the seaport of Latvia. The Central Union for Mutual Fire Insurance includes 83 cooperative societies engaged in providing farmers with insurance at cost.

The Bank.—Latvia's Cooperative Bank provides credits for cooperative societies and extends help to municipalities. It is now the second largest banking institution in the country. Every branch of industrial and social life is represented in the cooperative movement. Cooperators have won two seats in the cabinet of the national government.

LITHUANIA

Remarkable Growth.—In Lithuania the representative union is the All-Lithuanian Union of Cooperative Societies which commenced wholesale operations in 1920. In 1921 it had 207 affiliated societies, with a total membership of 45,000 and a collective turnover of \$12,500,000. The wholesale turnover of the Union was over \$15,000,000.

In 1922 the affiliated societies increased to 584, consisting of 121 banking and credit societies, 366 consumers' societies, 56 agricultural societies, and 41 workers' productive societies.

The Union carries on pig slaughtering and the production of preserved meats.

NETHERLANDS

Forward Steps.—The Netherlands have gone forward in cooperative development, especially in uniting the various consumers' societies, and in cooperative housing and health care. The housing society in Amsterdam and the "sickness" society in the Hague are institutions which are making an impression on the world.

Consumers' Societies.—The Netherlands contain over 500 Consumers' Cooperative societies with a total membership of 250,000. Of these societies, 144, with a membership of 148,454 and a total turnover of 45,000,000 florins, belong to the Neutral organization, the Central Union of Dutch Distributive Societies. The rest are split up between the Roman Catholic organization, the Protestant organization, and the societies belonging to no union at all.

Wholesale.—The Cooperative Wholesale Society (De Handelkamer) has a larger membership than the central union, more than 300,000. During 1922 it had sales amounting to 11,893,808 florins, which shows a decrease of 16.3 per cent compared with the sales for 1921 (14,215,539 florins). At Rotterdam the Wholesale has a grain mill with an output capacity of 100 sacks a day, besides a clothing factory which supplies cooperative retail stores in The Hague, Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, and Venlo. The material is supplied by the English C. W. S. and as a result suits can be bought from 20 to 45 per cent less than regular retail prices. The Wholesale has also a soap works with a weekly capacity of 36,000 kilograms of soft soap and 200 boxes of household soap.

An important feature of cooperation in the Netherlands is the work of the Dutch Women's Guild which carries on very necessary educational propaganda among the women. Since the fusion of the Workers' Cooperative Union with the Neutral Cooperative Union, the Cooperative Women's Guild has become a part of the great central Union thus formed. By means of circular letters, clubs are formed and a course in the principles of cooperation is given. Each cooperative store forms the nucleus for a club. Festivals for children are given to make concrete the benefits of cooperative living.

NEW ZEALAND

Joint Organization.—The cooperative movement in New Zealand is embodied in a joint organization, the Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, which has been established to meet the need of the struggling retail societies and to further the movement in towns in which societies do not yet exist. The organization publishes a journal called *The New Zealand Cooperator*.

A Women's Cooperative Guild has been established in Wellington, for purposes of educating the women and spreading the principles of cooperative living.

NORWAY

Steady Progress.—The Union of Norwegian Distribution Societies reports that in the past two years Consumers' Cooperatives have grown rapidly. The N. K. L. (Norges Kooperative Landsforening) is an educational and wholesale union and in 1921 reported 404 affiliated societies, the membership of which was 94,000. Though the turnover of most private firms decreased during 1921, that of the cooperative wholesale increased from 18,000,000 to 21,000,000 crowns. The Wholesale operates a tobacco factory, a coffee-roasting establishment, and a butter factory. The latter, in 1921, turned out 2,500,000 pounds of butter. A bank is maintained by the Union, in which there were 3,000,000 crowns on deposit in 1921. The depositors included 9,698 individuals and 420 associations. In 1922 a cooperative insurance company was started, to deal in fire, marine, burglary, and liability insurance.

The local cooperatives affiliated with the N. K. L. are also prospering. The turnover during 1921 of the 308 societies reporting was 115,099,500 crowns, or an increase of 3,000,000 crowns during the year. The societies employed 1,587 workers.

Local cooperatives operate 71 productive establishments; 52 bakeries, 6 shoe factories; 8 sausage factories and slaughter houses, 2 tailor shops, a flour mill, a butter factory, and a knitting factory.

PALESTINE

Promising Beginnings.—In Palestine the "Hamashbeer" Consumers' Cooperative Society was established during the war to sell the agricultural products of its members and to supply them with essentials. For the first two years the society lost money. Recently the labor colonies and the military forces, by their purchase of stock in large quantities, have set the cooperative on its feet. The society did a business in 1922 of \$545,000, with net surplus-savings of \$14,500. The capital in the latter part of 1923 was \$1,600,000.

The Hamashbeer has several branches, one in Jerusalem, and others in Jaffa, Tell Am, Charfa, Tiberias, Zichron Jacob, Rechbboth, and Ben-Shemen. The society provides building materials and groceries and also acts as a credit society.

Of great assistance to the cooperatives is the Workers' Bank which was established in 1921 through funds subscribed in Palestine and America. It now has assests of \$1,500,000. Loans have been made to consumers' cooperatives, to the building guild, and to Jewish settlements.

POLAND

Steady Growth.—Consumers' cooperation in Poland continued to grow during 1921 and 1922. The total number of cooperative societies at the end of 1922 was as follows: banking and credit societies, 5,338; all types of consumers' societies, 4,196; agricultural societies, 1,288; other types of societies, 1,436; making a total of 12,258 societies with a membership of over 500,000.

In order to promote efficiency, many cooperative societies in the same territory have amalgamated. The society of Warsaw has a membership of over 15,000 persons, runs its own bakery, and owns branch stores throughout the city.

A novel venture was the leasing in 1922 of a 500-acre farm from the government. This is the first consumers' cooperative farm in Poland and carries on poultry breeding and egg production for consumers' stores.

Education is carried on continuously. Three cooperative periodicals are issued and many thousands of pamphlets are distributed. Highly artistic colored posters containing striking cooperative cartoons are issued by the thousands every year.

RUMANIA

Town and Country Activity.—The town societies of cooperatives are under the patronage of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare and number more than 110,000. The number of cooperative societies at the end of 1922 were as follows: banking and credit societies, 4,480; consumers' societies (all types) 1,802; agricultural societies, 914; workers' production societies, 408; other societies, 63; making a total of 7,667.

The rural credit societies have over 800,000 members and operate banks and loan out money mostly for the increase of farm production. Members in the mountainous districts dispose of their timber through the sales societies and receive

in return cereals and other products of the cooperators in the agricultural section of the country. Considerable quantities of agricultural machinery, implements, and manufactured goods are imported through the cooperatives.

RUSSIA

Growth Since the Revolution.—Before the revolution of 1917 Russian cooperation had proved its vitality within a limited sphere. In 1914 there were 11,400 societies with a membership of 1,650,000. At the outbreak of the revolution there were 35,000 societies with a membership of 11,500,000. From the revolution up to 1920 the cooperative movement grew rapidly. In 1919 there were 53,000 societies of all types, with a membership of 18,500,000.

It is only with the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 that this nation-wide organization, working in close conjunction with the Soviet government, has come to its full stature. The government turned its attention to organizing the exchange of goods and entrusted this task to the Centrosoyus (All-Russian Union of Cooperative Societies). This organization, working in close touch with the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, regained its independence and received back its nationalized assets.

In July, 1923, the number of consumers' cooperative societies in Russia was as follows:

Branches and agencies of Centrosoyus	106
Federal centers	3
Provincial and regional unions	87
District branches of provincial unions	502
District unions	48
Consumers' societies	22,494

In addition there are ten regional military cooperative unions, 180 military cooperative societies, and 332 transport cooperative societies. Consumers' societies in the towns numbered 1,192 and those in the villages 21,302.

The total wholesale trade in 1922 was 232,000,000 gold rubles, the total retail trade 215,600,000 rubles, making the total sales made by the cooperative societies 447,600,000 rubles. The trade of the Centrosoyus between January and July of 1923 amounted to 65,118,000 gold rubles. Some 18.5 per cent

of the goods represented by this turnover were exported or accepted for export on commission, while 8.4 per cent represented dealings on commission operations under previous agreements. Most of the purchases of finished goods were made from state industrial enterprises; raw products mainly obtained from the cooperative societies. The Centrosoyus had been particularly concerned with raising the standard of its export goods. The quality of its bristles for export has reached such a high grade that there is a growing demand in America for Russian bristles.

The capital and assets of all cooperative bodies at the beginning of 1923 totaled 170,025,000 gold rubles. Since then the share capital has increased. Similarly the number of shareholders in town and workers' cooperatives has been growing. From 5,271 on January 1, 1923, the average number of shareholders per society increased to 5,799 at the end of the year.

Agricultural Cooperative Societies.—Prior to the autumn of 1921 there were only 600 cooperative agricultural societies in Russia. The All-Russian Union of Agricultural Societies (Selkossyus) was then formed. Much was done to organize and encourage the development of local cooperatives, with the aim of promoting cooperative methods in agriculture and in the sale of agricultural produce and of supplying the peasants with seeds and implements. On January 1, 1923, there were 28,469 agricultural cooperative societies in Soviet Russia and 9,167 in the Ukraine. Nearly 4,000,000 peasant households were members of the movement.

In its first year the Union purchased from its peasants, through the affiliated cooperatives, agricultural produce of all kinds to the value of 4,500,000 gold rubles. Export of flax abroad amounted to \$500,000. Feathers to the value of 1,500,000 gold rubles were purchased for export and 4,000,000 poods of potatoes worked up into various products in the factories of the Agricultural Union. During the first half year the following commodities were distributed among the peasants: 235,000 poods of flax seed; 100,000 poods of vegetable seeds; 1,600 scythes; 675 reapers; and 16,562 ploughs. Besides, large quantities of agricultural implements have been ordered from abroad, principally from the United States. Agricultural implement manufacturers are accepting orders from Russia on the basis of extended credits.

Industrial Cooperatives.—Cooperation is developing rapidly among the industrial and home workers. Productive artels (independent unions of laborers working collectively and sharing the profits) which numbered 4,257 on January 1, 1922, had increased to 18,112 at the beginning of 1923. A number of these artels are organized into unions, whose number increased from 26 at the beginning of 1921 to 349 at the beginning of 1923.

The number of home workers belonging to industrial cooperatives increased during 1922 from about 1,000,000 to 1,300,000. At the present time the total number of home and small shop workers in Russia is only about 3,000,000.

Three All-Russian Unions include the greatest number of industrial cooperative societies: the All-Russian Union of Industrial Cooperatives founded in 1922 covering all forms of industrial cooperation; the All-Russian Union of Timber Cooperatives, founded in 1921, a combine of a number of cooperative producers' groups engaged in the various processes in the production of timber; and the All-Russian Cooperative Producers' Union of Fishermen, founded July, 1923. The timber combine, which is the largest producer of pitch and turpentine in Russia, included in 1922, 250,000 workers grouped in more than 3,000 artels. A certain amount of its products is already being exported. The union not only acts as a centralizing and advisory body, assisting in the work of the artels, it also supplies its affiliated societies with tools and machinery, and in some cases with food and clothing, receiving payment in the form of timber or its manufactures.

The Soviet government is encouraging not only the development of all forms of cooperative effort, but also the establishment of as close ties as possible between the consumers' societies and the various forms of producers' cooperatives.

Cooperative Banking.—The Russian cooperative movement has decided to extend its financial organization abroad. It already owns the Moscow Narodny Bank Limited (London and New York) which is the financial center for the trading activities abroad of the Russian cooperatives. A new Transit Cooperative Bank is being opened at Riga. The initial capital of this bank is 25,000,000 rubles. Half the shares are held by the Russian central cooperative organizations—Centroso-

yus, Linocentr (Central Association of Flax Producers) Selskosoyus (Union of Agricultural Cooperators) and the Vseko-bank (All-Russian Cooperative Bank).

Cooperative Colleges.—Training schools where cooperators and employees are fitted for positions in the movement are now a regular feature of the educational work of the cooperatives of Russia. Centrosoyus maintains a college where instructors in economics and accountancy are trained. Graduates are assigned to positions in local cooperatives. The cost of instruction is borne by the local societies. The course lasts two and a half years while the technical course for managerial positions last two years. The training school in Petrograd has accommodations for more than 100 students. Evening courses are also conducted.

The educational department of Centrosoyus also works out standards and issues books of instruction. Frequent congresses are convoked to knit together tens of thousands of cooperatives all over Russia. At a congress in November, 1923, it was reported that there were 23,852 industrial societies, 37,636 agricultural societies, and 18,461 consumers' societies, conducting about 100,000 centers for the distribution of supplies.

SOUTH AFRICA

Progress Shown.—The cooperative movement in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is making slow progress. There were 52 agricultural societies in 1922, six having been established during the year. The societies represent a membership of 12,000 and are for the purpose of purchasing tools, milch cows, farm machinery, and the sale of tobacco, fruit, and dairy products. These organizations are well managed and attach great importance to the strengthening of reserves.

The most prominent centers of the movement are Cape-town, Durban, Pretoria, Kimberley, and Bulaways. The leading agency for the promotion of distributive cooperation is the South African Industrial Federated Cooperative Development Company of Johannesburg.

Much propaganda work is being carried on to extend the movement among both the farmers and the townspeople.

SPAIN

A Young Movement.—A young and active cooperative movement has been organized by the Union of Cooperative Societies in the North of Spain. At the end of 1920 the Union had 35 societies with 14,253 members and an annual business of 16,042,266 pesetas (\$3,096,157).

At the first congress of Spanish cooperative societies, in Madrid, May, 1921, delegates from 300 societies were present. The congress authorized the organization of a national federation of workers' cooperative societies based on regional, provincial, and local federations.

An interesting development in Madrid is the maintenance of a health department which provides complete medical service for \$8 a year for each member. There are seven clinic-hospitals in different parts of the country, and through these education in hygiene and disease prevention is carried on by the medical staff and other cooperators.

SWEDEN

Cooperative Union Formed.—Over 1,000,000 persons, one-sixth of the population of Sweden, are represented in the cooperatives. Nine hundred cooperative societies have banded together to form the Swedish Cooperative Union with a membership of more than 250,000. The Cooperative Wholesale Society did business during 1922 of over \$20,000,000, 2.32 per cent in excess of any other year. The total turnover of the wholesale and retail cooperatives during 1922 amounted to 264,000,000 kronen and the total capital of these societies increased from 30,000,000 to 33,000,000 kronen.

Savings deposits in the Cooperative Bank increased more than 50 per cent. The bank made nearly \$2,500,000 profits.

The educational work of the Swedish Cooperatives is responsible for their steady growth. In 1922 a special drive was conducted for a week. During the week 600 lectures were delivered, 700,000 pamphlets were distributed, and 136 propaganda groups established for educational purposes. Educational correspondence courses enrolled 3,000 students.

SWITZERLAND

Effects of Depression.—Business depression and unemployment have affected the cooperatives, but private business has been equally hard hit. The unfortunate industrial and economic conditions prevalent in Switzerland in 1921 continued throughout 1922. Difficulties with exchange rates, especially in Germany, and import duties levied by surrounding countries, had effect on Swiss industries working for export. Industries manufacturing for domestic consumption were in better situation but agriculture felt severely the low prices of live stock and agricultural produce.

Nevertheless, the shoe factory, the flour mill, the farms, besides the other factories which do printing and book-binding, roast coffee, grind corn and spices, refine fat, and make yeast, sauerkraut, charcoal, furniture, and barrels, have all continued in full operation.

The Swiss Union of Consumers' Societies also has a dairy, a "garden village," and an insurance company.

The Union of Consumers' Societies has 519 societies with nearly 400,000 members. Nearly half the families of Switzerland have a membership in a cooperative society. The share capital for 1922 of the 519 affiliated societies was 1,569,600 francs, with a reserve fund of 3,150,000 francs.

The sales during the year of 1922 totalled 118,421,507 francs. The net surplus for the year was 310,028 francs.

UKRAINE

All-Ukrainian Union.—The Ukrainian cooperative movement acquired great momentum after the republic was established in December, 1917. The All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union, formed in 1920, now represents the coordinated efforts of all cooperatives in the country.

The Union comprises 15,000 societies with 3,000,000 members. It markets the agricultural products of its members and supplies them with general merchandise and especially with agricultural machinery. The union owns 724 industrial enterprises, including mills, leather, brick and soap works, cheese factories, printing establishments, and jam factories. It also controls large fisheries in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof. Its transport bureau accepts orders for the trans-

port of goods in the Ukraine, loading merchandise at the frontiers or in the ports, storing goods in the warehouses. The bureau has agencies and warehouses at Kharkof, Kief, Odessa, Backhmut, and Sebastopol, and agencies at all the more important railway junctions and the capitals of the various Ukrainian districts.

A widespread educational movement brings the principles and practices of cooperation to the people. The Union maintains courses in cooperation, provides scholarships in the Ukrainian high schools, and owns two large libraries in Kief and Kharkof.

YUGOSLAVIA

Consumers' Societies Developed.—The present cooperative tendency in Yugoslavia is toward the development of consumers' societies. New deposits exceed loans of credit societies, as the war has increased the amount of cash in the farmer's hands although his stocks are greatly reduced. There is a strong movement to unite all the agricultural cooperatives into one big union. An attempt is also being made to unite the Serbian and Croatian societies.

The General Federation of Cooperative Unions comprises 4,131 societies, chiefly banking and credit, agricultural, and handicraft. A strong movement for education in cooperation is being carried on among the cooperators, and as a result more people are being drawn into the movement with an understanding of its principles.

XIV. INTERNATIONAL LABOR DIRECTORY

I. LABOR UNIONS

International

General International Federations

- International Federation of Trade Unions: Jan Oudegeest, John W. Brown and Joh. Sassenbach, Vondelstraat 61, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Red International of Labor Unions: A. Losovsky, 13 Gratnar Perulic, Moscow, Russia.
- International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions: Serrarens, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
- International Federation of Working Women: Miss MacDonald, 116 Belgrave Road, London, S. W. 1, England.
- International Workingmen's Association: Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34, Germany.
- Pan-American Federation of Labor: Chester M Wright, Canuto A. Vargas, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.
- Confederacion Obrera Centroamericana: A. Palazzo, San Jose, Costa Rica.

International Trade Secretariats

Affiliated with International Federation of Trade Unions

- Bookbinders and Kindred Trades, International Federation of: H. Hochstrasser, Kapellenstrasse 8, Berne, Switzerland.
- Building Workers, International Federation of: G. Kappler, Wallstrasse 1, Hamburg 25, Germany.
- Carpenters, International Secretariat of: A. Schonfelder, Gewerkschaftshaus IV, Zimmer 47, Hamburg, Germany.
- Clothing Workers' International Federation: T. Van der Heeg, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, International Federation of: G. J. A. Smit, Jr., Plantage Franschelaan 5, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Diamond Workers, Universal Alliance of: L. van Berckelaer, Plantin-Moretuslei 68, Antwerp, Belgium.
- Factory Workers, International Federation of General: R. Stenhuis, Willem Beukelszstraat 38, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Food and Drink Trades Workers, International Union of: J. Schifferstein, Kornerstrasse 12, Zurich 4, Switzerland.
- Furriers' International Secretariat: A. Regge, Weinstrasse 8, Berlin N. O. 43, Germany.
- Glassworkers, International Secretariat of: Ch. Delzant, 211 Rue Lafayette, Paris 10, France.
- Hairdressers, International Secretariat of: Fr. Etzkorn, Engelufur 15, Berlin S. O. 16, Germany.
- Hatters, International Federation of: E. Reina, Piazzetta Moriggia 6, Monza, Italy.
- Hotel and Restaurant Workers, International Union of: H. Worms, Westeinde 17, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Land Workers' Federation, International: P. Hiemstra, Wittevrouwensingel 14, Utrecht, Netherlands.
- Lithographers and Kindred Trades, International Federation of: F. Poels, 65 Rue du Midi, Brussels, Belgium.
- Metal Workers, International Federation of: C. Ilg, Kapellenstrasse 6, Berne, Switzerland.

Miners, International Federation of: Frank Hodges, 55 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1, England.
 Musicians, International Federation of: P. Deutscher, 8 Rue Coppens, Brussels, Belgium.
 Painters and Allied Trades, International Secretariat of: O. Streine, Claus Grothstrasse, Hamburg 25, Germany.
 Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers, International Federation of: L. Maier, Peter Jordanstrasse 96, Vienna 18, Austria.
 Printers, International Secretariat of: F. Verdan, Eigerplatz 8, Berne, Switzerland.
 Public Service Employees, International Federation of: N. Van Hinte, Stadhouderskade 68, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
 Shoe and Leather Workers, International Federation of: J. Simon, Essenweinstrasse 1, Nuremberg, Germany.
 Stone Workers, International Secretariat of: R. Kolb, Andwandstrasse 8, Zurich, Switzerland.
 Textile Workers, International Federation of: Thomas Shaw, 25 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, England.
 Tobacco Workers, International Secretariat of: H. J. J. Eichelsheim, 18 Plantage Badlaan, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
 Transport Workers, International Federation of: Edo Fimmen, Vondelstraat 61, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
 Woodworkers, International Union of: G. Woudenberg, Alb. Thijmstraat 30, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Affiliated with International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions

Agricultural Workers: R. F. Carels, Hondenwedstraat 7, Boitsfort, Brussels, Belgium.
 Building Operatives: A. Allesie, Catharijoesingel 169, Utrecht; Maliestraat 2, Utrecht, Netherlands.
 Clothing Workers: C. van Rijswijk, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
 Employees: G. Tessier, 5 Rue Cadet, Paris 11, France.
 Factory and Transport Workers: F. Brussel, Rijswijkscheweg 323a, The Hague, Netherlands.
 Food and Drink Trades Workers: S. P. van Tol, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
 Graphical Trades: J. Hofmann, Bosboom Toussaintstrasse 30, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
 Leather Workers: C. Roostenberg, Hoofdstraat 283, Kaatsheuvel, Netherlands.
 Metal Workers: F. v. Welie, Koningslaan 9, Utrecht, Netherlands.
 Miners: J. v. Buggenhout, 19 Rue Plentinx, Brussels, Belgium.
 Post-office Workers: L. Schreurs, Elisabeth Strouvelaan 65, Maastricht, Netherlands.
 Railwaymen and Tramwaymen: H. F. Tiimermans, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
 Textile Workers: Van der Meys, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
 Tobacco Workers: J. Gemen, Hembrijken 121-123, Eindhoven, Netherlands.
 Wood Workers: H. Kurtscheid, 9 Venloerwall, Cologne, Germany.

Unaffiliated

Seamen's Federation, International: C. Damm, 9 Rue Dubois, Antwerp, Belgium.
 Teachers, International Federation of: Y. H. Dufour, Avire, par Segre, Maine et Loire, France.

National Federations Abroad

Argentina—Union Sindical Argentina: J. Silvetti, Rioja 835, Buenos Aires.
Australia—Federal Grand Council of Labor: E. Kavanagh, Trades Hall, Goulburn Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
 Labor Research and Information Bureau: E. R. Voigt, Trades Hall, Goulburn Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
 Trades Hall Council: E. J. Holloway, Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.
 New South Wales Labor Council: G. S. Garden, Trades Hall, Sydney.
 Queensland Trades and Labor Council: Trades Hall, Brisbane.

- South Australia Trades and Labor Council: J. P. Howards, Trades Hall, Adelaide.
 West Australia Trades and Labor Council: Millington, Trades Hall, Perth.
- Austria**—Gewerkschaftskommission Deutschoesterreichs: A. Hueber, Eben-dorferstrasse 7, Vienna 1.
 Zentralkommission der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Oesterreichs: M. Allinger, Rennweg 8, Vienna III.
 Reichsverband der Deutschen Arbeitnehmervereinigungen Oesterreichs: F. Ertle, Matrosengasse 9, Vienna VI.
- Belgium**—Commission Syndicale de Belgique: Cornelius Mertens, Maison Syndicale, Rue Joseph Stevens 8, Brussels.
 Confederation Generale des Syndicats Chretiens et Libres de Belgique: E. van Quaquebeke, 13 Avenue de la Renaissance, Brussels.
- Brazil**—Confederacao Operaria Brasileira: Rosendo dos Santos, Caixa Postal 12427, Rio de Janeiro.
- British Guiana**—British Guiana Labor Union: H. Critchlow, 142 Regent Street, Lacy Town, Georgetown, Demerara.
- Bulgaria**—Obcht Rabotnitcheski Syndicalen Saius w Balcaria: Grigore Danoff, Ul. Nischka 15, Sofia.
 Obscht Rabotnitcheski Syndicalen Saius v Balcaria: D. Dimitrow, Syn-dikalen Dom, Ul. Kyrill i Methodi 54, Sofia.
- Canada**—Trades and Labor Congress of Canada: P. M. Draper, 172 Mc-Laren Street, Ottawa.
 Canadian Federation of Labor: J. T. Gunn, 26 Strathcona Ave., Toronto.
 One Big Union: R. B. Russell, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
 Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada: J. H. A. Poirier, 67 Montmartre Street, Quebec.
- Chile**—Federacion Obrera de Chile: Casilla 3907, Santiago.
 Gran Federacion Obrera de Chile: A. Castillo, Calle San Alfonso 22, Santiago.
 Federacion Chilena del Trabajo: R. Molina, Santiago.
- Colombia**—Directorio Nacional Socialista y Obrero: Bogota.
- Czechoslovakia**—Zentral Gewerkschaftskommission des Deutschen Ge-werkschaftsbundes in der Tschechoslowakei: Franz Macoun, Farber-gasse 1, Reichenberg.
 Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenske: Rudolf Tayerle, Bartolomejska ul 14, Prague.
 Ceskoslovenska Obec Delnicka, Ustredna Odborovy ch Organizace: Alois Tucny, Vavclavske Nam 42, Prague 2.
 Verband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften fur das Gebiet des Czecho-slovakischen Staates: S. Rottig, Birgsteingasse 44, Reichenberg.
- Denmark**—De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark; Carl F. Madsen, Norre Farimagsgade 49, Copenhagen.
- Dominican Republic**—Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista: J. E. Kunhardt, Puerto Plata, Dominican Republic.
- Ecuador**—Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana: Guayaquil.
 Federacion del Trabajo: Guayaquil.
- Estonia**—Tallinna Ametiuhisuste Kesknoukogu: A. Jakson, Gogol-puistee 4, Reval.
 Riigi ja Omavalitsuse Teenijate Kesk Liit: T. Loik, Lai Tan 22, Reval.
- Finland**—Suomen Ammattijarjesto: E. A. Metsarante, Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.
- France**—Confederation Generale du Travail: Leon Jouhaux, 211 Rue La-fayette, Paris 10.
 Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire: 33 Rue Grange-aux-Belles, Paris.
 Federation Nationale des Syndicats de Fonctionnaires: C. Laurent, 5, Rue de Poitiers, Paris 7.
 Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens: G. Tessler, 5, Rue Cadet, Paris 9.
- Germany**—Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund: Theodor Leipart, Inselstrasse 6, Berlin S. 14.
 Allgemeiner Freier Angestelltenbund: W. Stahr, Werftstrasse 7, Ber-lin N. W. 52.
 Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands: Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34.
 Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands: A. Stegerwald, Kaiser Allee 25/1, Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

- Gewerkschaftsring Deutscher Arbeiter-, Angestellten- und Beamtenverbände: E. Lemmer, Greifswalderstrasse 222, Berlin, N. O. 55.
 Deutscher Beamtenbund: Hofle, Chausseestrasse 50, Berlin, N. 4.
- Great Britain**—Trades Union Congress: Fred Bramley, 32 Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1
 General Federation of Trade Unions: William A. Appleton, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C. 1
- Greece**—Confederation Generale du Travail: Le Piree, Athens.
- Hungary**—Ungarlandischer Gewerkschaftsrat: Sam Jaszai, Erzsebet-Korut 41, Budapest 7.
 Keresztensocialista Országos Szakszervezetek Központja: Szabo, Kosuth-Lajos Utcá 1, Budapest IV.
- India**—All India Trades Union Congress: D. Chaman Lal, Fort, Bombay.
 Bengal Trades Union Federation: H. W. B. Morens, c/o The Central Press, 12, Wellesley Street, Calcutta.
- Ireland**—Trades Union Congress: Thomas Johnson, 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.
- Italy**—Confederazione Generale del Lavoro: Ludovico d'Aragona, 2 Via Manfredi Fanti, Milan.
 Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori (Catholic): A. Grandi, Via Duilio 2a, Rome 33.
 Confederazione Nazionale delle Corporazioni Sindicali: E. Rossoni, Via Monte Grappa II, Bologna.
- Japan**—General Federation of Labor (Nihon Rodo Sodomei): Bunji Suzuki, 3 Shikoku-Cho, Mita, Shiba-ku, Tokio.
- Latvia**—Zentralburo der Gewerkschaften Lettlands: Matīsa eela 11-13 ds 6, Riga.
- Lithuania**—Lituvos Darbo Federacija: Kaunas, Ozeskienes, Gat. 12.
- Luxembourg**—Gewerkschaftskommission Luxemburgs: Neypergstrasse 13, Luxemburg-Gare.
- Mexico**—Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana: Belisario Dominguez 64, Mexico City.
 Confederacion Nacional de Obreros Catolicos: Arzobispado, Mexico.
 Confederacion General de Trabajadores: Uruguay 25, Mexico.
- Netherlands**—Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakverenigingen: E. Kupers, Amstel 224, Amsterdam.
 National Arbeids-Secretariat: Th. J. Dissel, Nassaukade 101, Amsterdam.
 Algemeen Nederlandsch Vakverbond: F. C. van Ingen Schenau, Regentesselaan 112, The Hague.
 Christelik Nationaal Vakverbond in Nederland: H. Amelink, Stadhouderslaan 45, Utrecht.
 Bureau voor de Roomsche Katholieke Vakorganisatie: A. C. de Bruijn, Drift 10-12, Utrecht.
- New Zealand**—New Zealand Workers' Union: Charles Grayndler, Queen's Chambers, Wellington.
 United Federation of Labor: Hiram Hunter, Trades Hall, Wellington.
- Nicaragua**—Federacion del Trabajo: Managua.
- Norway**—Faglige Landsorganisation i Norge: Ole O. Lian, Folketshus, Mullergaten 18, Christiania.
- Palestine**—General Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, Jaffa.
- Panama**—Federacion Obrera de Panama: J. Artafulla, Panama City.
- Paraguay**—Federacion Obrera de Paraguay, Asuncion.
- Peru**—Federacion Obrera Regional Peruana: Rimac 188, Lima.
 Gran Confederacion de Profesionales y Obreros: Portal de Escribanos, altos, 344, Lima.
 Centro Internacional Obrero de Solidaridad Latino-Americana: Victor A. Pujazon, Lima.
- Philippines**—Federacion de Trabajo de Filipinas, Manila.
- Poland**—Komisja Centralna Związkow Zawodowych: Z. Zulawski, Rue Warecka 7, Warsaw.
 Ziednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie: Walenty Zasina, Sienna 31, Warsaw.
 Centralna Komisja Chrzescijanskich Związkow Zawodowych: 5 Sniadekich, Warsaw.
 Związek Klasowych Związkow w Polsce: A. Szmojsz, 33 Dzielna, Warsaw.
- Porto Rico**—Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto-Rico: Rafael Alonso, San Juan.
- Portugal**—Confederaçao Geral do Trabalho: Calçado do Combro 38, Lisbon.
- Rumania**—Consiliul General a Sindicatelor: 50 Rue Campineanu, Bucharest.
- Russia**—All-Russian Council of Trade Unions: N. Tomski, Moscow.

- Santo Domingo**—Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista: R. E. Urena, Santiago.
Salvador—Union Obrera Salvadorense: San Salvador.
South Africa—South African Industrial Federation: A. Crawford, New Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg.
 Industrial and Commercial Workers' Amalgamated Union (native): M. M'simang, Johannesburg.
Spain—Union General de Trabajadores de Espana: Pablo Iglesias, Casa del Pueblo, Calle del Piamonte 2, Madrid.
 Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo: Barcelona.
 Confederacion Nacional de Sindicatos Catolicos de Obreros: C. P. Sommer, Costanilla de San Andres 7, Madrid.
Sweden—Landsorganisationen i Sverige: H. Lindquist, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.
Switzerland—Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund: J. A. Schmidhimi, Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne.
 Vereinigung Schweizerischer Angestelltenverbaende: F. Horand, Pelikanstrasse 18, Zurich.
 Christlich-Nationaler Gewerkschaftsbund der Schweiz: J. Mueller, Poststrasse 5, St. Gallen-Ost.
Turkey—Coule Dibi Raghib: 4 Pacha Han, Galata, Constantinople.
Uruguay—Federacion Regional Uruguaya: Montevideo.
Yugoslavia—Commission Syndicale: Radnitchki Dom, Kratja Milano Ulica, Belgrade.
 Glavni Radnicki Savez Jugoslavije: Luka Pavtchevitch, Novi Socialisticke Narodni Dom, Belgrade.
 Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband fur Kroatien-Slavonien: Ilica 55, Agram 11.
 Jugoslovanska Strokovna Zvesa: F. Kremzar, Stari trg 2/1, Ljubljana.

United States

American Federation of Labor and Affiliated Organizations

American Federation of Labor: Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Building, 9th Street and Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Departments—

- Building Trades Department: William J. Spencer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Metal Trades Department: A. J. Berres, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Railroad Employees Department: John Scott, Riviera Bldg., 4750 Broadway, Chicago, Illinois.
 Union Label Trades Department: John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

A. F. of L. National Unions—

- Actors and Artistes of America, Associated: Harry Mountford, 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
 Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and: Thomas J. McNamara, 803 United Home Building, St. Louis, Mo.
 Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America: A. A. Myrup, 310 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
 Barbers' International Union, Journeymen: Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of: William McCarthy, Room 821, Longacre Building, 42d Street and Broadway, New York, N. Y.
 Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of: Wm. F. Kramer, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
 Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Joseph Flynn, Suite 524, Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
 Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of: Felix J. Belair, Room 308, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
 Boot and Shoe Workers' Union: C. L. Baine, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.

- Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United: John Rader, 2347-49-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United: William Tracy, Room 309, 323-331 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Bricklayers', Masons', and Plasterers' International Union of America: William Dobson, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association: Harry Jones, 1615-20 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International: Will R. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
- Building Service Employees' International Union: Claude F. Peters, 166 West Washington Street, Sixth Floor, Chicago, Ill.
- Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of: Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Cigarmakers' International Union of America: George W. Perkins, Room 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
- Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car: W. O. Murphy, 360-361 Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.
- Coopers' International Union of North America: Forrest M. Krepps, Meriweather Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America: Andries Meyer, 323 Washington Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association: Joseph Hurley, 19 West Ashland Street, Brockton, Mass.
- Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of: Charles P. Ford, I. A. of M. Building, Ninth and Mount Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.
- Elevator Constructors, International Union of: Joseph F. Murphy, 14-15 Borough Hall Building, 391 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Federal Employees, National Federation of: James McKeon, 1423 New York Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Fire Fighters, International Association of: George J. Richardson, 105-6 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary: C. L. Shamp, 3615 North 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.
- Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of: Arthur Austin, 212 Hill Building, 2604 Gravois Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
- Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International: Andrew Wenneis, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.
- Garment Workers of America, United: B. A. Larger, 117-22 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada: Harry Jenkins, Rooms 1005-8 Colonial Trust Company Building, 13th and Walnut streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Glass Workers' Union, American Flint: Charles J. Shipman, Rooms 337-46 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
- Glass Workers, Window, National: Thomas Reynolds, 1103 Ulmer Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Glove Workers' Union of America, International: Elizabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The: Sam Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, 69, Mass.
- Hatters of North America, United: Martin Lawlor, Rooms 72-73, Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International: A. Persion, 25 School Street, Quincy, 69, Mass.
- Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen: Hubert S. Marshall, Room 605, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America: Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of: David J. Davis, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Jewelry Workers' Union: Abraham Greenstein, Room 714, 1674 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International: Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal: J. B. Bowen, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

- Laundry Workers' International Union: Harry L. Morrison, 799 Second Avenue, Troy, N. Y.
- Leather Workers, United, International Union: J. J. Pfeiffer, Rooms 600-602, Walsix Building, Sixth and Walnut streets, Kansas City, Mo.
- Letter Carriers, National Association of: Edward J. Cantwell, 405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural: Fred E. Reed, Springdale, Ark.
- Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada: James M. O'Connor, 205 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Longshoremen's Association, International: John J. Joyce, 702-4 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Machinists, International Association of: E. C. Davison, I. A. of M. Building, Ninth and Mount Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.
- Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of: E. E. Millman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- Marble, Slate, and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of: Stephen C. Hogan, 632 Eagle Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America, National Organization: John H. Pruett, 423 49th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated: Dennis Lane, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Metal Engravers' International Union: August Fromm, 2833 Karlov Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Metal Polishers' International Union: Charles R. Atherton, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, International Union of: Ernest Mills, Room 502, Mercantile Building, 15th and Arapahoe streets, Denver, Colo.
- Mine Workers of America, United: William Green, 1102-8 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Molders' Union of North America, International: Victor Kleiber, 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Musicians, American Federation of: William Kerngood, 239-241 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
- Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America: J. L. Coulter, 203½ West 12th Street, Fort Worth, Texas.
- Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of: Charles J. Lammert, Painters and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Ind.
- Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of: Matthew Burns, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.
- Pattern Makers' League of North America: James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9, Second National Bank Building, Ninth and Main streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Pavers, Rammers, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of: Edward I. Hannah, 336 East 59th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada: Carl Bergstrom, Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
- Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International: Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3136 South Grand Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
- Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International: Jacob Fischer, 260 East 138th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative: T. A. Scully, 401-3 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
- Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of: Thomas E. Burke, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Post Office Clerks, National Federation of: Thomas F. Flaherty, 302-305 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative: John McGillvray, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United: Geo. W. Hawkins, Columbus, Kansas.

- Printers' and Die Stammers' Union of North America, International Plate: James E. Goodyear, 1630 West Loudon Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International: Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
- Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of: John P. Burke, Post Office Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
- Quarry Workers' International Union of North America: Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
- Railroad Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of: T. A. Austin, 4750-54 North Kimball Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Railroad Telegraphers, Order of: Leonard Jackson Ross, Missouri State Life Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of: E. William Weeks, 508 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of: George S. Levi, Sixth Floor, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Railway Mail Association: H. W. Strickland, Rooms 300-301 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Retail Clerks' International Protective Association: H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
- Roofers, Damp, and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition: Joseph M. Gavlak, 3091 Kolridge Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Saw Smiths' National Union: Harry Milan, 1234 Oxford Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Seamen's Union of America, International: K. B. Nolan, 357 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated: William L. Sullivan, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
- Siderographers, International Association of: John A. Frew, 1966 Valentine Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
- Steam and Operating Engineers, International Union of: Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League, International: A. J. Marsh, Y. M. C. A., Orange, N. J.
- Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International: Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive Street, Kansas City, Mo.
- Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen: Joseph Blasey, 324 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Stove Mounters' International Union: Frank Grimshaw, 6466 Jefferson Avenue East, Detroit, Mich.
- Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of: W. D. Mahon, 260 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.
- Switchmen's Union of North America: M. R. Welch, 39 North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen: Thomas Sweeney, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Teachers, American Federation of: F. G. Stecker, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of: C. L. Rosemund, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial: Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, L. I.
- Textile Workers of America, United: Sara A. Conboy, Room 108-112 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Theatrical Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of: F. G. Lemaster, 110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union: E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-53 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Ky.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union: Tito Pacelli, 162-164 East 118th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Typographical Union, International: J. W. Hays, Bankers Trust Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America: William Kohn, 230 East 58th Street, New York N. Y.
- Wood Carvers' Association of North America, International: Frank Detlef, 8605 85th Street, Woodhaven, Long Island, N. Y.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United: Edwin Gentzler, 933 West King St., York, Pa.
Wire Weavers' Protective Association, American: Charles C. Bradley, 820-89th Street, Woodhaven, N. Y.

A. F. of L. State Federations of Labor—

Alabama: Lewis Bowen, 910 Farley Building, Birmingham.
Arizona: Clyde L. Timberlake, 217 East Adams Street, Phoenix.
Arkansas: H. M. Thackrey, 406 Donaghey Building, Little Rock.
California: Paul Scharrenberg, Underwood Building, 525 Market Street, San Francisco.
Colorado: John E. Gross, Box 1408, Denver.
Connecticut: I. M. Ornburn, 286-288 York Street, New Haven.
Delaware: Fred I. Stierle, Box 592, Wilmington.
Florida: W. P. Mooty, Box 490, Miami.
Georgia: Louie P. Marquardt, Box 2119, Atlanta.
Idaho: I. W. Wright, 311 North 10th Street, Boise.
Illinois: Victor A. Olander, 164-166 West Washington Street, Chicago.
Indiana: Adolph J. Fritz, Rooms 1 and 2, 10 South Senate Avenue, Indianapolis.
Iowa: J. B. Wiley, Labor Temple, Des Moines.
Kansas: William Howe, Box 428, Topeka.
Kentucky: Peter J. Campbell, Box 305, Louisville.
Louisiana: Ernest H. Zwally, Box 291, Shreveport.
Maine: H. B. Brawn, Box 22, Augusta.
Maryland-District of Columbia: Henry Broening, American Building, Baltimore.
Massachusetts: Martin T. Joyce, Rooms 12-13, Pemberton Building, Boston, 9.
Michigan: John J. Scannell, 1586 Dickerson Avenue, Detroit.
Minnesota: George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, 406 North Franklin Street, St. Paul.
Mississippi: J. R. Gray, 215 North Market Street, Columbus.
Missouri: George R. Patterson, 413 Title Guaranty Building, St. Louis.
Montana: Edwin H. Manson, Room 27, Montana Building, Helena.
Nebraska: C. P. Birk, 503 East 8th Street, Grand Island.
Nevada: Fred F. Ross, 212 North Virginia Avenue, Sparks.
New Hampshire: Chas. H. Bean, Jr., 21 Chestnut Street, Franklin.
New Jersey: Henry F. Hilfers, 16-18 Clinton Street, Newark.
New Mexico: James J. Votaw, 314½ South 2d Street, Albuquerque.
New York: John M. O'Hanlon, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany.
North Carolina: C. G. Worley, Box 925, Asheville.
North Dakota: N. M. Aune, Box 299, Grand Forks.
Ohio: Thomas J. Donnelly, Rooms 320-321 Ferris Bldg., Columbus.
Oklahoma: Victor S. Purdy, 516 Baltimore Building, Oklahoma City.
Oregon: W. E. Kimsey, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson streets, Portland.
Pennsylvania: James E. Kelley, Rooms M 1-3, Commonwealth Trust Building, Harrisburg.
Porto Rico: Free Federation of Workingmen: Rafael Alonso, Box 270, San Juan.
Rhode Island: Lawrence A. Grace, 37 Weybossett Street, Providence.
South Carolina: John W. Ballentine, Box 571, Columbia.
South Dakota: E. L. Gordon, Box 955, Huron.
Tennessee: W. C. Birthwright, 212 8th Avenue North, Nashville.
Texas: Robert McKinley, Labor Temple, Dallas.
Utah: J. J. Sullivan, Labor Temple, Salt Lake City.
Vermont: Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre.
Virginia: Harry D. Moffett, 1602½ Summitt Avenue, Richmond.
Washington: Wm. M. Short, 503 Maynard Building, Seattle.
West Virginia: H. L. Franklin, Room 405, Odd Fellows Temple, Charleston.
Wisconsin: J. J. Handley, 306 Pereles Building, 85 Oneida Street, Milwaukee.
Wyoming: Ward Hudson, Rooms 4-5, Mine Workers' Building, Cheyenne.

A. F. of L. Fraternal Organizations—

National Women's Trade Union League: Elisabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Women's International Union Label League: Mrs. Anna B. Field, Harting Block, Elwood, Ind.

Independent General Organizations—

Industrial Workers of the World: Tom Doyle, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.
 Workers' International Industrial Union: E. La France, Post Office Box 242, Troy, New York.
 One Big Union of America: F. I. Clough, 101 South Idaho Street, Butte, Montana.
 Knights of Labor: T. H. Canning, 228 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.
 Trade Union Educational League: William Z. Foster, 106 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Independent Trade Unions—

Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers, United: 4620 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Mich.
 Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International: W. Van Bodegraven, 431 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
 Carpenters & Joiners, Amalgamated Society of: H. Porter, 74 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
 Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United: Max Zuckerman, 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
 Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated: Joseph Schlossberg, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
 Food Industries, International Workers in the Amalgamated: August Burkhardt, 81 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.
 Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of: Warren S. Stone, B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of: D. B. Robertson, 901 Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National: 311 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
 Metal Workers, Brotherhood of: William J. Kelly, 81 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.
 Pocketbook Workers' Union, International: Ossip Walinsky, 62 University Place, New York, N. Y.
 Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of: W. G. Lee, American Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Railroad Workers, American Federation of: G. W. Gibson, 315 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
 Railroad Yardmasters of America: W. M. Brown, 1st National Bank Building, Columbus, Ohio.
 Railway Conductors of America, Order of: L. E. Sheppard, The Masonic Temple, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
 Shoe Workers of America, United: T. F. Lynch, 683 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.
 Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of: F. E. Langdon, 306 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
 Textile Workers of America, Amalgamated: Russell Palmer, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.
 Textile Operatives, American Federation of: John P. O'Connell, Post Office Box 272, Salem, Mass.

II. LABOR AND SOCIALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

International—Labor and Socialist International: Thomas Shaw and Friedrich Adler, 25 Victoria Street, London S.W. 1, England.
 Socialist Youth International: E. Ollenhauer, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin, S. W. 68.
 Communist International—Gregory Zinoviev, Moscow, Russia.
 Young Communist International: Stralauerstrasse 12, Berlin, C. 2, Germany.
 Jewish Socialist Labor Federation (Poale Zion): B. Locker, Mommsenstrasse 38/III, Berlin-Charlottenburg.
Argentina—Socialist Party: Jacinto Oddone, Rivadavia 2089, Buenos Aires.
 Communist Party: Independencia 417, Buenos Aires.

- Armenia**—Armenian Revolutionary Federation: M. Varandian, 3 Avenue Beau-Sejour, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Australia**—Labor Party: A. Stewart, Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.
Political Labor League: P. Evans, Macdonell House, Sydney, New South Wales.
New South Wales Labor Party: W. Carey, Macdonell House, 321, Pitt Street, Sydney.
Queensland Labor Party: L. McDonald, Worker Office, Brisbane.
Victoria Labor Party: A. Stewart, Trades Hall, Melbourne.
Socialist Labor Party: J. O. Moroney, 16 George Street, West Sydney, New South Wales.
Communist Party: Communist Hall, Sussex Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- Austria**—Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei in Deutschoesterreich: Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.
Verband der Sozialistischen Arbeiterjugend Oesterreichs: Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.
Czechoslovakische Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich: Margaretenplatz, 7, Vienna V.
Kommunistische Partei Deutschoesterreichs: Alsterstrasse 69, Vienna, VIII.
- Belgium**—Parti Ouvrier Belge: J. Van Roosbroeck, 17 Rue Joseph Stephens, Brussels.
Federation Nationale des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes: G. Hoyaux, Maison du Peuple, Jolimont-Haine-Saint-Paul.
Parti Communiste: 3 Rue Steenpoort, Brussels.
- Bolivia and Peru**—Labor Party: Political Representative in London, A. Boyle, 104, Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
- Bulgaria**—Social-Democratic Labor Party: D. Neikoff, 22 Rue Lomska, Sofia.
Parti Socialiste Communiste: T. Soukanoff, Narodn Dom, Kyrilli i Metodi, 54, Sofia.
- Canada**—Socialist Party of Canada: Ewen MacLeod, 401 Pender Street, East, Vancouver, B. C.
Independent Labor Party of Ontario: J. T. Marks, Labor Temple, Church Street, Toronto.
Canadian Labor Party: J. Simpson, Labor Temple, Church St., Toronto, Ontario.
Workers' Party: 310 Tyrrell Bldg., 95 King St. East, Toronto, Ontario.
- Chile**—Communist Party: Cassila 327, Antofagasta.
Partido Obrero Socialista: L. E. Recabarren, 1,372, Calle de Catorce de Febrero, Antofagasta.
- Cyprus**—Labor Party: Panos H. Phasoulitis, Limassol, Cyprus.
- Czechoslovakia**—Tschechische Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei: Jaroslav Aster, Hyberniska 7, Prague II.
Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in der Tscheschoslowakischen Republik: Havlickovo Namesti 32, Prague II.
Ungarische Sozial Demokratische Partei: Kostarsasag-ter 38, Bratislava.
Kommunistische Partei: E. Skatula, Mystikova U1. 15, Prague.
Polish Socialist Labor Party: Rynek 24, Frysztat.
Ruthenian Social Democratic Workers' Party: Uzhorod, Voitech Picha.
Socialist Union: B. Vrbensky, Ruska 3, Prague-Weinberge.
- Danzig**—United Social Democratic Party: E. W. Klass, Spendhaus 6, Danzig.
- Denmark**—Socialdemokratiske Forbund: Alsing Anderson, Roemersgade 22, Copenhagen.
Kommunistiske Parti: 8, Montergade, Copenhagen.
Danmarks Socialdemokratiske Ungdom: Chr. Christiansen, Macks-gade 5, Aarhus.
- Esthonia**—Esthonian Socialist Party: A. Ostra, 21 b, Tatarenstrasse, Reval.
Independent Socialist Party of Esthonia: Kleine Pernausche Strasse 31, "Walwaja," Reval.
Socialist Democratic Labor Party: Kuninga uul 8, Reval.
- Finland**—Social Democratic Party: T. Tainio, 3 Sirkuskatu, Helsingfors.
Communist Party: A. Usenius, 94, Brankyrkagatan, Stockholm, Sweden.
- France**—Parti Socialiste Unifié: Paul Faure, 12 Rue Feydeau, Paris II.
Parti Communiste: L. Sellier, 37 Rue Sainte Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris IV.

- Federation Nationale des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes: H. Hauck, 42, Rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Paris 2.
- Georgia**—Sozial-Demokratische Arbeiterpartei: I. Tseretelli, Brueckenallee 31, Berlin N. W., Germany.
- Germany**—Vereinigte Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands: Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.
Verband der Sozialistischen Arbeiterjugend Deutschlands: A. Albrecht, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.
Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands: Warthestrasse 69, Berlin-Neuköln.
- Great Britain**—Labor Party: Arthur Henderson, 33 Eccleston Square, London S. W. 1.
Independent Labor Part: A. Fenner Brockway, 308 Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. 1.
Communist Party: Albert Inkpin, 16 King Street, London W. C. 2.
Socialist Labor Party: T. Mitchell, 50 Reafrew Street, Glasgow.
Social Democratic Federation: T. Kennedy, 103, Southwark Street, London, S. E. 1.
Fabian Society: F. W. Galton, 25 Tothill Street, London, S. W. 1.
- Greece**—Socialist Party: N. Yannios, 15 Rue Paparigopulo, Athens.
Parti Ouvrier Politique de Grece: J. Calomiris, 19, Dzavella Street, Piraeus.
- Hungary**—Sozialdemokratische Partei: Josef Büchler, Erzsebet-Korút 41, Budapest VII.
Kommunistische Partei Ungarns: Alserstrasse 69, Vienna VIII, Austria.
Socialist Emigrants' "Vilagossag": Sigmund Kunfi, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.
- Iceland**—Althyduflokhourin: 7 Haldrinsson, Reykjavik.
Islands Arbejderforbund, P. G. Grudmundsson: Bergthorugotu 45, Reykjavik.
- India**—Communist Party of India: Post Office Box 4336, Zurich 13, Switzerland.
- Ireland**—Labor Party: Thomas Johnson 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.
Communist Party of Ireland: 22, St. Patrick's Road, Drumcondra, Dublin.
- Italy**—United Socialist Party: G. Matteotti, Casella Postale 460, Rome.
Partito Socialista Italiano: Fioritto, Via del Seminario 87, Rome.
Unione Socialista Italiana: V. Vercelloni, Via del Tritone 61, Rome.
Partito Comunista Italiano: Via Visconti 14, Milan.
- Japan**—Socialist Federation of Japan: 19 Shinsakurada-Cho, Shiba, Tokio.
The Socialist League of Japan: Nim Yamakawa, 682, Araiuku Omori, Tokio.
- Latvia**—Social Democratic Labor Party of Latvia: Bruno Kalinin, 11/13, Matisa eela, Riga.
- Lithuania**—Social Democratic Party: A Purenaz Keistucio gy. 40, Kaunas.
Parti Socialiste Populaire de Lithuanie: Pajaujis, Laisves Aleja, 34, Kaunas.
Revolutionare Volkspartei der Sozialisten: N. Januschkiewics, P/A Butkis, Grolmannstrasse, 55/III, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany.
- Luxemburg**—Parti Socialiste: Hubert Clement, 39 Rue Victor Hugo, Esch-Alzette.
- Malta**—The Labor Party: W. Savona, Malta.
- Mexico**—Labor Party: 40 Belisario Dominguez, Mexico City.
Communist Party: Apartado 985, Mexico City, O. F.
- Netherlands**—Socialdemokratische Arbeiderspartij: C. Werkhoven, Keizersgracht 376, Amsterdam.
Socialistische Partij, Kolthek: Lijsterbesstraat 97, The Hague.
Christian Socialist Party: Schoolstraat 28, Utrecht.
Communistische Partij: Laings Nekstraat 33, Amsterdam.
- New Zealand**—Labor Party: W. Nash, Hood's Buildings, 110-112, Lambton Quay, Wellington.
- Norway**—Labor Party: M. Tranmael, Folketshus, Christiania.
Social Democratic Labor Party: Magnus Nilssen, Ovre Slotsgate 15B/IV, Christiania.
Communist Party: Sheffoe, Christiania.
- Palestine**—Jewish Socialist Labor Party: Jaffa.
- Poland**—Socialist Party: Ignace Daszynski, Rue Warecka 7, Warsaw.
Independent Socialist Party: Roman Jawic, Warszawa Grodowa 8, Warsaw.
Deutsche Sozial Demokratische Partei: Bleichplatz 2, Bielitz.

- Communist Labor Party of Poland: P/A. K. P. Deutschoesterreichs, Alserstrasse 69, Vienna VIII.
- Portugal**—Partido Socialista Portuguez C. Nogueira, Rue Sebastian Saraiva de Lima, A. P. I. D., Lisbon.
- Rumania**—Federation of Socialist Parties: Ilie Moscovici, Strada Biserica Enei 9, Bucharest.
- Partidul Socialdemocrat: D. Marinesco, Ionica 12, Bucharest.
- Russia**—Communist Party: E. Preobrazhensky, Tsentralny Komitet, K. P. R., Moscow, Russia.
- Socialist Revolutionary Party. Vassili Suchomlin, 35 Rue des Sables, Brussels, Belgium.
- Social Democratic Labor Party: R. Abramowitsch, Courbierestrass 12, Berlin W. 62, Germany.
- South Africa**—South African Labor Party: C. J. McCann, 303, Smith Street, Durban.
- Communist Party: W. H. Andrews, 54 Fox Street, Johannesburg.
- Spain**—Partido Socialista: Andrés Saborit, Calle de Carranza 20, Madrid.
- Communist Party: Los Madrazo 14, Madrid.
- Sweden**—Socialdemokratische Arbetare-Partiet: Gustav Moeller, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.
- Switzerland**—Sozialdemokratische Partei: Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne.
- Turkey**—Parti Socialiste de Turquie: Kahrouman Zade Uan, Sirgedji, Constantinople.
- Independent Socialist Party: Chakir Rassim, Kizil Minaré, 7 Rue Halid Ak-Sérai, Constantinople.
- Ukraine**—Central Committee of Social Democrats: O. Merkling, Arbesova 6/III, Prague-Vrsovice, Czechoslovakia.
- Uruguay**—Communist Party: "Justicia," Montevideo.
- Partido Socialista: Curiales 1540, Montevideo.
- United States**—Conference for Progressive Political Action: William H. Johnston, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
- Socialist Party: Bertha Hale White, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Young People's Socialist League: Albert Weisbord, 64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.
- Workers' Party: C. E. Ruthenberg, 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Young Workers' League: Martin Abern, 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Farmer-Labor Party: Jay G. Brown, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Federated Farmer-Labor Party: Joseph Manley, 800 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Socialist Labor Party: Arnold Petersen, 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.
- Proletarian Party: John Keracher, 184 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- West Indies**—Trinidad Workingmen's Association: P. O. Box 114, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
- Yugoslavia**—Socialist Party: Zivko Topalovic, Nēmanjena 40a, Belgrade.

III. WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT

- Austria**—Zentralstelle für das Bildungswesen der Sozialdemokratischer Arbeiterpartei Deutschoesterreichs: Rechter Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.
- Gewerkschaftskommission (Bildungsausschuss): Ebendorferstrasse 7, Vienna I.
- Belgium**—Centrale d'Education Ouvriere: Maison du Peuple, 17 Rue Joseph Stephens, Brussels.
- Czechoslovakia**—Delnicka Akademie: Hybernska 7, Prague II.
- Bildungsausschuss der Sozialdemokratischen Partei der Tschechoslovakie: Havlickovo nam. 32, Prague II.
- Denmark**—Bildungsausschuss der Sozialdemokratischen Partei: C. Bramsnaes, 22 Roemersgade, Copenhagen.
- France**—Confederation Generale du Travail (Conseil Economique, Section de l'Education): 211 Rue Lafayette, Paris.
- Great Britain**—Workers' Educational Association: J. M. Mactavish, 16 Harpur Street, London, W.C. 1.
- The Labor College: George Sims, 13 Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W. 1, and 334 Kew Road, Kew, London.
- Scottish Labor College: J. P. M. Millar, 18 Westholmes, Musselburgh, Edinburgh.
- National Council of Labor Colleges: J. P. M. Millar, 22 Elm Row, Edinburgh.

- Germany**—Zentral Bildungsausschuss der Sozialdemokratischen Partei: R. Weimann, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin, S.W. 68.
- Italy**—Italian Socialist Party (Education Committee): Via del Seminario 87, Rome.
- Luxemburg**—Centrale d'Education Ouvriere: H. Clement, 39 Rue Victor Hugo, Esch-Alzette.
Commission Syndicale (Comite d'Education): 13 Rue Neyperg, Luxemburg.
- Netherlands**—Centrale Commissie voor Arbeidersontwikkeling: P. Voogd, Laren, Noord.
Nederlandsch Vakverbond, Commissie voor Ontwikkeling: Amstel 224, Amsterdam.
- South Africa**—Workers' Educational Association, Transvaal Section: Miss G. Rogaly, Post Office Box 3907, Johannesburg.
- Switzerland**—Schweizerischer Arbeiterbildungsausschuss: Kistlerweg 23, Berne.
- United States**—Workers' Education Bureau of America: Spencer Miller, Jr., 476 West 24th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Colorado**—Denver Labor College: Mrs. August Koester, 13th and Bannock Streets, Denver.
Greeley Labor College: George Brooks, 1744 Eighth Avenue, Greeley.
Pueblo Labor College: E. M. Radley, Pueblo.
- Connecticut**—Trade Union College: J. H. Smith, 145 Starr Street, New Haven.
- District of Columbia**—Trade Union College of Washington: Mary C. Dent, 1423 New York Avenue, Washington.
- Illinois**—Amalgamated Labor Classes: 400 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.
Chicago Trade Union College: Agnes Nestor, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.
Labor School (Workers' Party): 1902 West Division Street, Chicago.
Women's Trade Union League Training School: Alice Henry, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.
- Iowa**—Labor College: H. Thomas, 106 Sixth Avenue, Des Moines.
- Louisiana**—Commonwealth College: Harold Z. Brown, Newllano.
- Massachusetts**—Amherst Holyoke Classes for Workers: J. F. Rohan, 72 Nonotuck Street, Holyoke.
Amherst Springfield Classes for Workers: H. A. Russel, 19 Sanford Street, Springfield.
Boston School of Social Science: Jacob Kassner, 21 Middlesex Street, Boston.
Boston Trade Union College: John van Vaerennewyck, Room 634, Little Building, Boston.
- Michigan**—Workers' Education Association (Socialist): Thomas Smock, House of the Masses, 2102 Gratiot Avenue, Detroit.
- Minnesota**—Minneapolis Workers' College: E. H. Holman, 1964 Marshall Avenue, Minneapolis.
St. Paul Labor College: S. S. Tingle, Labor Temple, Franklin Street, St. Paul.
Work People's College (I. W. W.): Duluth.
Work People's College: Smithville.
- Missouri**—The People's College: M. N. Bunker, Kansas City.
- Nebraska**—Labor Temple School: George A. Steiner, Box 570, Omaha.
- New York**—Brookwood Workers' College: Toscan Bennett, Katonah.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Educational Department: Fannia M. Cohn, 3 West 16th Street, New York.
Labor College: 476 Clinton Avenue North, Rochester.
Labor College of New York: John P. Coughlin, 287 Broadway, New York.
Labor Temple School: Will Durant, 239 East 14th Street, New York.
Rand School of Social Science: Algernon Lee, 7 East 15th Street, New York.
Women's Trade Union College: Mabel Leslie, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York.
Workers' School (Workers' Party): 125 Fourth Avenue, New York.
- Oregon**—Portland Labor College: E. E. Schwartztrauber, Labor Temple, Portland.
- Pennsylvania**—Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers: Hilda W. Smith, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr.
Labor College of Philadelphia: E. J. Lever, 1239 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor: Department of Education, Richard W. Hogue, Harrisburg.

Washington—Seattle Labor College: Labor Temple, Seattle.

Wisconsin—Milwaukee Workers' College: Frank Metcalfe, 400 Pereles Building, 85 Oneida Street, Milwaukee.

IV. COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

International—International Cooperative Alliance: H. J. May, 4 Great Smith Street, London, S. W. 1, England.

Argentina—"El Hogar Obrero," Cooperativa de Credito, Edificacion. y Consumo, 1864 Calle Bolivar, Buenos Ayres.

Armenia—Union of Armenian Cooperative Societies, Erivan.

Austria—Verband Deutschoesterreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft Oesterreichischer Konsumvereine, Praterstrasse 8, Vienna.

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe Beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften, Lindengasse 5, Vienna.

Belgium—Fédération des Sociétés Coopératives Belges: 48 Rue du Rupel, Antwerp.

Office Coopératif Belge: 4-5 Place de la Justice, Brussels.

Bulgaria—Société Coopérative de Consommation "Bratski Troud": Sofia. Centrale Coopératif, "Napred," Rue Vesletz, Sofia.

Canada—Co-operative Union of Canada: 215 Nelson Street, Brantford, Ontario.

Czechoslovakia—Ustredni Svaz Ceskoslevanskych Druzstev v Praze: Myslikova U1. 15, Prague.

Velkonákupni Spolecnost Kossommich Druzstev v Praze: Prague.

Verband Deutscher Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Havlickovo Nám. 22, Prague.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft Deutscher Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Fungnerplatz 4, Prague.

Denmark—Faellesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger: Njalsgade 15, Copenhagen.

Andelsudvalget: Christiansgade 24, Aarhus.

Nordisk Andels Forbund: Njalsgade 15, Copenhagen.

Estonia—Eesti Ühistegeline Liit: Suur Roosikrants Tän 15, Reval.

Eesti Tarvitajateühisusti Keskükisus: Viruvärava Puistee 15, Reval.

Finland—Yleinen Osuuskappojen Liitto: Helsingfors.

Suomen Osuuskappojen Keskusosuuskunta: Vilhonkatu 7, Helsingfors.

Kulutus Osuuskuntien Keskusliitto: Kirkokatu 14, Helsingfors.

Suomen Osuustukkukauppa: Vironkatu 5, Helsingfors.

Selskapet Pellervo: Esplaudelgatau 2, Helsingfors.

France—Fédération Nationale des Coopératives de Consommation: E. Poisson, 85 Rue Charlot, Paris.

Magasin de Gros des Cooperatives de France, 29 Boulevard Bourdon, Paris.

Banque des Cooperatives de France: 29 Boulevard Bourdon, Paris.

Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production, 44 Rue du Renard, Paris.

Comite d'Education de la Federation Nationale des Cooperatives: Alice Jouenne, 71 Rue du Cardinal Lemoine, Paris.

Georgia—Central Cooperative Union of the Republic of Georgia: 15 Co-operation Street, Tiflis.

Germany—Zentralverband Deutscher Konsumvereine: Heinrich Kaufmann, Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg, 5.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft Deutscher Konsumvereine: Besenbinderhof 52, Hamburg.

Reichsverband Deutscher Konsumvereine: Düsseldorf, Reisholz.

Reichsverband der Deutschen Landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften: Bernburgerstrasse 21, Berlin.

Generalverband Ländlicher Genossenschaften für Deutschland: Dorotheenstrasse 11, Berlin.

Great Britain—Cooperative Union: Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.

Cooperative Wholesale Society: 1 Balloon Street, Manchester.

Hungary—Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszovetseg Foggyaszatasi és Ertekesito Szovetkezete: Közraktarutca 34, Budapest.

Magyarorszag Szovetkezetek Szovetsege: Ullői Ut., 25, Budapest.

Atalános Munkaszovetkezetek Orzagas Közpouti Szovetkezete: Rakoczy Ut. 42, Budapest.

- India**—Cooperative Union of India: Calcutta.
Dharma Samavaya, Samavaya Mansions; Corporation Place, Calcutta.
Bombay Central Cooperative Institute, Bombay.
- Ireland**—Irish Agricultural Organization Society: Plunkett House, Dublin.
Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society: 151 Thomas Street, Dublin.
- Italy**—Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative: Via Pace 10, Milan.
Istituto di Credito per le Cooperative: Via Santa Radegonda 18, Milan.
Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative ed Enti di Consumo: Via della Signora 8, Milan.
- Japan**—Central Union of Distributive and Other Cooperative Societies: Tokio.
- Latvia**—Centrālā Saveenība "Konsums": Dzirnava Eela 68, Riga.
Latvijas Strādnieku Kooperatīvu Saveenība, Tehrhatas eela 23, Riga.
- Lithuania**—Lietuvos Kooperacijos Bendrovių Sąjunga: Vytauto prospektas 4a, Kovno.
- Netherlands**—Centraal Bond van Nederlandsche Verbruiks-coöperaties: Te Sweelinckstraat 29, The Hague.
Coöperatieve Groothandelsvereniging "De Handelskamer"; Ruigeplantweg 29, Rotterdam.
- New Zealand**—Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society of New Zealand: Wellington.
- Norway**—Norges Kooperative Landsforening: Kirkegatan 4, Christiania.
- Poland**—Związek Stowarzyszeń Spożywczych: Mickiewicza Ul. Warsaw-Mokotów.
Związek Robotniczych Stowarzyszeń Spółdzielczych: Wolska Ul. 44, Warsaw.
- Portugal**—Federação Nacional das Cooperativas: Rua Alves Correia 20, Lisbon.
- Rumania**—Directia Cooperatiei Oraseneste: Cale Victoriei 238, Bucharest.
Centrala Coopertivelor Satesti di Productie si Consums: Calea Grivitei, Bucharest.
Centrala Bancilor Populare: Str. Brezoianu 17, Bucharest.
- Russia**—Vserossiiskiy Tsentralny Soyuz Petrobittelnykh Obshtstvestv, "Centrosoyus": Staraya Plotshad, Moscow.—London office: Hazlitt House, Southampton Buildings, London W. C. 2, England.
All-Russian Cooperative Society, "Arcos": 49 Moorgate, London E. C., England.
Moscow Narodny Bank: Miasnitzkaia 15, Moscow.—London office: Hazlitt House, Southampton Buildings, London, W. C., 2.
Union of Far Eastern Cooperative Societies: Chita, Far Eastern Republic, Asiatic Russia.
- Spain**—Federacion Regional de Cooperativas Catalanas: Calle de la Aurora 11 bis, Barcelona.
Union de Cooperativas del Norte de Espana: Plaza del Mercado del Ensanche, 3, Bilbao.
Federacion de las Cooperativas Integrales y Populares: Madrid.
- Sweden**—Kooperativa Förbundet i Sverige: Stadsgården 12, Stockholm.
- Switzerland**—Verband Schweizerischer Konsumvereine: Thiersteinallee 14, Basle.
Verband Ostschweizerischer Landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften: Winterthur.
Verband der Genossenschaften "Konkordia": Ausstellungstrasse 21, Zurich.
- United States**—Cooperative League of America: 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.
All-American Cooperative League: Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pacific Cooperative League: 236 Commercial Street, San Francisco, California.
- Yugoslavia**—General Union of Serbian Agricultural Cooperative Societies: Rue Ressavska 15, Belgrade.
General Federation of Cooperative Unions of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes: Rue Ressavska 15, Belgrade.

V. PRINCIPAL LABOR AND SOCIALIST PUBLICATIONS

International

(D = daily; w., weekly; f., fortnightly; m., monthly; bi-m., bi-monthly; q., quarterly; irreg., irregular.)

The International Trade Union Review—(International Federation of Trade Unions q.), *News Letter* w.; Vondelstraat 61, Amsterdam, Holland.

Red Labor Union International—(Red International of Labor Unions organ): Post Office Box 7077, Moscow.

Bauarbeiter-Internationale (International Union of Building Workers, q.): Wallstrasse 1, Hamburg 25, Germany.

Bulletin (International Federation of Hatters q.): Piazzetta Moriggia 6, Monza, Italy.

Bulletin—(International Federation of Lithographers and Kindred Trades q.): 65 Rue du Midi, Brussels, Belgium.

Bulletin—(International Union of Woodworkers bi-m.): Genestestrasse 10, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Bulletin Mensuel—(International Union of Food and Drink Trades Workers m.): Körnerstrasse 12, Zurich 4, Switzerland.

Internationale P. T. T.—(International Federation of Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers q., 3 languages): Peter Jordanstrasse 96, Vienna, Austria.

Mitteilungen—(International Secretariat of Printers q.): Eigerplatz 8, Berne, Switzerland.

Mitteilungsblatt (International Secretariat of Painters and Kindred Trades q.): Claus Grothstrasse 1, Hamburg, Germany.

Bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International (Labor and Socialist International irreg.): 25 Victoria Street, London, S.W., England.

Socialist Youth International—(Socialist Youth International m.): Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S.W. 68, Germany.

The Communist International—(Irreg.): Smolny, Petrograd, Russia; or 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.

International Press Correspondence—(Communist International publicity service, English, French, and German editions, w.): Lange Gasse 26/12, Vienna 8, Austria.

The Young Communist International Review (f.), *The International of Youth* (m.) (Young Communist International organs): Verlag der Jugendinternationale, Feurigstrasse 63, Berlin-Schöneberg, Germany.

International Labor Review (m), *Industrial and Labor Information* (w.), (League of Nations International Labor Office pubs.): Geneva, Switzerland.

Countries Other Than United States

Argentina—*La Federacion Obrera* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): Rioja 835, Buenos Aires.

La Vanguardia (Socialist d.): Reconquista 675, Buenos Aires.

La Internacional (Communist Party organ): Independencia 417,

Australia—*The Australian Worker* (Australian Workers' Union w): St. Andrew's Place, Sydney, New South Wales.

Common Cause (Workers' Industrial Union of Australia w.): Sydney, New South Wales.

The Daily Standard (Labor d.): Adelaide Street, Brisbane, Queensland.

Daily Herald (Labor independent d.): 117 Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.

The World (Labor and Trade Union d.): 56-58 Collins Street, Hobart, Tasmania.

Liberty and Progress: 325 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Westralian Worker (West Australian Labor Party w.): 38-40 Stirling Street, E. Perth, W. Australia.

The Worker (Labor w.): Elisabeth Street, Brisbane, Queensland.

The Labor Call (Australian Labor Party w.): Patrick Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

The Socialist (Socialist Party w.): Socialist Hall, 184 Exhibition Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

The Australian Communist (w.): English Buildings, George Street, Sydney.

- Austria**—*Die Gewerkschaft (w.)*, *Der Betriebsrat (bi-m.)* (Federation of Trade Unions organs): Ebendorferstrasse 7, Vienna I.
Die Arbeiterzeitung (Socialist-Democratic Labor Party d.): Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna.
Die Rote Fahne (Communist Party d.): Bandgasse 87, Vienna VII.
- Belgium**—*Le Mouvement Syndical Belge* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): Maison Syndicale, 8 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.
Le Peuple (Labor (Socialist) Party d.): 35 Rue des Salbes, Brussels.
Le Drapeau Rouge (Communist Party w.): 57-59 Rue des Alexiens, Brussels.
De Volksgazet (Socialist d.): Somersstraat 20, Antwerp.
Education-Recreation (French), *Ontwikkeling en Uitspanning* (Dutch), (Labor High School m.): Ecole Superieure de Travail, Chaussee de Waterloo, Uccle, Belgium.
- Brazil**—*Novimenta Comunista*: San Paolo.
- Bulgaria**—*Narod* (Federation of Trade Unions in Bulgaria (Right) d): Rue Lomska 22, Sofia.
Rabotnitscheski Vestnik (General Federation of Trade Unions (Left) d.): Syndikalnen Dom, Ul. Kyrill i Methodi 54, Sofia.
- Canada**—*Canadian Congress Journal* (Trades and Labor Congress m.): 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa.
Canadian Trades Unionist (Canadian Federation of Labor m.): 26 Strathcona Ave., Toronto, Ontario.
The One Big Union Bulletin (One Big Union w.): 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
The Booster (Brotherhood of Dominion Express Employees m.): Toronto, Ontario.
The Bulletin (International Association of Machinists, District Lodge No. 2, m.): Winnipeg, Manitoba.
The Canadian Barber (Journeyman Barbers' Fédération of Ontario m.): Toronto, Ontario.
Canadian Railroad Employees' Monthly (Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees m.): 189 Gloucester Street, Ottawa.
The Canadian Telegrapher (Commercial Telegraph Workers' Union of Canada m.): Toronto, Ontario.
Maritime Labor Herald (w.): Glace Bay, Nova Scotia.
The Ontario Fire Fighter (Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters m.): Toronto, Ontario.
Trade Report (Ontario Provincial Council United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners m.): Toronto, Ontario.
Western Union Printer (Western Canada Conference of Typographical Unions m.): Medicine Hat, Alberta.
Alberta Labor News (Federation of Labor w.): Adams Building, Edmonton, Alberta.
British Columbia Federationist (Vancouver Trades and Labor Council w.): Room 306-319 Pender Street West, Vancouver, B. C.
British Columbia Bulletin (w.): Vancouver, B. C.
Canadian Labor Press (w.): 246 Sparks Street, Ottawa.
The Citizen (w.): 54 Argyle Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
The Confederate: Brandon, Manitoba.
The Labor Leader: 257 Adelaide Street, West, Toronto, Ontario.
The Labor News (m.): Lister Building, Hamilton, Ontario.
The Labor World (w.): 2 St. Paul Street East, Montreal, Quebec.
New Democracy (w.): Lister Building, Hamilton, Ontario.
The Western Labor News (Trades & Labor Council w.): Labor Temple, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
The Workers' Weekly (w.): Muir and Bell, Stellarton, Nova Scotia.
L'Artisan (Catholic, La Societe des Artisans m.): 20 St. Denis Street, Montreal, Quebec.
Western Clarion (Socialist bi-m.): P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
The Worker (Workers' Party w.): 310 Tyrrell Building, 95 King Street, Toronto, Ontario.
- Chile**—*Comunista* (Labor Federation and Communist Party d.): Cassilla 327, Antofagasta.
El Socialista: 1,372 de Catorce de Febrero, Antofagasta.
La Federacion Obrera (Labor Federation d.): Miraflores 163, Santiago.

- Czechoslovakia**—*Odborové Sdružení Československé a Gewerkschaftsblatt* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.) Na Perstyně 348, Prague I.
Sociální Práce (National-Social Trade Union Central m.): Vaclavské Nam. 42, Prague II.
Právo Lidu (Social-Democratic Labor Party d.): Hybernská 7, Prague, II.
Rude Právo (Communist Party d.) Mystikova Ul. 15, Prague II.
Vorwärts (Communist Party d.): Reichenberg.
Svoboda (Communist Party d.): Kladno.
- Denmark**—*Arbejderene* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Norre Farimagsgade 49, Copenhagen.
Social-Demokraten (Social-Democratic Party d.): Norre Farimagsgade 49, Copenhagen.
Arbejder Bladet (Communist Party d.): Blaagaardsgade 29.4, Copenhagen.
- Estonia**—*Sotsialdemokraat* (Socialist d.): Kuninga uul 8, Reval.
- Finland**—*Suomen Ammatijärjestö* (Federation of Trade Unions m.): Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.
Suomen Sosialdemokraatti (Socialist d.): Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.
Suomen Työemies (Communist d.): Helsingfors.
- France**—*Le Peuple* (General Confederation of Labor d.): 67 Quai de Valmy, Paris X.
L'Atelier (Trade union w.): 208 Rue St. Maur, Paris X.
Revue du Travail (Trade union m.): 211 Rue Lafayette, Paris, X.
La Vie Ouvrière (Syndicalist-Communist trade union w.): 141 Rue Pelleport, Paris XX.
La Lutte de Classe (Red International of Labor Unions m.): 144 Rue Pelleport, Paris XX.
Le Populaire (Socialist Party d.): 12 Rue Feydeau, Paris II.
L'Information Sociale (Socialist w.): 7 Rue Pasquier, Paris VIII.
L'Humanité (Communist Party d.): 142 Rue Montmartre, Paris, II.
Le Bulletin Communiste (Communist Party w.): 142 Rue Montmartre, Paris II.
Clarke (Communist m.): 16 Rue Jacques Callot, Paris VI.
- Germany**—*Korrespondenzblatt der Gewerkschaften* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Engelufur 24, Berlin S. O. 16.
Der Syndikalist (Syndicalist w.): Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34.
Der Kommunistische Gewerkschafter (Communist trade union w.): Rosenthalerstrasse 38, Berlin C. 54.
Vorwärts (Social-Democratic Party d.): Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.
Die Rote Fahne (Communist Party d.): Lange Gasse 26/12, Vienna 8, Austria.
- Great Britain**—*The Daily Herald* (Trade Union and Labor Party d.): 2 Carmelite Street, London E. C. 4.
The Labor Magazine (Trades Union Congress and Labor Party m.): 33 Eccleston Square, London S. W. 1.
The Monthly Circular of the Labor Research Department (Current information service): 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S. W. 1.
New Standards (Labor m.): 18 Thurlow Road, London, N. W. 3.
The Worker (Red International of Labor Unions w.): 31 North Frederick Street, Glasgow.
All Power (Red International of Labor Unions m.): 3 Wellington Street, Strand, London, W. C. 3.
The New Leader (Independent Labor Party w.): 2 Carmelite Street, London E. C. 4.
The Socialist Review (Independent Labor Party m.): Headland House, 308 Gray's Inn Road, London W. C. 1.
Forward (Socialist w.): 164 Howard Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
Justice (Social Democratic Federation w.): 103 Southwark Street, S. E. 1, London.
The Socialist (Socialist Labor Party w.): 50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
The Socialist Standard (Socialist Labor Party m.): 17 Mount Pleasant, London W. C. 1.
Communist Review (Communist Party m.): 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London W. C. 2.
The Workers' Weekly (Communist Party w.): 16 King Street, London W. C. 2.

- The Workers' Dreadnaught* (Communist Workers' Movement w.): 152 Fleet Street, London E. C. 4.
- The Labor Monthly* (International labor review): 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.
- Fabian News* (Fabian Society m.): 25 Tothill Street, London S. W. 1.
- The Highway* (Workers' Educational Association m.): 16 Harpur Street, London W. C. 1.
- The Plebs* (Labor College m.) 11a Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London S. W. 5.
- Russian Information and Review*: 68 Lincoln's Inn Fields, Kingsway, London W. C. 1.
- Greece**—*Risospastis* (Communist Party organ): Athens.
- Hungary**—*Szakszervezeti Ertesito* (Council of Trade Unions organ): Erzsebet Korut 14, Budapest VII.
- Nepsava* (Social Democratic Party d.): Konti-utca 4, Budapest VII.
- India**—*Swadharma* (Labor w.): 86 Savarana Perumal Mudaly Street, Vepery, Madras.
- The Socialist* (Socialist w.): 434 Thakurdwar, Bombay II.
- The Vanguard* (Communist Party w.): P. O. Box 4336, Zurich 13, Switzerland.
- Ireland**—*The Voice of Labor* (Trade Union Congress and Labor Party w.): Liberty Hall, Dublin.
- The Irish Worker* (Transport and General Workers' Union opposition w.): 17 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.
- The Workers' Republic* (Communist w.): 13 Fleet Street, Dublin.
- The Irish Economist* (Bureau of Research for Cooperation q.): The Plunkett House, Dublin.
- Italy**—*Battaglie Sindacali* (Confederation of Labor w.): 2 Via Manfredo Fanti, Milan.
- Avanti* (Socialist Party d.): 22 Via Settala, Milan.
- Il Comunista* (Communist Party d.): Rome
- Japan**—*Domei Rodo* (General Confederation of Labor w.): 12 Kita-Kogachō, Kanda, Tokio.
- Shakaishugi* (Socialist Party m.): 44 Ichome, Motozonacho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokio.
- Shakai-Shugi Kenyu* (Socialist m.): Kin Yamakawa, Araiuku, Omori, Tokio.
- Latvia**—*Arodnceks* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): 11-13 Matisa eela ds. 6, Riga.
- Sozialdemocrats* (Socialist): 11-13 Matisa eela, Riga.
- Luxemburg**—*Der Proletarier* (Trade Union Secretariat w.): Neypergstrasse 13, Luxemburg-Gare.
- Mexico**—*L'Orientacion Social* (Regional Confederation of Trade Unions organ): Belisario Dominguez 64, Mexico City.
- Pro-Paria* (Regional Confederation of Trade Unions organ): Orizaba, Vera Cruz.
- Resurgimiento* (Trade Union Federation of Puebla organ: Puebla, Puebla.
- La Lucha* (Socialist party organ): Calle Belisario Dominguez 40, Mexico City.
- Tierra* (Socialist party organ): Merida, Yucatan.
- El Obrero Comunista*: Apartado postal 20-31 Mexico City, D. F.
- El Frente Unico* (Communist Party organ): Vera Cruz.
- Netherlands**—*De Strijd* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Amstel 224, Amsterdam.
- De Valbeweging* (Federation of Trade Unions m.): Amstel 224, Amsterdam.
- De Vakstrijd* (General Trade Union Federation bi-m.): Regentesselaan 112, The Hague.
- De Arbeid* (National Labor Secretariat organ): Nassaukade 101, Amsterdam.
- Het Volk* (Social Democratic Labor Party d.): Keizersgracht 373, Amsterdam.
- De Socialistische Gids* (Social Democratic Labor Party m.): Paleisstraat 43, Amsterdam.
- De Tribune* (Communist Party d.): Amstel 85, Amsterdam.
- New Zealand**—*The Maoriland Worker* (Workers' Union and Labor Party w.): 290 Wakefield Street, Wellington.
- Norway**—*Medelesblad utgit av Landsorganisationen i norge* (Federation of Trade Unions m.): Folkets Hus, Mullergaten 18, Christiania.

- Social-Demokraten* (Communist Party d.): Youngsgatan 13, Christiania.
Arbejderbladet (Communist Party d.): Folkets Hus, Christiania.
Arbeider-Politikken (Socialist d.): 15 B IV, Kristiania.
Mot Dag (Communist student f.): Mot Dags Ekspedition, Torvgaten 1, Christiania.
- Poland**—*Związkowiec Varsovie* (Central Trades Federation bi-m.): 13 Rue Swietokrzyska, Warsaw.
Wiadomosci Robotnika (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): 31 Sien-na, Warsaw.
Robotnik (Socialist Party d.): Warecka 7, Warsaw.
Svit (Communist d.): 13 Lerchengasse, Vienna VIII, Austria.
- Porto Rico**—*Justicia* (Free Federation of Workers organ): San Juan.
Union Obrera (Labor d.): San Juan.
Voz de Obrero (Labor w.): P. O. Box 117, San Juan.
El Alba Roja (Socialist semi-w.): Guayama.
Conciencia Popular (Socialist semi-w.): Humacao, Porto Rico.
- Portugal**—*A Batalha* (General Confederation of Labor organ): Calçada do Combro 38, Lisbon.
- Rumania**—*Socialismul* (Communist Party organ): Strada Academiei 37, Bucharest.
- Russia**—*Isvestia* (Soviet government d.): Tverskaya 38, Moscow.
Pravda (Communist Party d.): Tverskaya 38, Moscow.
Russische Korrespondenz: Carl Hoym Verlag, Hamburg 8, Germany.
- South Africa**—*Weekly Herald* (Industrial Federation w.): New Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg.
South African Review (Socialist w.): P. O. Box 664, Capetown.
The International (Communist w.): 54 Fox Street, Johannesburg.
- Spain**—*El Socialista* (Federation of Trade Unions and Socialist Party d.): Calle de Carranza 20, Madrid.
La Antorcha (Communist w.): Apartado 873, Madrid.
- Sweden**—*Fachföreningsrörelsen* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.
Social Demokraten (Social Democratic Party d.): Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm.
Folkets Dagblad Politiken (Communist Party d.): Thorsgatan 10D, Stockholm.
- Switzerland**—*Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau* and *Revue Syndicale* (Federation of Trade Unions m.): Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne III.
La Sentinelle (Socialist d.): Parc 103, Chaux-de-Fonds.
Basler Vorwärts (Communist Party organ): Brunnegasse 3, Basel.
- Uruguay**—*Justicia* (Communist Party organ). Montevideo.
- West Indies**—*The Labor Leader* (w.): 95 Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
- Yugoslavia**—*Radnicke Novine* (General Federation of Labor organ): Novi Socialisticki Narodni Dom, Belgrade.
Radnik (Communist Party organ): Kosmayska 43, Belgrade.

United States

Trade Union and General Labor

American Federation of Labor:

- The American Federationist* (American Federation of Labor m.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service (American Federation of Labor w.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
The Metal Trades Department Bulletin (A. F. of L. Metal Trades Department m.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

A. F. of L. National Unions:

- Amalgamated Journal* (Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers w.): 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal (Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance m.): 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
American Federation of Teachers Semi-Monthly Bulletin (American Federation of Teachers f.): 512 Webster Building, 327 So. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

- The American Flint* (American Flint Glass Workers' Union m.): 337 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
- The American Photo-Engraver* (International Photo-Engravers' Union m.): 6111 Bishop Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The American Pressman* (International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union m.): Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
- The Bakers' Journal* (Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union w.): 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Boilermakers' Journal* (Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers m.): Suite 524 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
- The Bottle Maker* (Glass Bottle Blowers' Association m.): 1005 Colonial Trust Company Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers' Journal* (International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers f.): 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- The Bricklayer, Mason, and Plasterer* (Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union m.): University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- The Bridgemen's Magazine* (International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers m.): 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- The Broom Maker* (International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union m.): 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
- The Butcher Workman* (Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen m.): 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Carpenter* (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners m.): Carpenters' Building, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Cigarmakers' Official Journal* (Cigarmakers' International Union of America m.): Room 620, 508 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Commercial Telegraphers' Journal* (Commercial Telegraphers' Union m.): 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- The Coopers' International Journal* (Coopers' International Union m.): Meriweather Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- The Diamond Worker* (Diamond Workers' Protective Union m.): 323 Washington Street, Brooklyn, New York.
- The Elevator Constructor* (International Union of Elevator Constructors m.): 1208 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- The Federal Employee* (National Federation of Federal Employees m.): 1423 New York Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- The Fur Worker* (International Fur Workers' Union m.): 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York.
- The Garment Worker* (United Garment Workers w.): 117 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, New York.
- General Bulletin* (International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees w.): 110 West 40th Street, New York, New York.
- Glove Workers' Monthly Bulletin* (International Glove Workers' Union m.): 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- The Granite Cutters' Journal* (Granite Cutters' International Association m.): 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
- The International Bookbinder* (International Brotherhood of Bookbinders m.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers' Monthly Journal* (International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers m.): 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- The International Fire Fighter* (International Association of Fire Fighters m.): 105 American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.
- International Horseshoers' Monthly Magazine* (International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers m.): 605 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- International Molders' Journal* (International Molders' Union m.): 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- The International Musician* (American Federation of Musicians m.): 239 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
- International Oil Worker* (Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers m.): 208½ West 12th Street, Fort Worth, Texas.
- The International Steam Engineer* (International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers m.): 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

- The International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union Journal* (International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union m.): Omaha, Neb.
- The International Wood Carver* (International Wood Carvers' Association m.): 8605 85th Street, Woodhaven, Long Island, N. Y.
- Jewelry Workers' Monthly Bulletin* (International Jewelry Workers' Union m.): Room 714, 1674 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers m.): Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
- Journal of the Switchmen's Union of North America* (Switchmen's Union m.): 39 North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
- The Journeyman Barber* (Journeyman Barbers' International Union m.): 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- Justice* (English), *Gerechtigkeits* (Jewish), *Giustizia*, (Italian) (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union w.): 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Lather* (International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers m.): 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Leather Workers' Journal* (United Leather Workers' International Union bi-m.): Room 608 Walsix Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Lithographers' Journal* (International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association m.): 205 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Longshoreman* (International Longshoremen's Association m.): 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Machinists' Monthly Journal* (International Association of Machinists m.): Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
- The Miners' Magazine* (International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers m.): 500 Mercantile Building, Denver, Colo.
- The Mixer and Server* (Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League m.): Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Monthly Bulletin* (International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions m.): 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- The Motorman and Conductor* (Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees m.): 260 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.
- The National* (National Window Glass Workers m.): 1103 Ulmer Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Official Journal* (International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers q.): 803 United Home Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- Official Magazine* (International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers m.): 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- The Painter and Decorator* (Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers m.): Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
- Papermakers' Journal* (International Brotherhood of Papermakers m.): 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.
- Pattern Makers' Journal* (Pattern Makers' League m.): 1008 Second National Bank Building, 9th and Main Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Paving Cutters' Journal* (Paving Cutters' Union m.): Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
- Piano Workers' Journal* (International Piano and Organ Workers' Union m.): 260 East 138th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Plasterer* (Operative Plasterers' International Association m.): 401 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
- The Plate Printer* (Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union f.): 1630 West Loudon Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters' Journal* (United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters monthly): 1133 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Postal Record* (National Association of Letter Carriers m.): 405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Potters' Herald* (National Brotherhood of Operative Potters w.): East Liverpool, Ohio.
- Quarry Workers' Journal* (Quarry Workers' International Union w.): Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
- The Railroad Telegrapher* (Order of Railroad Telegraphers m.): Missouri State Life Building, St. Louis, Mo.

- Railway Carmen's Journal* (Brotherhood of Railway Carmen m.): 512 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- The Railway Clerk* (Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks m.): Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- The Railway Maintenance-of-Way Employees' Journal* (United Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers m.): 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- The Railway Post Office* (Railway Mail Association m.): 300 American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.
- Retail Clerks' International Advocate* (Retail Clerks' International Protective Association m.): Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
- Seamen's Journal* (International Seamen's Union of America w.): 525 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.; *The Seaman* (m.): 357 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Shoe Workers' Journal* (Boot and Shoe Workers' Union m.): 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
- The Signalmen's Journal* (Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen m.): 4750 North Kimball Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Sleeping Car Conductor* (Order of Sleeping Car Conductors m.): 360 Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.
- Stationary Firemen's Journal* (International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers m.): 3615 North 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.
- The Stonecutters' Journal* (Journeyman Stonecutters' Association m.): 324 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Stove Mounters and Range Workers' Journal* (Stove Mounters' International Union m.): 6466 Jefferson Avenue, East Detroit, Mich.
- The Tailor* (Journeyman Tailors' Union f.): 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Textile Worker* (United Textile Workers of America m.): 108 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
- Tobacco Worker* (Tobacco Workers' International Union m.): 50 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Ky.
- The Typographical Journal* (International Typographical Union m.): *Buchdrucker-Zeitung* (German m.): 635 Bankers' Trust Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Union Clay Worker* (United Brick and Clay Workers m.): Room 309, 323 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Union Leader* (Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees weekly): 332 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- United Mine Workers' Journal* (United Mine Workers f.): 1102 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Union Postal Clerk* (National Federation of Post Office Clerks m.): 302 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Upholsterers' Journal* (Upholsterers' International Union m.): 230 East 58th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Life and Labor Bulletin* (National Women's Trade Union League m.): 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Independent General Unions:

- Industrial Solidarity* (w.), *Industrial Pioneer* (w.), *Felszabadulas* (Hungarian w.), *Golos Truzenika* (Russian f.), *Il Proletario* (Italian w.), *Industrijalni Radnik* (Croatian f.), *Jedna Velka Unie* (Czechoslovak m.), *Rabotnicheske Mysl* (Bulgarian m.), *Solidaridad* (Spanish f.), *Tie Vapauteen* (Finnish m.), *Industrial Workers of the World* (organs): 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Industrialisti* (I. W. W. Finnish d.): Box 464, Duluth, Minn.
- Industrial Worker* (Industrial Workers of the World f.): Box 1857, Seattle, Wash.
- Muncitorul* (Industrial Workers of the World Rumanian f.): 13492 Orleans Street, Detroit, Mich.
- The Industrial Union News* (Workers' International Industrial Union m.): Post Office Box 242, Troy, N. Y.
- Knights of Labor Journal* (Knights of Labor m.): 43 B Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
- Lawrence Labor* (One Big Union w.): 51 Newbury St., Lawrence, Mass.

Independent Trade Unions:

Advance (English w.); *Fortschritt* (Jewish w.); *Il Lavoro* (Italian w.); *Prace* (Czechoslovak w.); *Przemysłowa Democracja* (Polish w.); *Darbas* (Lithuanian bi-w.); *Rabotchy Golos* (Russian m.); (Amalgamated Clothing Workers organs): 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

The American Marine Engineer (National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association m.): 311 Machinists' Building, 9th Street and Mt. Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.

The Auto Worker (United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers m.): 4620 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Mich.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Journal (International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance m.): 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Free Voice of the Amalgamated Food Workers (Amalgamated Food Workers f.): 81 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Headgear Worker (United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers f.): 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The Hotel Worker (Amalgamated Food Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Branch m.): 133 West 51st Street, New York, N. Y.

The International Pocketbook Worker (International Pocketbook Workers' Union m.): 62 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Locomotive Engineers' Journal (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers m.): Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Journal (Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen m.): Mt. Morris, Ill.

The Marine Worker (Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union [I. W. W.] f.): Box 69, Station D, New York, N. Y.

The New Textile Worker (Amalgamated Textile Workers of America m.): People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Railroad Trainman (Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen m.): American Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

The Railroad Worker (American Federation of Railroad Workers m.): 315 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

The Railway Conductor (Order of Railway Conductors m.): Masonic Temple, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Railway Employees Journal (Brotherhood of Railroad Employees m.): 190 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Station Agent (Order of Railroad Station Agents m.): Manor, Pa.

Steam Shovel and Dredge (International Union of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen m.): 306 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.

The Textile Advocate (American Federation of Textile Operative m.): P. O. Box 272, Salem, Mass.

Trade Union Educational League and Related Groups:

Labor Herald (Trade Union Educational League m.): 106 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Industrialist (New York Committee for the Amalgamation of the Printing Trade Unions m.): Box 63, Washington Bridge, New York, N. Y.

Metal Trades Amalgamation Bulletin (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Trades Industry m.): 1426 South Keeler Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Needle Worker (English and Jewish m.): 208 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Progressive Building Trades Worker (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Building Trades m.): Room 41, 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Progressive Miner (Miners' Progressive International Committee f.): 1010 Altgeld Street, Chicago, Ill.

Railroad Amalgamation Advocate (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry f.): 411 Dakota Building, 54 West 7th Street, St. Paul, Minn.

Labor Education and Research:

The Federated Press, Daily Mail Service Sheet (d. exc. Sun.), *Federated Press Bulletin* (w.), *Federated Press Monthly* (m.) (Labor news service): 511 North Peoria Street, Chicago, Ill.
Facts for Workers (Labor Bureau economic news letter m.): 2 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.
News-Bulletin (League for Industrial Democracy irreg.): 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Rand School News (Rand School of Social Science irreg.): 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.
Workers' Education (Workers' Education Bureau q.): 476 West 24th Street, New York, N. Y.
The Brookwood Review (Brookwood Labor College m.): Katonah, N. Y.

General Labor Papers:**Alabama**

The Advance (w.): 416½ North 21st Street, Birmingham, Ala.
Labor Advocate (Trades Council w.): 411½ North 20th Street, Birmingham, Ala.
Southern Labor Review: 416 North 21st Street, Birmingham, Ala.

Arizona

Square Deal: Bisbee, Ariz.
Arizona Bulletin: 38 South 4th Avenue, Phoenix, Ariz.
Labor Journal (State Federation of Labor w.): Phoenix, Ariz.
Southwestern Record (w.): Tucson, Arizona.

Arkansas

Union Sentinel (w.): Fort Smith, Ark.
Union Labor Advocate: Hot Springs, Ark.
Union Labor Bulletin (w.): Hot Springs, Ark.
Herald (w.): Huntindon, Ark.
Union Labor Bulletin (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): 315 Scott Street, Little Rock, Ark.
Union Standard: 316 Pine Street, Pine Bluff, Ark.
American Railroad Chronicle: 216 Vine Street, Texarkana, Ark.
Independent Union News (w.): Texarkana, Ark.

California

California Oil Worker (Oil Field, Gas Well and Refining Workers f.): 2121 Eye Street, Bakersfield, Calif.
Kern County Union Labor Journal (Labor Council w.): 2121 Eye Street, Bakersfield, Calif.
Union Labor Journal: Box 16, Bakersfield, Calif.
Labor Monitor: El Centre, Calif.
Labor News (Eureka Federated Trades and Labor Council of Humboldt Co., Calif. w.): 738 Second Street, Eureka, Calif.
Tri-County Labor News (Fresno Labor Council w.): Fresno, Calif.
Union News: 2120 Kern Street, Fresno, Calif.
Labor News (w.): Long Beach, Calif.
Citizen (w.): 540 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
Pacific Labor Bulletin (w.): Hena Building, Los Angeles, Calif.
Farmer-Labor News (Central Labor Council of Stanislaus County w.): Labor Temple, Modesto, Calif.
Tri-City Labor Review (w): 510 Eleventh Street, Oakland, Calif.
Contra-Costa County Labor Journal: 200 Twelfth St., Oakland, Calif.
Union Labor Record (Central Labor Council w.): 286 Twelfth Street, Oakland, Calif.
Tribune (w.): 728 I. Street, Sacramento, Calif.
Labor Journal (Central Labor Council w.): 1013 Third Street, San Bernardino, Calif.
Labor Bulletin: 721 West Market Street, San Diego, Calif.
San Diego Labor Leader (Federated Trades and Labor Council, w.): Box 1406, San Diego, Calif.
Labor Clarion (San Francisco Labor Council w.): 16th and Capp Streets, San Francisco, Calif.
National Labor Digest (m.): 528 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Organized Labor (Building Trades Council w.): 1122 Mission Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Rank and File (w.): Pacific Building, San Francisco, Calif.
San Francisco Labor Unity (w.): 1470 Valencia Street, San Francisco, Calif.
The World (w.): 155 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Tom Mooney's Monthly: P. O. Box 334, San Francisco, Calif.
The Union (Central Labor Council weekly): 173 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, Calif.
Sonoma County Labor Journal (w.): Santa Rosa, Calif.
Stockton Labor Journal (w.): 216 East Market Street, Stockton, Calif.
Stockton Labor Review (Central Labor Council w.): Stockton, Calif.
Oilfield Labor Journal (Labor and Petroleum w.): Taft, Calif.
West Side Union (Taft Central Labor Union w.): Taft, Calif.
Labor Journal (w.): Vallejo, Calif.

Colorado

Labor News (w.): 112 East Cucharas Street, Colorado Springs, Colo.
Colorado Labor Advocate: 1748 California Street, Denver, Colo.
Denver Labor Bulletin (State Federation of Labor w.): P. O. Box 447, Denver, Colo.
Risveglio (Italian semi-w.): P. O. Box 1555, Denver, Colo.
Labor Advocate (w.): Pueblo, Colo.
Labor Press: Pueblo, Colo.
Unione (Italian w.): 109 West B Street, Pueblo, Colo.

Connecticut

Advocate (w.): Bridgeport, Conn.
Progressive Labor News (w.): Bridgeport, Conn.
Labor Standard (f.): 195 Pearl Street, Hartford, Conn.
Labor Standard (f.): New Britain, Conn.
Connecticut Labor Press (w.): 286 York Street, New Haven, Conn.

Delaware

Labor Herald (w.): 415 Shipley Street, Wilmington, Del.

District of Columbia

Labor (Railroad Labor w.): Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
Labor Gazette: Southern Building, Washington, D. C.
Trades Unionist (Central Labor Union w.): 604 Fifth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Florida

Artisan (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): Jacksonville, Fla.
Labor News: 128 West Bay Street, Jacksonville, Fla.
Central News (Miami Central Labor Union w.): 238 N.E. 6th Street, Miami, Fla.
Citizen (w.): Tampa, Fla.
El Internacional (Cigar Makers' International Local organ): Post Office Box 5116 Ybor City, Fla.

Georgia

Federation News (w.): Augusta, Ga.
The Labor Review (w.): Campbell Building, Augusta, Ga.
Central Georgia: Macon, Ga.
Industrial Clarion (w.): Macon, Ga.
Gleaner (Central Labor Union w.): 110 State Street, East, Savannah, Ga.
Journal of Labor (Federation of Trades Unions w.): Atlanta, Ga.
Labor Herald: 1115 West State Street, Savannah, Ga.
Workman (w.): Rome, Ga.
Labor Index (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Waycross, Ga.

Hawaii

Nippu Jiji (Japanese and English w.): Honolulu, Hawaii.

Illinois

Alton Labor Leader (w.): Lock Box 267, Alton, Ill.
Fox River Leader (w.): Aurora, Ill.
Searchlight (Bloomington Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 722 W. Washington Street, Bloomington, Ill.
Twin City Review (City Federation of Labor w.): Box 206 Campaign-Urbana, Ill.
Calumet Labor News (w.): 11242 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Unionist (w.): 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Illinois State Federation News Letter (State Federation of Labor w.): 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Tribune (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): 210 South Desplaines Street, Chicago, Ill.
Labor News (Chicago Trades-Union Label League w.): Morton Building, Chicago, Ill.
National Laundry Journal (f.): 120-24 North Ann Street, Chicago, Ill.
Union Labor Advocate (m.): 107 North Market Street, Chicago, Ill.
The Illinois Labor News (m.): 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
Franklin Majority (w.): Christopher, Ill.
Labor Leader (w.): 109 East Main Street, Danville, Ill.
American Labor Review (w.): Decatur, Ill.
Decatur Weekly News (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 716 East Eldorado Street, Decatur, Ill.
Labor World: Decatur, Ill.
Illinois Labor Press (w.): East St. Louis, Ill.
Galesburg Labor News (w.): 56 N. Cherry Street, Galesburg, Ill.
Sponge & Brush (Painters' State Conference of Illinois m.): Galesburg, Ill.
Williamson County Miner (w.): Johnston City, Ill.
Illinois Tribune (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): P. O. Box 1144, Joliet, Ill.
The Kewanee Labor Bulletin: 212 North Main Street, Kewanee, Ill.
Labor Leader: North Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Journal of Labor (f.): Peoria, Ill.
Labor Gazette (w.): 225 North Adam Street, Peoria, Ill.
Labor News (w.): 326 Harrison Street, Peoria, Ill.
Labor News (Central Labor Union w.): Rockford, Ill.
Labor Advocate (w.): 120 South 7th Street, Quincy, Ill.
Labor/News (w.): Quincy, Ill.
Tri-City Labor Review (w.): Industrial Home Building, Rock Isl., Ill.
Illinois Industrial Review (w.): 272 East Adams St., Springfield, Ill.
Illinois Miner (Illinois District Miners' w.): 222 Illinois Miners' Building, Springfield, Ill.
Illinois Tradesman (Federation of Labor w.): Meyers Building, Springfield, Ill.

Indiana

Advocate (w.): Evansville, Ind.
Labor Forum (Central Labor Union w.): 403 Main Street, Evansville, Ind.
Union News (w.): Fort Dodge, Ind.
Worker (w.): Room 6, Dehim Block, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Central Labor Union News (Central Labor Union w.): 642 Washington Street, Gary, Ind.
Union (w.): City Trust Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Union Labor News: 31 West Ohio Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Free Press (South Bend Typographical Union w.): 315½ South Michigan Street, South Bend, Ind.
Interurban Labor Journal (Central Labor Union w.): South Bend, Ind.
Terre Haute Advocate (Vigo County Central Labor Union w.): P. O. Box 653, Terre Haute, Ind.

Iowa

Independent (w.): Boone, Iowa.
Iowa Labor News (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 424 North Main Street, Burlington, Iowa.
The Cedar Rapids Tribune (w.): 210 Third Avenue, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Tri-City Labor Voice (Tri-City Labor Congress f.): Clinton, Iowa.
Davenport Free Press (w.): 421 Brady Street, Davenport, Iowa.
Iowa Unionist (Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 609 Mulberry Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
The Dubuque Labor Leader (w.): Main and Sixth Sts., Dubuque, Iowa.
Tri-City Labor Voice: P. O. Box 96, Lyons, Iowa.
Marshalltown Labor World: 406 East Linn Street, Marshalltown, Iowa.
Sioux City Craftsman (w.): Sioux City, Iowa.
The Union Advocate (w.): 410 Fifth Street, Sioux City, Iowa.

Kansas

Labor Bulletin (Kansas State Federation of Labor w.): 610 North 6th Street, Kansas City, Kan.

Labor Chronicle (w.): Leavenworth, Kan.
Lavoratore Italiano (Italian, 3 times a m.): Pittsburgh, Kan.
Workers' Chronicle (w.): Pittsburgh, Kan.
Labor Bulletin: Pratt, Kan.
Kansas Trade Unionist (w.): 411 Kansas Avenue, Topeka, Kan.
Plaindealer (Wichita Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Wichita, Kan.

Kentucky

Magyar Banyaszlap (Hungarian Miners' w.): Himlerville, Ky.
Journal of Labor (w.): 511 Republic Building, Louisville, Ky.
The Labor Union (w.): 131 West Market Street, Louisville, Ky.
New Era (w.): 1234 South Shelby Street, Louisville, Ky.
Labor Herald (Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties w.): Newport, Ky.
Labor News (w.): Paducah, Ky.
Labor Herald: Paducah, Ky.

Louisiana

Labor Advocate: Gretna, La.
American Vanguard (m.): Leesville, La.
Labor Advocate (w.): New Orleans, La.
Labor Record (w.): 320 St. Charles Street, New Orleans, La.
Louisiana Federationist: 520 Conte Street, New Orleans, La.

Maine

Maine Labor Leader: 223 Middle Street, Portland, Me.

Maryland

Baltimore Trades Unionist (Building Trades' Council w.): 102 East Lexington Street, Baltimore, Md.
Federationist (Baltimore Federation of Labor w.): American Building, Baltimore, Md.
Labor Leader (Baltimore Federation of Labor w.): Franklin Building, Baltimore, Md.
Maryland Worker (w.): 2134 North Fulton Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
The Voice of the People (w.): 817 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.

Massachusetts

Darbininkas (Lithuanian, 3 times a week): 242 West Broadway, Boston, Mass.
Labor World (w.): Boston, Mass.
Wage Earner (w.): Boston, Mass.
Brockton Diamond: 22 Brett Street, Brockton, Mass.
Artisan (w.): 214 Maple Street, Holyoke, Mass.
Boston Labor World (Central Labor Union w.): Holyoke, Mass.
Western Massachusetts Labor Review (m.): 175 State Street, Springfield, Mass.
The Labor News (w.): 48 Southbridge Street, Worcester, Mass.
New England Labor Review (m.): 19 Foster Street, Worcester, Mass.

Michigan

Industrial Herald (w.): 309 Ninth Street, Bay City, Mich.
Detroit Labor News (Detroit Federation of Labor w): 274 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.
The Proletariat: 174 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Observer (w.): 112 Louis Street, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Square Deal (Jackson Federation of Labor w.): 145 West Pearl Street, Jackson, Mich.
People (w.): Kalamazoo, Mich.
Lansing Industrial News (Lansing Trades and Labor Council w.): 109½ North Washington Avenue, Lansing, Mich.
Workers' Voice (w.): 311 Court Street, Saginaw, Mich.

Minnesota

Labor World (w.): 610 Manhattan Building, Duluth, Minn.
Labor Review (Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Star Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
Gopher Labor Journal (w.): Northland, Minn.
Minnesota Union Advocate (State Federation of Labor w.): 141 East 5th Street, St. Paul, Minn.
Range Labor News (w.): Virginia, Minn.
Labor News (w.): Winona, Minn.

Missouri

Labor Press (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Hannibal, Mo.

Labor Tribune (w.): Joplin, Mo.

Missouri Trades Unionist (w.): Joplin, Mo.

Labor Herald (w.): 410 Admiral Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo.

The Kansas City Labor News: 414 Gumbell Building, Kansas City, Mo.

St. Joseph Labor News: 301 South 6th Street, St. Joseph, Mo.

St. Joseph Union (w.): Third and Edmund Streets, St. Joseph, Mo.

Saturday Union Record (w.): St. Louis, Mo.

Trades Council Union News (Trades Council w.): Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Leader (w.): Sedalia, Mo.

Railway Federationist (w.): Sedalia, Mo.

Springfield Laborer (w): 327 East Commercial Street, Springfield, Mo.

Montana

Bulletin (daily, except Sun.): Butte, Mont.

Butte Bulletin (w.): 101 South Idaho Street, Butte, Mont.

Free Lance (w.): Butte, Mont.

Nebraska

Unionist (Grand Island Central Labor Union w.): Grand Island, Neb.

Midwest Craftsman (w.): Labor Temple, Lincoln, Neb.

Mid-West Labor News: Box 1138, Omaha, Neb.

Unionist (w.): Omaha, Neb.

Western Laborer (w.): Omaha, Neb.

Nevada

Nevada Federationist (w.): Reno, Nev.

New Jersey

Union Labor Advocate (Union County Central Labor Union m.): 1038 Grove Street, Elizabeth, N. J.

Union Labor Bulletin (m.): 56 Hollywood Avenue, East Orange, N. J.

Labor Review of Hudson County (m.): Jersey City, N. J.

Sunday Call (w.): Newark, N. J.

Union Labor Messenger (Essex Trades Council m.): 200 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

Trades Union Advocate (Central Labor Union m.): 153 Sherman Avenue, Trenton, N. J.

New Mexico

New Mexico Workers' Chronicle (w.): Albuquerque, N. M.

North Dakota

North Dakota Labor Leader (w.): Grand Forks, N. Dak.

New York

Labor Weekly (w.): Auburn, N. Y.

American Labor Reporter (w.): Law Exchange Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Labor News (w.): 13 East Seneca Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

Union Labor Advocate (Central Labor Council w.): Jamestown, N. Y.

Orange County Workman (m.): Newburgh, N. Y.

American Labor Monthly (Independent Radical m.): 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

American Labor World (m.): 8 Reade Street, New York, N. Y.

The Chronicle (Central Trades and Labor Council f.): 287 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Equity (Actors' Equity Association m.): 115 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Labor Age (m.): 91 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Magyar Munsaslap (Hungarian w.): Tribune Bldg., New York, N. Y.

Music Trades (w.): 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Nedelni Hlas Lidu (Bohemian w.): 432 East 71st St., New York, N. Y.

Observer (w.): 51 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

New York Teacher (Teachers' Union of New York m., except July and August): 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

New York Union Printer: 8 Reade Street, New York, N. Y.

Office Worker (Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union m.): 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

State Federationist (w): 113 Leonard Street, New York, N. Y.

Universal Engineer (m.): 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

The Truth: 21 Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Labor News (m.): New Rochelle, N. Y.

Mechanic (New York Machinists' State Conference w.): Arlington Building, Rochester, N. Y.

Labor Herald (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): Cox Building, Rochester, N. Y.
Empire State Leader (w.): 204 Nott Terrace, Schenectady, N. Y.
Industrial Weekly (Central Trades and Labor Assembly w.): South Salina and Raceroad Streets, Syracuse, N. Y.
Labor Journal (w.): Labor Temple, Troy, N. Y.
Legislative Labor News (w. and m.): 379 River Street, Troy, N. Y.
Labor Advocate (w.): 16 Liberty Street, Utica, N. Y.
Labor News (w.): Watertown, N. Y.
Workman (w.): 64 Main Street, Yonkers, N. Y.

North Carolina

Asheville Advocate (w.): 91 Patton Avenue, Asheville, N. C.
Labor Herald (w.): Box 163, Charlotte, N. C.
Labor Educator (w.): Raleigh, N. C.
Union Herald (w.): Raleigh, N. C.
Union Labor Record (w.): Wilmington, N. C.
Unity and Justice (w.): 924 Chestnut Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Ohio

Akron Herald: Haver Building, Akron, Ohio.
People (w.): 21 South Main Street, Akron, Ohio.
Summit County Labor News: 11 East Market Street, Akron, Ohio.
Union Reporter (m.): Alliance, Ohio.
Guernsey Valley Bulletin (Guernsey County Central Labor Union m.): 649½ Wheeling Avenue, Cambridge, Ohio.
Stark County Labor Journal: 307 Market Ave. South, Canton, Ohio.
Union Reporter (m.): Walnut and Fifth Streets, S. E. Canton, Ohio.
Chronicle (Central Labor Council w.): 1311 Walnut St., Cincinnati, O.
Commonwealth (m.): Cincinnati, Ohio.
The Labor Advocate (Building Trades Council of Cincinnati w.): Thoms Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
News (Machinists' w.): 1314 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Trades Union Journal (w.): 120 West Court Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Workers' Journal (w.): 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Enakopravnost (Slovenian w.): 6418 St. Claire Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Labor News: 165½ West High Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Federationist (w.): 716 Vincent Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
The Worker: 2325 West 11th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbus Federationist (w.): Grant Theatre Building, Columbus, O.
Labor News (w.): Columbus, Ohio.
The Labor Review (w.): Pryor Building, Dayton, Ohio.
Lorain County Labor Advocate (Lorain County Central Labor Union w.): Elyria, Ohio.
Labor Weekly (Central Labor Union w.): Lorain, Ohio.
Newark Leader (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 17½ West Main Street, Newark, Ohio.
Labor News (m.): New Philadelphia, Ohio.
Labor Review (w.): Port Clinton, Ohio.
Labor Review (Central Labor Council w.): Portsmouth, O.
Tri-City Labor Bulletin: Sebring, Ohio.
Tribune (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 138 West High Street, Springfield, Ohio.
People's Press: 210 Wayne Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Toledo Union Leader (Central Labor Union w.): 1103 Cherry Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Labor Record (Labor Council w.): Youngstown, Ohio.
Labor Journal (w.): 6th and South Streets, Zanesville, Ohio.
Zanesville Tribune (Centrad Trades and Labor Council w.): 17½ North 4th Street, Zanesville, Ohio.

Oklahoma

The Herald: Madill, Okla.
Democracy (w.): Muskogee, Okla.
Oklahoma Federationist (State Federation of Labor w.): Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oklahoma Leader (d.): Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oklahoma Trades Review: 408 West 2nd Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Labor Review (w.): Sapulpa, Okla.
Unionist-Journal (w.): Tulsa, Okla.

Oregon

Oregon Labor Press (Central Labor Council w.): Labor Temple, Portland, Ore.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Labor Herald (w.): 605 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
Union News: Allentown, Pa.
The Dawn (w.): Altoona, Pa.
Labor News (w.): Box 213, Altoona, Pa.
Labor News (Central Labor Council w.): Third Street and College Avenue, Beaver, Pa.
Union Worker: Charleroi, Pa.
Panther Creek News (daily except Sunday): Coaldale, Pa.
The Toilers' Defense: 20 East Street, Coaldale, Pa.
Eastern Journal (f.): Easton, Pa.
Union Labor Journal (Independent Labor w.): 122 West 12th Street, Erie, Pa.
The Independent (w.): Harrisburg, Pa.
Labor Leader: 38 Market Street, Lancaster, Pa.
The Loyalty Press: R. F. D. 2, Lancaster, Pa.
The Free Press: Newcastle, Pa.
People's Press: 1326 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Progressive Labor World (w.): 1530 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Trades Union News (w.): 52 North 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Iron City Trades Council: Washington and Webster Avenues, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Justice: 149 Brushton Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
The Labor Free Press: P. O. Box 1598, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Labor World (w.): 220 Third Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
National Labor Journal (State Federation of Labor w.): Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
National Labor Tribune (w.): 352-4 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
National Liberty Journal (w.): Pittsburgh, Pa.
Industrial Advocate (Central Labor Union w.): Pittston, Pa.
Straz (Polish w.): 1002 Pittston Avenue, Scranton, Pa.
Anthracite Labor News (w.): Schenandoah, Pa.
Working World (w.): Uniontown, Pa.
Courier-Herald (w.): Wilkes Barre, Pa.
Labor Advocate (w.): 627 Courtlandt Street, York, Pa.

Rhode Island

New England Labor Digest (m.): 125 Prairie Ave., Providence, R. I.

South Carolina

Labor Journal: 50 Queen Street, Charleston, S. C.
Labor Press: 307 Westfield Street, Greenville, S. C.

South Dakota

Labor Defender (m.): Huron, S. Dak.
Labor News (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

Tennessee

Central Labor Journal (w.): Chattanooga, Tenn.
The Labor World (Trades and Labor Council w.): 735 Chestnut Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Independent (w.): 2115 East Nelson Street, Knoxville, Tenn.
Plaindealer (w.): Knoxville, Tenn.
Progressive Labor: 2114 Magnolia Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.
Labor Review (w.): 127 Monroe Street, Memphis, Tenn.
Labor Advocate (w.): Nashville, Tenn.

Texas

The Austin Forum-Advocate (w.): 501 Congress Avenue, Austin, Tex.
Star (semi-w.): Beaumont, Tex.
Union Standard (w.): Cleburne, Tex.
Craftsman (w.): Dallas, Tex.
Texas Carpenter (Texas State Council of Carpenters m.): P. O. Box 487, Dallas, Tex.
Toiler (w.): Labor Temple, Young and Evergreen Streets, Dallas, Tex.
Labor Journal (w.): 331 Main Street, Denison, Tex.
Labor Advocate (Central Labor Union and also Building Trades Council w.): 223 South Oregon Street, El Paso, Tex.
Southwestern Bricklayer (m.): El Paso, Tex.
Southwestern Railway Journal (m.): 108 East Weatherford Street, Fort Worth, Tex.
Union Banner (w.): Throckmorton and 2nd Streets, Fort Worth, Tex.
Union Review (w.): Galveston, Tex.
Labor Journal (w.): Western Newspaper Union Building, Houston, Tex.
Texas Railway Employees' Journal: Kiani Building, Houston, Tex.

Luzy Verdad (Spanish semi-m.): Laredo, Tex.

Advance (w.): Palestine, Tex.

Labor Forum (w.): 310 Sixth Street, Port Arthur, Tex.

The Weekly Dispatch (w.): 114½ South Alamo St., San Antonio, Tex.

World (Railroad m.): San Antonio, Tex.

Waco Farm and Labor Journal (Central Labor Council w.): 616 Washington Street, Waco, Tex.

Utah

Utah Labor News (w.): Salt Lake City, Utah.

Virgin Islands

The Emancipator (m.): St. Thomas, West Virginia.

Virginia

Times-Advocate (w.): 155 Bank Street, Norfolk, Va.

Virginia Unionist (w.): People's Press, Norfolk, Va.

Richmond Labor Journal (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): Central National Bank Building, Richmond, Va.

Square Deal (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): Richmond, Va.

Washington

Southwest Washington Labor Press (Labor Council w.): Aberdeen, Wash.

The Labor World: Bellingham, Wash.

Labor Journal (w.): Labor Temple, Everett, Wash.

Northwest Painter (Northwest Painters' Conference m.): Everett, Wash.

Seattle Union Record (Central Trades and Labor Council d.): 1915 First Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

Labor World (w.): 311 Sprague Avenue, Spokane, Wash.

Tacoma Labor Advocate (Tacoma Central Labor Council w.): 1153½ Broadway, Tacoma, Wash.

West Virginia

Tri-State Labor Leader (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Huntington, W. Va.

Unionist (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Wheeling, W. Va.

Wheeling Majority (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Wheeling, W. Va.

Wisconsin

Independent (w.): Janesville, Wis.

The Union Laborer (w.): Mannette, Wis.

Sheboygan Telegram (w.): Sheboygan, Wis.

Superior Labor Journal: Superior, Wis.

Wyoming

Wyoming Labor Journal: Box 997, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Political

Socialist:

People's Friend (w.): Rogers, Ark.

World (w.): 1020 Broadway, Oakland, Calif.

Arbeiter Zeitung (German w.): 1642 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Chicago Socialist (w.): 1501 Warren Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Dziennik Ludowy (Polish d.): 959 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Jewish Daily Forward (d.): 1128 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Lithuanian Daily News (d.): 1739 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.

Proletarec (Yugoslav w.): 3639 West 26th Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Socialist World (Socialist Party official m.): 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

La Parola del Popolo (Italian w.): 1011 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Robotnik Polski (w.): 959 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Le Socialiste: Box 301, Johnston City, Ill.

Echo (m.): Scammon, Kan.

The American Vanguard (w.): Leesville, La.

Maryland Worker: 2134 North Fulton Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Hairpenik (Armenian d. exc. Mon.): 7 Bennet Street, Boston, Mass.

Nykyanka (Finnish f.): 48 Wallace Street, Fitchburg, Mass.

Raiwaaja (Finnish d. exc. Sun.): Fitchburg, Mass.

Arbeiter Zeitung (German w.): 940 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

St. Louis Labor (w.): 940 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

The New Jersey Leader (w.): 325 Mt. Vernon Street, Camden, N. J.

The New Age (w.): 616 Genesee Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

Free Youth (m.): 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Jewish Daily Forward (d.), *Der Wecker* (w.), *Die Zukunft* (m.): 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Messenger (Negro m.): 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.
The New Leader (w.): 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.
Obrana (Bohemian w.): 501 East 72nd Street, New York, N. Y.
Citizen (w.): 156 Barrett Street, Schenectady, N. Y.
Americké Delnicke Listy (Bohemian w.): 4130 Broadway, Cleveland, O.
Miami Valley Socialist (w.): 124 South Jefferson Street, Dayton, O.
Ellis County Advocate (w.): Gage, Okla.
The Truth: 1602 Peach Street, Erie, Pa.
Tageblatt (German d.): 107 North 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Reading Labor Advocate (w.): 27-29 Reed Street, Reading, Pa.
The Pennsylvania Worker (w.): P. O. Box 685, Reading, Pa.
Labor News (w.): York, Pa.
The Home Defender (m.): Fort Worth, Tex.
Milwaukee Leader (d. exc. Sun.), *Milwaukee Vorwaerts* (w.), Sixth and Chestnut Streets, Milwaukee, Wis.

Communist:

Alba Nuova (Italian w.): 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.
The Daily Worker (Workers' Party d.): 1640 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.
Desteptarea (Rumanian w.): 4534 Hastings Street, Detroit, Mich.
Elore (Hungarian d.): 33 East 1st Street, New York, N. Y.
Empros (Greek w.): 629 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Eritassard Hayastan (Armenian): 659 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.
Ettenpain (Finnish d.): 54 Belmont Street, Worcester, Mass.
Freiheit (Jewish d.): 47 Chrystie Street, New York, N. Y.
Glos Robotniczy (Polish d.): 5937 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
The Irish People (m.): 100 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Laisve (Lithuanian d.): 47 Ten Eyck Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
The Liberator (w.): 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.
New Yorker Volkszeitung (German d.), *Vorwaerts* (w.): 15 Spruce Street, New York, N. Y.
Novy Mir (Russian d.): 208 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.
Ny Tid (Scandinavian d.): 3204 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
Pravda (Bohemian w.): 1423 West 19th Street, Chicago, Ill.
Radnik (South Slavonian w.): 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.
Rovnost Ludo (Slovak w.): 1510 West 18th Street, Chicago, Ill.
The Russian Review (Russian Information Bureau f.): 1726 21st Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Soviet Russia Pictorial (m.): 32 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Spravedlnost (Bohemian d.): 1825 South Loomis Street, Chicago, Ill.
Toveri (Finnish d.): Box 99, Astoria, Ore.
Tyomies (Finnish d.): Box 553, Superior, Wis.
Ukrainian Daily News (Ukrainian d.): 502 East 11th St., New York, N. Y.
Uus Ilm (Estonian w.): 1787 First Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Vilnis (Lithuanian w.): 2513 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.
The Young Worker (Young Workers' League f.), *The Young Comrade* (Junior Section, Young Workers' League m.): 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.
The Proletarian (m.), *The Labor Digest* (w.) (Proletarian Party organs): 184 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

Socialist Labor Party:

Weekly People (English w.), *Arbetaren* (Swedish w.), *Robitnychyj Holos* (Ukrainian m.): 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.
A Munkas (Hungarian w.): 419 East 83rd Street, New York, N. Y.
Organosis (Greek f.): 306 Washington Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Radnicka Borba (South Slavonian w.), *Socialistična Zarja* (Slovenian m.): 3359 St. Clair Avenue, Cleveland, O.
Robotnicheska Prosveta (Bulgarian w.): 1404 Madison Avenue, Granite City, Ill.

Farmer-Labor:

The New Majority (Farmer-Labor Party w.): 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
Farmer-Labor Voice (Federated Farmer-Labor Party f.): 800 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

- Dallas Craftsman* (w.): Labor Temple, Young and Evergreen Streets, Dallas, Tex.
Farm and Labor (w.): Watertown, N. Y.
Farm & Labor Journal (w.): Waco, Tex.
Farmer-Labor State Record (w.): 220 Main Street, Bismarck, N. Dak.
Minneapolis Labor Review (w.): 427 Sixth Street South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Minnesota Union Advocate (w.): 158 East Third Street, St. Paul, Minn.
Nebraska Union Farmer (m.): 11th and Jones Street, Omaha, Neb.
West Virginia Federationist (w.): 18 Alderson Street, Charleston, W. Va.

Cooperation

- Cooperation* (Cooperative League of America m.): 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.
The Cooperative Student (m.): 396 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
The Llano Colonist (w.): Leesville, La.

Publications Concerned with Labor Questions

Governmental:

- Monthly Labor Review* (m.), *Bulletins* (irreg.) (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics pubs.): Washington, D. C.
Bulletin of the Women's Bureau (irreg.) (United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau): Washington, D. C.
Publications of the Children's Bureau (irreg.) (United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau): Washington, D. C.
The Employment Bulletin (Illinois Department of Labor m.): Springfield, Ill.
The Industrial Bulletin (New York State Department of Labor m.): Albany, N. Y.
Labor and Industry (Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry m.): Harrisburg, Pa.
Massachusetts Industrial Review (Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries irreg.): Boston, Mass.
Wisconsin Labor Statistics (m.), *Wisconsin Labor Market* (m.) (Industrial Commission of Wisconsin pubs.): Madison, Wis.

Non-Governmental:

- The American Child* (National Child Labor Committee w.): 1230 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
American Economic Review (American Economic Association q.): Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
American Labor Legislation Review (American Association for Labor Legislation q.): 131 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.
The Annals (American Academy of Political and Social Science bi-m.): 39th Street and Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bulletin of the Consumers' League of New York (Consumers' League m. exc. July, August, September): 289 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Der Freund (Workmen's Circle m.): 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.
The Journal of Political Economy (University of Chicago bi-m.): Chicago, Ill.
Journal of the American Statistical Association (American Statistical Association q.): Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Law and Labor (League for Industrial Rights m.): 42 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
The Nation (w.): 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.
The New Republic (w.): 421 West 21st Street, New York, N. Y.
Political Science Quarterly (q.), *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* (semi-ann.) (Columbia University pubs.): New York, N. Y.
The Quarterly Journal of Economics (Harvard University q.): Cambridge, Mass.
Social Service Bulletin (Methodist Federation for Social Service m. exc. July and August): 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Solidarity (Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund m.): 9 Seventh Street, New York, N. Y.
Survey, The (w.): 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.
The World Tomorrow (Fellowship of Reconciliation m.): 396 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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